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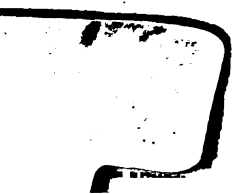
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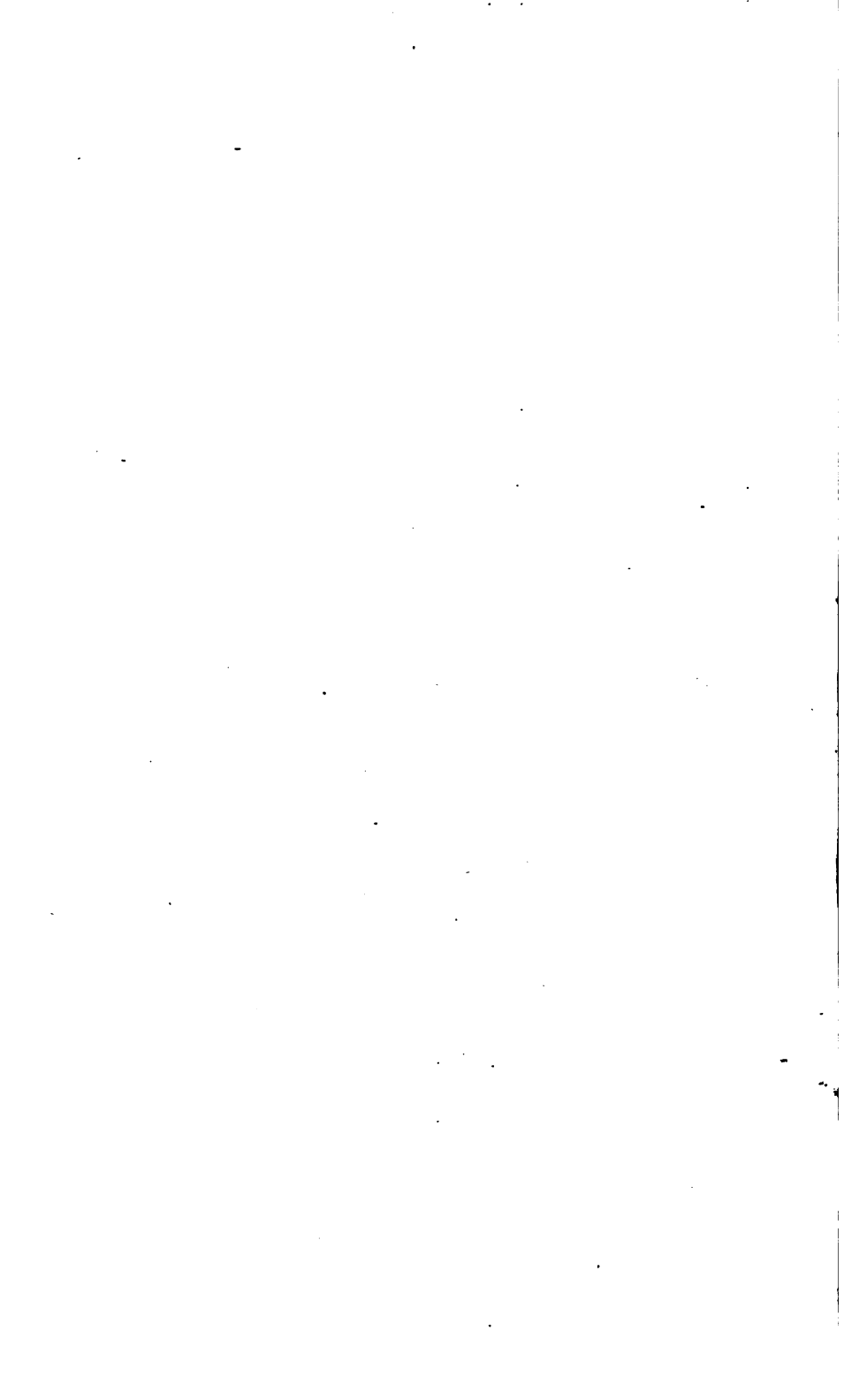
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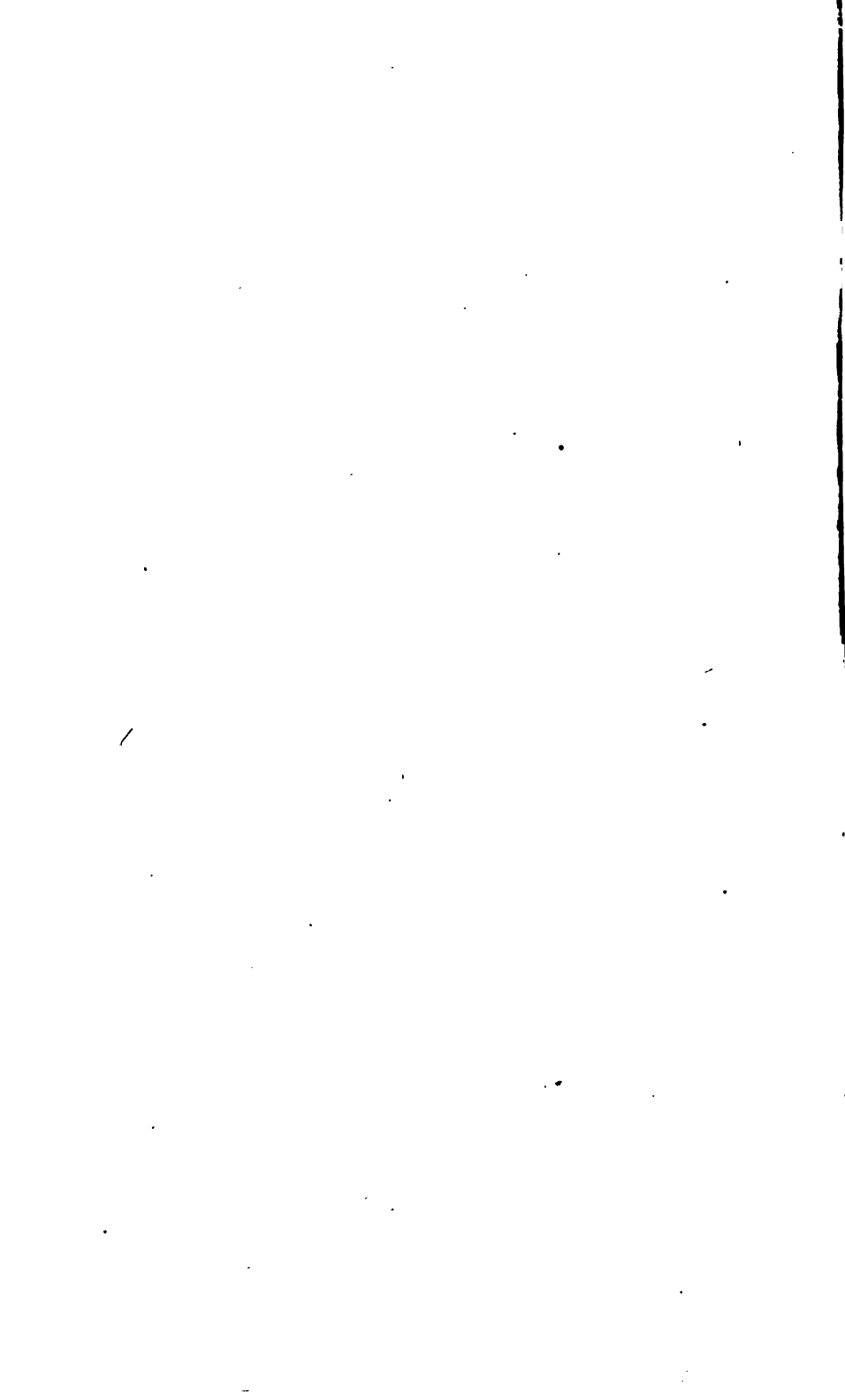


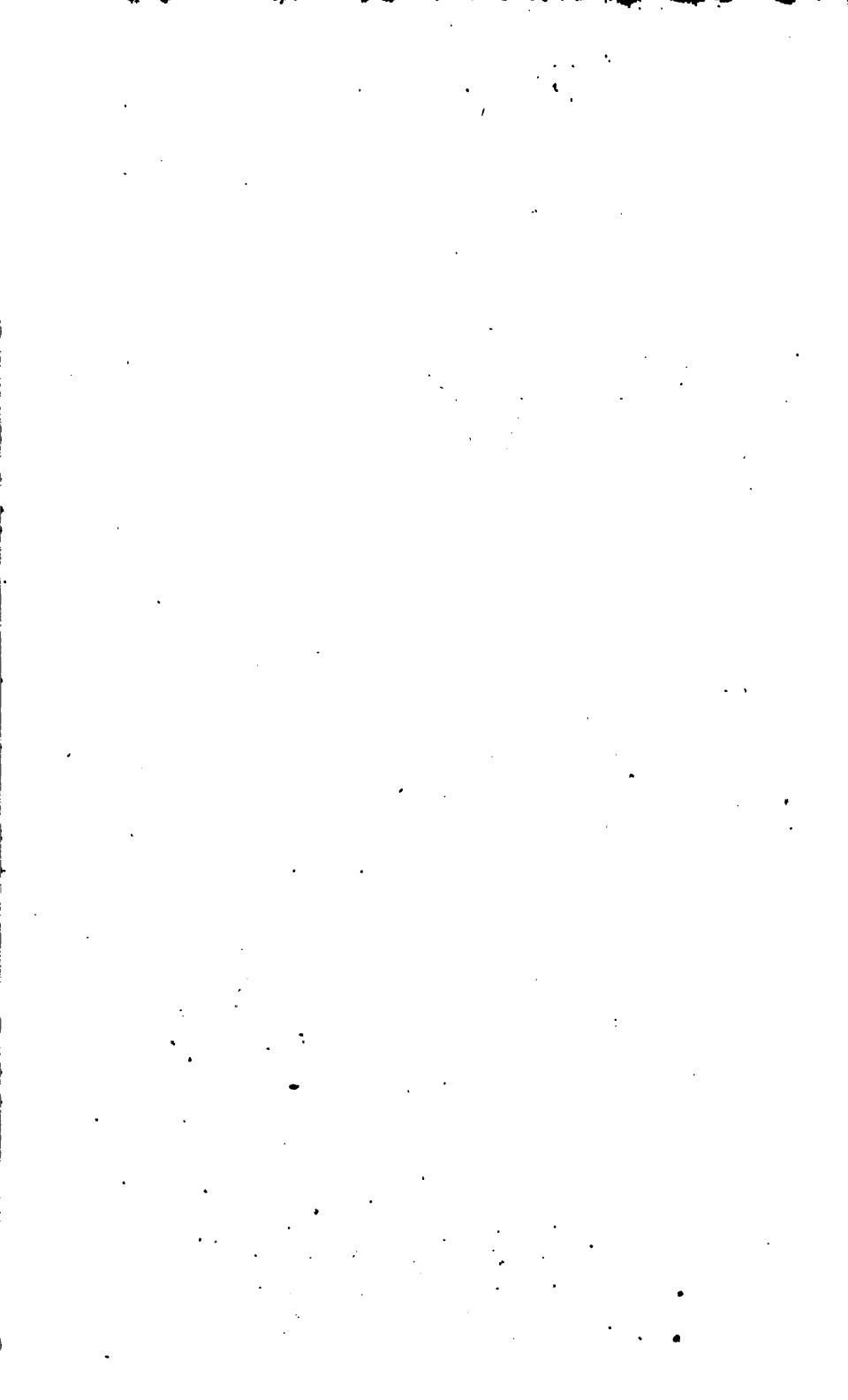
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OLIVER GOLDSMITH, M.D.

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FROM
THE EARLIEST STATE
TO
THE DEATH OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT,

BY
OLIVER GOLDSMITH, M.B.

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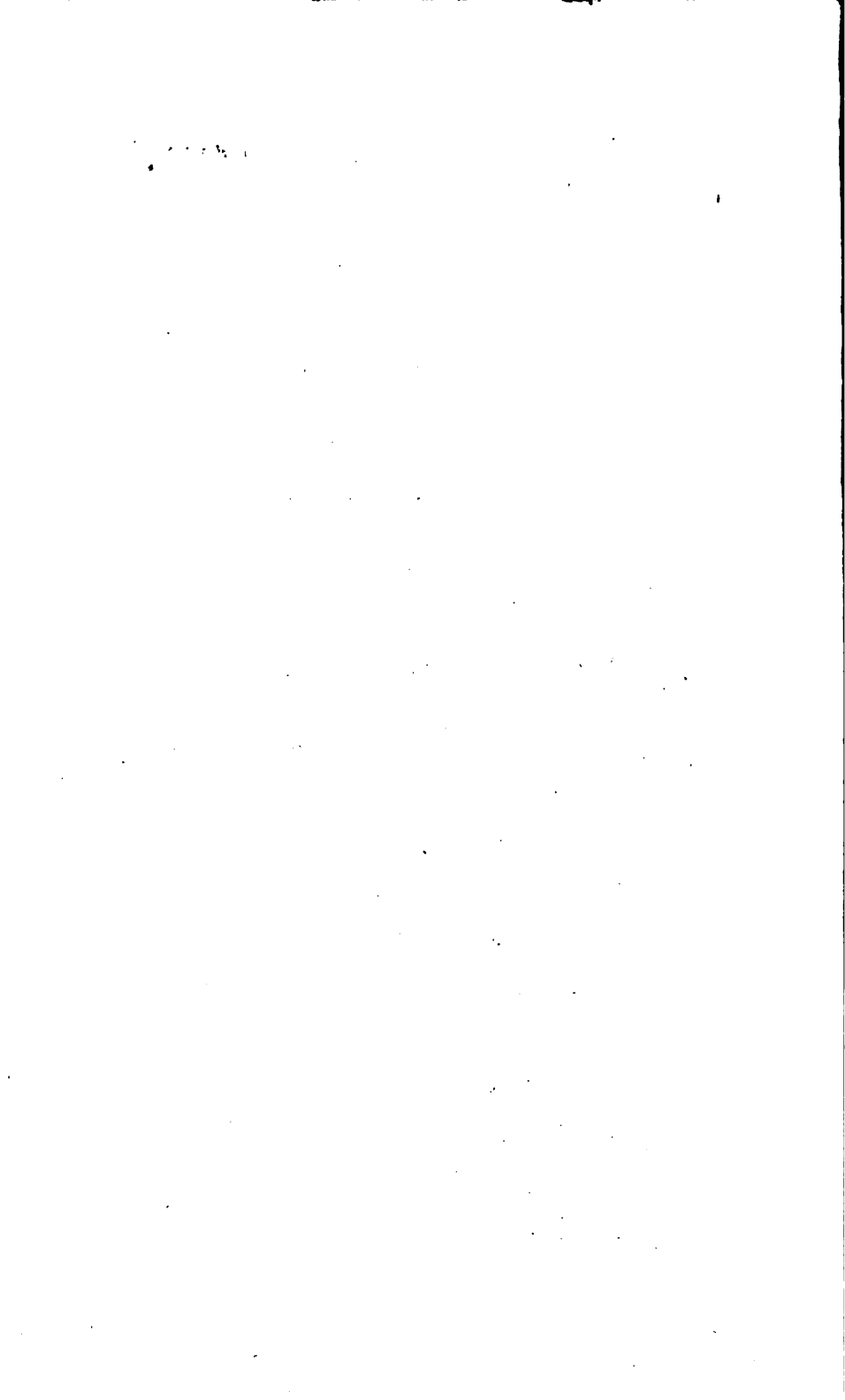
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By OLIVER GOLDSMITH, M. B.

HISTORY OF GREECE.

CHAPTER I.

OF THE EARLIEST STATE OF GREECE.

THE first notices we have of every country are fabulous and uncertain. Among an unenlightened people every imposture is likely to take place, for ignorance is the parent of credulity. Nothing, therefore, which the Greeks have transmitted to us concerning their earliest state can be relied on. Poets were the first who began to record the actions of their countrymen, and it is a part of their art to strike the imagination even at the expense of probability. For this reason, in the earliest accounts of Greece we are presented with the machinations of gods and demigods, the adventures of heroes and giants, the ravages of monsters and dragons, and all the potency of charms and enchantments. Man seems scarcely to have any share in the picture; and while the reader wanders through the most delightful scenes the imagination can offer, he is scarcely once presented with the actions of such a being as himself.

It would be vain, therefore, and beside the present purpose, to give an historical air to accounts which were never meant to be transmitted as true. Some writers indeed have laboriously undertaken to separate the truth from the fable, and to give us an unbroken narrative from the first dawning of tradition to the display of undoubted history; they have levelled down all mythology to their own apprehensions; every fable is made to look with an air of probability; instead of a golden fleece, Jason goes in pursuit of a great treasure; instead of destroying a chimera, Bellerophon reclaims a mountain; instead of an hydra, Hercules overcomes a robber.

Thus the fanciful pictures of a strong imagination are taught to assume a serious severity, and tend to deceive the reader still more, by offering in the garb of truth what had been only meant to delight and allure him.

The fabulous age, therefore, of Greece, must have no place in history; it is now too late to separate those parts, which may have a real foundation in nature, from those which owe their existence wholly to the imagination. There are no traces left to guide us in that intricate pursuit; the dews of the morning are past, and it is in vain to attempt continuing the chase in meridian splendour. It will be sufficient, therefore, for us to observe, that Greece, like most other countries of whose origin we have any notice, was at first divided into a number of petty states, each commanded by its own sovereign. Ancient Greece, which is now the south part of Turkey in Europe, was bounded on the east by the *Ægean* sea, now called the Archipelago; on the south by the Cretan or Candian sea; on the west by the Ionian sea; and on the north by Illyria and Thrace. Of such very narrow extent, and so very contemptible, with regard to territory, was that country, which gave birth to all the arts of war and peace, which produced the greatest generals, philosophers, poets, painters, architects, and statuaries, that ever the world boasted; which overcame the most powerful monarchs, and dispersed the most numerous armies that ever were brought into the field, and at last became the instructor of all mankind.

It is said in scripture that Javan, the son of Japheth, was the father of all those nations that went under the general denomination of Greeks. Of his four sons, Elisha, or Ellas, is said to have given name to the *Ελλήνες*, a general name by which the Greeks were known. Tharsis, the second son, is thought to have settled in Achaia; Chittim settled in Macedonia; and Dodanim, the fourth son, in Thessaly and Epirus. How they portioned out the country, what revolutions they experienced, or what wars they maintained, are utterly unknown: and, indeed, the history of petty, barbarous states, if known, would hardly recompence the trouble of inquiry. In those early times, kingdoms were but inconsiderable: a single city, with a few leagues of land, was often honoured with that magnificent appellation; it would, therefore, embarrass history

to enter into the domestic privacy of every little state, as it would be rather a subject for the economist than the politician. It will suffice to observe, that Sicyon is said to be the most ancient kingdom of Greece. The beginning of this petty sovereignty is placed by historians in the year of the world one thousand nine hundred and fifteen, before Jesus Christ two thousand eighty-nine, and before the first Olympiad one thousand three hundred and thirteen. The first king was *Ægialeus*. Its duration is said to have been a thousand years.

The kingdom of Argos, in Peloponnesus, began a thousand and eighty years before the first A.M. 2148. Olympiad, in the time of Abraham. The first king was *Inachus*.

The kingdom of *Mycænæ* succeeded. The seat of government was translated thither from Argos by *Perseus*, the grandson of *Acrisius*, the last king of that country, whom *Perseus* unfortunately slew. The kings, who reigned at *Mycænæ* after *Perseus*, were *Electryon*, *Sthenelus*, and *Eurystheus*; the latter of whom was driven out by the *Heraclidæ*, or the descendants of *Hercules*, who made themselves masters of Peloponnesus.

The kingdom of Athens was first formed into a regular government by *Cecrops*, an Egyptian. A.M. 2448. This prince, having departed from Egypt, and travelled several years in other places, came from Phœnicia into Greece, and lived in Attica, where he was kindly received by *Actæus*, the king of that country; married his daughter; and, on his death, succeeded to his throne. He taught the people, who were savages, the use of fixed habitations, restrained all licentious lust, obliged each man to marry one wife, and laid down rules for the conduct of life, and the exercise of all religious and civil offices. He divided the whole country into twelve districts, and also established a court for judging causes, entitled the *Areopagus*. *Amphictyon*, the third king of Athens, procured a confederacy among the twelve states of Greece, which assembled twice a year at *Thermopylæ*, there to offer up common sacrifices, and to consult for the common interest of the association. *Theseus*, one of the succeeding kings of this state, united the twelve boroughs of *Cecrops* into one city. *Godrus* was the last of this line, who devoted him-

self to death for his people. The Heraclidæ having made an irruption as far as the gates of Athens, the oracle declared, that they should be conquerors whose king should fall in this contest. To take the earliest advantage, therefore, of this answer, Codrus disguised himself in the habit of a peasant, and, provoking one of the enemy's soldiers, was killed by him. Whereupon the Athenians sent an herald to demand the body of their king, which message struck such a damp into the enemy, that they departed without striking another blow. After Codrus, the title of king was extinguished among the Athenians. Medon, his son, was set at the head of the commonwealth, with the title of archon, which signifies chief governor. The first of this denomination had their places for life; but the Athenians growing weary of a government which repress their love of freedom, they abridged the term of the archon's power to ten years, and at last made the office elective every year.

A.M. 2549. The kingdom of Thebes was first founded by Cadmus. This hero, having had an Egyptian father, was brought up in the religion, and was well acquainted with the history of that country, whence several writers of his life have accounted him an Egyptian: and, at the same time, being born and educated in Phœnicia, he became master of the language and letters of that country. He sailed from the coast of Phœnicia, and, arriving in Boeotia, he founded, or rebuilt the city, calling it Thebes, from the city of that name in Egypt, and the citadel from his own name, Cadmea. Here he fixed the seat of his power and dominion. To this prince are ascribed sixteen letters of the Greek alphabet. But, as the order, names, and characters of these letters bear a near resemblance to the old Phœnician or Hebrew letters, we are not to suppose that he invented, but only that he formed them from his own language, as it is probable the Phœnicians had before formed theirs from the Egyptian. The adventures of his unhappy posterity, Laius, Jocasta, Œdipus, Eteocles, and Polynices, make a shining figure among the poetical fictions of that period.

The kingdom of Sparta, or Lacedæmon, is supposed to have been first instituted by Lelexa. Helena, the tenth in succession from this monarch, is equally famous for her beauty and infidelity. She had not lived above three years with her

husband, Menelaus, before she was carried off by Paris, the son of Priam, king of Troy. This seems to be the first occasion in which the Greeks united in one common cause. The Greeks took Troy, after a ten years' siege, much about the time that Jephthah was the judge in Israel.

Corinth began later than the other cities above-mentioned to be formed into a state, or to be governed by its kings. It was at first subject to Argos and Mycæne, but Sisyphus, the son of Æolus, made himself master of it; and when his descendants were dispossessed, Bacchis assumed the reigns of power. The government after this became aristocratical, a chief magistrate being annually chosen by the name of Prytanis. At last Cypselus, having gained the people, usurped the supreme authority, which he transmitted to his son Periander, who was ranked among the seven wise men of Greece, from the love he bore to learning, and his encouragement of its professors.

The kingdom of Macedonia was first governed by Caranus, descended from Hercules, and subsisted from his time till the defeat of Perseus by the Romans, a space of six hundred and twenty-six years.

Such is the picture Greece offers in its earliest infancy. A combination of little states, each governed by its respective sovereign, yet all uniting for their mutual safety and general advantage. Still, however, their intestine contentions were carried on with great animosity; and, as it happens in all petty states, under the dominion of a single commander, the jealousies of the princes were a continual cause of discord. From this distressful situation those states, by degrees, began to emerge: a different spirit began to seize the people; and, sick of the contentions of their princes, they desired to be free. A spirit of liberty prevailed all over Greece, and a general change of government was effected in every part of the country, except in Macedonia. Thus monarchy gave way to a republican government, which, however, was diversified into as many various forms as there were different cities, according to the different genius and peculiar character of each people.

All these cities, though seemingly different from each other in their laws and interests, were united with each other by one common language, one religion, and a national pride, that

taught them to consider all other nations as barbarous and feeble. Even Egypt itself, from whence they had derived many of their arts and institutions, was considered in a very subordinate light, and rather as an half-barbarous predecessor, than an enlightened rival.

To make this union among the states of Greece still stronger, there were games instituted in different parts of the country, with rewards for excellence in every pursuit. These sports were instituted for very serious and useful purposes; they afforded an opportunity for the several states meeting together; they gave them a greater zeal for the common religion; they exercised the youth for the purposes of war, and increased that vigour and activity, which was then of the utmost importance in deciding the fate of a battle.

But their chief bond of union arose from the council of the Amphictyons, which was instituted by Amphictyon, king of Athens, as has been already mentioned, and was appointed to be held twice a year at Thermopylae, to deliberate for the general good of those states of whose deputies it was composed. The states who sent deputies to this council were twelve, namely, the Thessalians, the Thebans, the Dorians, the Ionians, the Perrhæbians, the Magnates, the Locrians, the Oetans, the Phthiotæ, the Maleans, the Phocians, and the Dolopians. Each of these cities, which had a right to assist at the Amphictyonic council, was obliged to send two deputies to every meeting. The one was entitled the Hieromnemon, who took care of the interests of religion; the other was called the Pylagoras, and had in charge the civil interests of his community. Each of these deputies, however differing in their functions, enjoyed an equal power of determining all affairs relative to the general interests of Greece. But, although the number of deputies seems to have been settled originally so as to answer the number of votes which each city was allowed, yet in process of time, on some extraordinary occasions, the principal cities assumed a power of sending more than one Pylagoras to assist in a critical emergency, or to serve the purposes of a faction. When the deputies thus appointed appeared to execute their commission, after offering up sacrifices to Apollo, Diana, Latona, and Minerva, they took an oath, implying, that they would never subvert any

city of the Amphictyons, never stop the course of waters, either in war or peace, and that they would oppose any attempts to lessen the reverence and authority of the gods, to whom they had paid their adoration. Thus all offences against religion, all instances of impiety and profanation, all contests between the Grecian states and cities, came under the particular cognizance of the Amphictyons, who had a right to determine, to impose fines, and even to levy forces, and to make war against those who offered to rebel against their sovereign authority.

These different motives to confederacy united the Greeks for a time into a body of great power, and greater emulation. By this association, a country not half so large as England was able to dispute the empire of the earth with the most powerful monarchs of the world. By this association they not only made head against the numerous armies of Persia, but dispersed, routed, and destroyed them, reducing their pride so low, as to make them submit to conditions of peace as shameful to the conquered as glorious to the conquerors. But among all the cities of Greece there were two, that by their merit, their valour, and their wisdom, particularly distinguished themselves from the rest: these were Athens and Lacedæmon. As these cities served as an example of bravery or learning to the rest, and as the chief burthen of every foreign war devolved upon them, it will be proper to enter upon their particular history with greater minuteness, and to give the reader some idea of the genius, character, manners, and government of their respective inhabitants.

CHAPTER II.

OF THE GOVERNMENT OF SPARTA, AND THE LAWS OF LYCURGUS.

ALTHOUGH the kingdom of Lacedæmon was not so considerable as that of Athens, yet as it was of much earlier institution, it demands our first attention. Lacedæmon, as observed above, was in the beginning governed by kings, of which thirteen held the reigns of power in succession, of the race of the Pelopidæ. As during this dark interval there were no fixed laws to limit the prerogative, nor any ideas of true government among the people, it does not appear that there were any considerable encroachments made either on the side of the king or that of the people. Under the race of the Heraclidæ, who succeeded, instead of one king, the people admitted two, who governed with equal authority. The cause of this change seems to have sprung from a very particular accident; for Aristodemus dying, left two sons, Eurysthenes and Procles, twins, so much alike, that it was hardly possible to distinguish them asunder. From hence the hint was taken by the mother of fixing the crown upon both; so that when the Spartans came for a king, she was either unwilling or unable to decide which of them was first born, or which had the justest pretensions. This form continued for several succeeding centuries, and though the one was almost ever at variance with his associate on the throne, yet the government remained entire.

It was during this succession that slavery was first instituted in Sparta. Eurysthenes and Procles having granted the countrymen of Sparta the same privileges with the citizens, Agis reversed what his predecessors had done in favour of the peasants, and imposed a tribute upon them. The Helotes were the only people that would not acquiesce in this impost, but rose in rebellion to vindicate their rights: the citizens, how-

ever, prevailed, the Helotes were subdued, and made prisoners of war. As a still greater punishment, they and their posterity were condemned to perpetual slavery; and, to increase their misery still more, all other slaves were called by the general name of Helotes.

It would appear from hence, that this little state was governed with turbulence and oppression, and required the curb of severe laws and rigorous discipline. These severities and rigorous discipline were at last imposed upon it by Lycurgus, one of the first and most extraordinary legislators that ever appeared among mankind. There is, perhaps, nothing more remarkable in profane history, yet nothing so well attested, as what relates to the laws and government of Lycurgus. What, indeed, can be more amazing, than to behold a mutinous and savage race of mankind yielding submission to laws that controlled every sensual pleasure and every private affection; to behold them give up, for the good of the state, all the comforts and conveniences, of private life, and making a state of domestic privacy more severe and terrible than the most painful campaigns, and the most warlike duties? Yet all this was effected by the perseverance and authority of a single legislator, who gave the first lessons of hard resignation in his own generous example.

Lycurgus was the son of Eunomus, one of the two kings who reigned together in Sparta. His elder brother Polydectes dying without issue, the right of succession rested in Lycurgus, who accordingly took the administration upon him. But an unexpected event came to interrupt his promotion: for the queen, his sister-in-law, proving with child, his right became doubtful. A man of less probity would have used every precaution to secure himself upon the throne, and a proposal which was made by the queen seemed to secure his pretensions. She offered to destroy the birth upon condition that he would marry her, and take her into a share of power. Lycurgus wisely smothered his resentment at so unnatural a proposal, and, fearful that she might use means to put her project in execution, assured her, that as soon as the child was born, he would take upon himself to remove it out of the way. Accordingly she was delivered of a boy, which Lycurgus commanded to be brought to him, as he was at supper with the

magistrates ; to them he presented the child as their king, and, to testify his own and the people's joy, gave him the name of Charilaus. Thus Lycurgus sacrificed his ambition to his duty ; and still more, continued his regency, not as king, but governor. However, dreading the resentment of the queen, and finding the state in great disorder, he resolved, by travelling, to avoid the dangers of the one, and to procure a remedy for the defects of the other.

Thus, resolving to make himself acquainted with all the improvements of other nations, and to consult the most experienced persons he could meet with in the art of government, he began with the island of Crete, whose hard and severe laws were very much admired. In this island the handicraft trades were brought to some degree of perfection. There they wrought in copper and iron, and made armour, in which they danced with a confused noise of bells at the sacrifices of their gods. It was from them that the art of navigation was first known in Greece, and from them many legislators derived the principles of their respective institutions.

From Crete Lycurgus passed over into Asia, where he still found new information, and is said to have first made the discovery of the works of Homer. From thence he went into Egypt, and is said by some to have had conferences with the gymnosophists of India. But whilst thus employed abroad, his presence began to be greatly wanted at home. All parties conspired to wish his coming, and many messages were sent to hasten his return. The kings themselves importuned him to that effect, and let him know, that the people were arrived at such a pitch of disorder, that nothing but his authority could control their licentiousness. In fact, every thing tended to the unavoidable destruction of the state, and nothing but his presence was wished to check its increasing dissolution.

Lycurgus, at length persuaded to return, found the people wearied out with their own importunities, and ready to receive any new impressions he might attempt. Wherefore the corruption being general, he found it necessary to change the whole form of the government ; sensible that a few particular laws would produce no great effect. But, considering the efficacy of religion in promoting every new institution, he went first to consult the oracle of Apollo at Delphos, where he met

a reception that might flatter his highest ambition, for he was saluted by the priestess as a friend of the gods, and rather as a god than man. As to his new institution also, he was told, that the gods heard his prayers, and that the commonwealth he was going to establish would be the most excellent and durable upon earth.

Thus encouraged, on his return to Sparta, Lycurgus first communicated his designs to his particular friends, and then by degrees gained over the leading men to his party, until things being ripe for a change, he ordered thirty of the principal men to appear armed in the market-place. Charilaus, who was at that time king, seemed at first willing to oppose this revolution, but, being intimidated by a superior force, he took shelter in the temple of Minerva; where, being prevailed upon by his subjects, and being also of a flexible temper, he came forth and joined the confederacy. The people soon acquiesced under a set of institutions which were evidently calculated for their improvement, and gladly acknowledged submission to laws which leaned with equal weight upon every rank of society.

To continue the kings still with a shadow of power, he confirmed them in their right of succession as before, but diminished their authority by instituting a senate, which was to serve as a counterpoise between the prerogative and the people. They still, however, had all their former marks of outward dignity and respect. They had the chief seats in every public assembly; in voting they were allowed to give their opinion first; they received ambassadors and strangers, and overlooked public buildings and highways. In the field they were possessed of greater power; they conducted the armies of the state, and were attended by judges, field-deputies, and a general of the horse. However, they were not entirely at liberty even in war, as they received their orders from the senate; and though these were for the most part discretionary, yet they were sometimes forced to march against the enemy, or to return home when they least desired to retreat.

The government hitherto had been unsteady, tending at one time towards despotism, at another to democracy; but the senate instituted by Lycurgus served as a check upon both, and kept the state balanced in tranquillity. This body, which

was composed of twenty-eight members, founded their chief policy in siding with the kings when the people were grasping at too much power; and, on the other hand, in espousing the interests of the people whenever the kings attempted to carry their authority too far. The senators were composed of those who assisted Lycurgus in his designs, as well as of several of the citizens remarkable for their private virtues, but none were eligible till sixty years of age. They were continued for life, except upon any notorious crime; and this, as it prevented the inconveniences of too frequent a change, so it was a lasting reward to the old, and a noble incentive to the young. These formed the supreme court of judicature; and though there lay an appeal from them to the people, yet as they were only convened at the pleasure of the senate, and as the senators were not responsible for any wrong judgment, their decrees generally passed without a repeal. Indeed, for several ages, such was the caution, and such the integrity of this tribunal, that none seemed desirous of seeking farther justice, and both parties acquiesced in the justice of their decree. However, the great power, which the senate was thus possessed of, was about a century after tempered by the erection of a superior court, called the court of Ephori, which consisted of but five in number, and the members were chosen annually into their office. They were elected from the people, and had the power of arresting and imprisoning even the persons of their kings, if they acted unbecoming their station.

The people also had a nominal share in the government. They had their assemblies, consisting of citizens only, and also their great convention of all persons who were free of the state. But this power of convening was but a mere matter of form, as the senate alone was permitted to call them together, and as it was in the option of that body to dismiss them at pleasure. The subject of deliberation was also to be of their proposal, while the people, denied the privilege of debating or discussing, could only reject or ratify with laconic decision. To keep them still more helpless, they were left out of all offices of the state, and were considered merely as machines, which their wiser fellow-citizens were to conduct and employ.

So small a degree of power granted to the people might be

apt to destroy these institutions in their infancy : but, to reconcile them to the change, Lycurgus boldly resolved to give them a share in those lands, from whence, by the increasing riches of some, and the dissipation of others, they had been deprived. To keep the people in plenty and dependence seems to have been one of the most refined strokes in this philosopher's legislation. The generality of the people were at that time so poor, that they were destitute of every kind of possession, whilst a small number of individuals were possessed of all the lands and the wealth of the country. In order, therefore, to banish the insolence, the fraud, and the luxury of the one, as well as the misery, the repining, and the factious despair of the others, he persuaded the majority, and forced the rest, to give up all their lands to the commonwealth, and to make a new division of them, that they might all live together in perfect equality. Thus all the sensual goods of life were distributed among the governors and the governed, and superior merit alone conferred superior distinction.

Lycurgus accordingly divided all the lands of Laconia into thirty thousand parts, and those of Sparta into nine thousand, and these he portioned out to the respective inhabitants of each district. Each portion was sufficient to maintain a family in that frugal manner he proposed ; and, though the kings had a larger share assigned them to support their dignity, yet their tables had rather an air of decency and competency, than of superfluity or profusion. It is said, that some years after, as Lycurgus was returning from a long journey, observing how equally the corn was divided in all parts of the country, he was heard to observe, smiling on those next him, " Does not Laconia look like an estate which several brothers have been dividing amongst them ? "

But it would have answered no permanent purpose to divide the lands, if the money had been still suffered to accumulate. To prevent, therefore, all other distinction but that of merit, he resolved to level down all fortune to one standard. He did not, indeed, strip those possessed of gold or silver of their property ; but, what was equivalent, he cried down its value, and suffered nothing but iron money to pass in exchange for every commodity. This coin also he made so heavy, and fixed at so low a rate, that a cart and two oxen were required

to carry home a sum of ten minas, or about twenty pounds English, and a whole house was necessary to keep it in. This iron money had no currency among any other of the Grecian states, who, so far from esteeming it, treated it with the utmost contempt and ridicule. From the neglect of foreigners, the Spartans themselves began to despise it so, that money was at last brought into disuse, and few troubled themselves with more than was sufficient to supply their necessities. Thus not only riches, but their attendant train of avarice, fraud, rapine, and luxury, were banished from this simple state; and the people found in ignorance of riches a happy substitute for the want of those refinements they bestow.

But these institutions were not thought sufficient to prevent that tendency which mankind have to private excess. A third regulation was therefore made, commanding that all meals should be in public. He ordained, that all the men should eat in one common hall without distinction; and, lest strangers should attempt to corrupt his citizens by their example, a law was expressly made against their continuance in the city. By these means frugality was not only made necessary, but the use of riches was at once abolished. Every man sent monthly his provisions to the common stock, with a little money for other contingent expenses. These consisted of one bushel of flour, eight measures of wine, five pounds of cheese, and two pounds and a half of figs. The tables consisted of fifteen persons each, where none could be admitted but by the consent of the whole company. Every one, without exception of persons, was obliged to be at the common meal; and a long time after, when Agis returned from a successful expedition, he was punished and reprimanded for having eaten with his queen in private. The very children ate at these meals, and were carried thither as to a school of temperance and wisdom. At these homely repasts, no rude or immoral conversation was permitted, no loquacious disputes or ostentatious talking. Each endeavoured to express his sentiments with the utmost perspicuity and conciseness; wit was admitted to season the banquet, and secrecy to give it security. As soon as a young man came into the room, the oldest man in the company used to say to him, pointing to the door, "Nothing spoken here must go that way." Black broth was their favourite dish; of

what ingredients it was made is not known, but they used no flesh in their entertainments; it probably resembled those lenten soups which are still in use on the continent. Dionysius, the tyrant, found their fare very unpalatable; but, as the cook asserted, the broth was nothing without the seasoning of fatigue and hunger.

An injunction so rigorous, which thus cut off all the delicacies and refinements of luxury, was by no means pleasing to the rich, who took every occasion to insult the lawgiver upon his new regulations. The tumults it excited were frequent; and in one of these, a young fellow, whose name was Alexander, struck out one of Lycurgus's eyes. But he had the majority of the people on his side, who, provoked at the outrage, delivered the young man into his hands to treat him with all proper severity. Lycurgus, instead of testifying any brutal resentment, won over his aggressor by all the arts of affability and tenderness, till at last, from being one of the proudest and most turbulent men of Sparta, he became an example of wisdom and moderation, and an useful assistant to Lycurgus in promoting his new institutions.

Thus, undaunted by opposition, and steady in his designs, he went on to make reformation in the manners of his countrymen. As the education of youth was one of the most important objects of a legislator's care, he took care to instil such early principles, that children should in a manner be born with a sense of order and discipline. His grand principle was, that children were properly the possession of the state, and belonged to the community more than to their parents. To this end he began from the very time of their conception, making it the mother's duty to use such diet and exercise as might fit her to produce a vigorous and healthy offspring. As during this period all institutions were tinctured with the savageness of the times, it is not wonderful that Lycurgus ordained, that all such children as, upon a public view, were deemed deformed or weakly, and unfit for a future life of vigour and fatigue, should be exposed to perish in a cavern near mount Taygetus. This was considered as a public punishment upon the mother, and it was thought the readiest way to lighten the state of a future encumbrance.

Those infants that were born without any capital defects

were adopted as children of the state, and delivered to their parents to be nursed with severity and hardship. From their tenderest age they were accustomed to make no choice in their eating, not to be afraid in the dark or when left alone, not to be peevish or fretful, to walk barefoot, to lie hard at nights, to wear the same clothes winter and summer, and to fear nothing from their equals. At the age of seven years they were taken from their parents, and delivered over to the classes for a public education. Their discipline there was little else than an apprenticeship to hardship, self-denial, and obedience. In these classes, one of the boys, more advanced and experienced than the rest, presided as captain, to govern and chastise the refractory. Their very sports and exercises were regulated according to the exactest discipline, and made up of labour and fatigue. They went barefoot, with their heads shaved, and fought with one another naked. While they were at table it was usual for the masters to instruct the boys, by asking them questions concerning the nature of moral actions, or the different merits of the most noted men of the time. The boys were obliged to give a quick and ready answer, which was to be accompanied with their reasons in the concise manner, for a Spartan's language was as sparing as his money was ponderous and bulky. All ostentatious learning was banished from this simple commonwealth; their only study was to obey, their only pride was to suffer hardship. Every art was practised to harden them against adventitious danger. There was yearly a custom of whipping them at the altar of Diana, and the boy that bore this punishment with the greatest fortitude came off victorious. This was inflicted publicly before the eyes of their parents, and in the presence of the whole city; and many were known to expire under the severity of the discipline without uttering a single groan. Even their own fathers, when they saw them covered with blood and wounds, and ready to expire, exhorted them to persevere to the end with constancy and resolution. Plutarch, who says that he has seen several children expire under this cruel treatment, tells us of one, who, having stolen a fox, and hid it under his coat, chose rather to let it tear out his very bowels than discover the theft.

Every institution seemed calculated to harden the body, and sharpen the mind for war. In order to prepare them for stratagems and sudden incursions, the boys were permitted to steal from each other; but if they were caught in the fact, they were punished for their want of dexterity. Such a permission, therefore, was little better than a prohibition of theft, since the punishment followed, as at present, in case of detection. In fact, by this institution, negligence in the possessor was made justly liable to the loss of his possessions, a consideration which has not been sufficiently attended to by subsequent legislators.

At twelve years old the boys were removed into another class, of a more advanced kind. There, in order to crush the seeds of vice, which at that time began to appear, their labour and discipline were increased with their age. There they had their instructor from among the men called *Pædonomi*, and under him the *Iræns*, young men selected from their own body, to exercise a more constant and immediate command over them. They had now their skirmishes between parties, and their mock fights between larger bodies. In these they often fought with hands, feet, teeth, and nails, with such obstinacy, that it was common to see them lose their eyes, and often their lives, before the fray was determined. Such was the constant discipline of their minority, which lasted till the age of thirty, before which they were not permitted to marry, to go into the troops, or to bear any office in the state.

With regard to the virgins, their discipline was equally strict with the former. They were inured to a constant course of labour and industry until they were twenty years old, before which time they were not allowed to be marriageable. They also had their peculiar exercises. They ran, wrestled, pitched the bar, and performed all those feats naked before the whole body of the citizens. Yet this was thought no way indecent, as it was supposed that the frequent view of the person would rather check than excite every looser appetite. An education so manlike did not fail to produce in the Spartan women corresponding sentiments. They were bold, frugal, and patriotic, filled with a sense of honour, and a love of military glory. Some foreign women, in conversation with the wife of Leonidas, saying, that the Spartan women alone

knew how to govern the men, she boldly replied, "The Spartan women alone bring forth men." A mother was known to give her son, who was going to battle, his shield, with this remarkable advice, "Return with it, or return upon it." Implying, that rather than throw it from him in flight, he should be borne upon it dead to his friends in Sparta. Another hearing that her son was killed fighting for his country, she answered without any emotion, "It was for that I brought him into the world." After the battle of Leuctra, the parents of those who died in the action went to the temples to thank the gods that their sons had done their duty, while those whose children survived that dreadful day seemed inconsolable.

Yet it must not be concealed, that in a city where the women were inspired with such a passion for military glory, they were not equally remarkable for conjugal fidelity. In fact, there was no law against adultery, and an exchange of husbands was often actually practised among them. This was always indeed by the mutual consent of parties, which removed the tedious ceremonies of a divorce. One reason assigned for allowing this mutual liberty was not so much to gratify licentious desire, as to improve the breed of citizens, by matching such as were possessed of mutual inclination. In fact, in many of the laws of Lycurgus he seems to admit, that private vices may become public benefits, and this among the number.

Besides these constitutional resolutions, there were many other general maxims laid down, that obtained the force of laws among them. They were forbid to exercise any mechanic art. The chief occupation of the Spartans was bodily exercises or hunting. The Helotes, who had lost their liberty some centuries before, and who had been condemned to perpetual slavery, tilled their lands for them, receiving for their labour a bare subsistence. The citizens, thus possessed of competence and leisure, were mostly in company in their large common halls, where they met and conversed together. They passed little of their time alone, being accustomed to live like bees, always together, always attentive to their chiefs and leaders. The love of their country and the public good was their predominant passion, and all self-interest was lost in the general wish for the welfare of the community. Pedarctus

having missed the honour of being chosen one of the three hundred who had a certain rank in the city, converted his disappointment into joy, *"That there were three hundred better men in Sparta than he."*

Among the maxims of this legislator, it was forbidden them to make frequent war upon the same enemies. By this inhibition they were restrained from lasting and immoderate resentment, they were in no danger of teaching their discipline to those they made war upon, and all their alliances were thus more frequently renewed.

Whenever they had broken and routed their enemies, they never pursued them farther than was necessary to make themselves sure of the victory. They thought it sufficiently glorious to overcome, and were ashamed of destroying an enemy that yielded or fled. Nor was this without answering some good purposes: for the enemy, conscious that all who resisted were put to the sword, often fled, as they were convinced that such a conduct was the surest means of obtaining safety. Thus valour and generosity seemed the ruling motives of this new institution: arms were their only exercise and employment, and their life was much less austere in the camp than the city. The Spartans were the only people in the world to whom the time of war was a time of ease and refreshment; because then the severity of their manners was relaxed, and the men were indulged in greater liberties. With them the first and most inviolable law of war was, never to turn their backs on the enemy, however disproportioned in forces, nor to deliver up their arms until they resigned them with life. When the poet Archilocus came to Sparta, he was obliged to quit the city, for having asserted, in one of his poems, that it was better for a man to lose his arms than his life. Thus resolved upon conquest or death, they went calmly forward with all the confidence of success, sure of meeting a glorious victory, or, what they valued equally, a noble death.

Thus depending upon their valour alone for safety, their legislator forbid walling the city. It was his maxim, that a wall of men was preferable to a wall of brick, and that confined valour was scarcely preferable to cowardice. Indeed a city, in which were thirty thousand fighting men, stood in little need of walls to protect it; and we have scarce an instance

in history of their suffering themselves to be driven to their last retreats. War and its honours was their employment and ambition; their Helotes, or slaves, tilled their grounds, and did all their servile drudgery. These unhappy men were, in a manner, bound to the soil; it was not lawful to sell them to strangers, or to make them free. If at any time their increase became inconvenient, or created a suspicion in their fierce masters, there was a *cryptia*, or *secret act*, by which they were permitted to destroy them. From this barbarous severity, however, Lycurgus is acquitted by Plutarch; but it is plain, that his institutions were not sufficient to restrain the people from such baseness and cruelty. It was by this act allowed for several companies of young men to go out of the city by day, and, concealing themselves in the thickets, to rush out in the night upon their slaves, and kill all they could find in their way. Thucydides relates, that two thousand of these slaves disappeared at once, without ever after being heard of. It is truly amazing how a people like the Spartans, renowned for lenity to the conquered, for submission to their superiors, for reverence to old age, and friendship to each other, should yet be so very brutal to those beneath them: to men that ought to be considered, in every respect, as their equals, as their countrymen, and only degraded by an unjust usurpation. Yet nothing is more certain than their cruel treatment: they were not only condemned to the most servile occupations, but often destroyed without reason. They were frequently made drunk, and exposed before the children, in order to deter them from so brutal a species of debauchery.

Such was the general purport of the institutions of Lycurgus, which, from their tendency, gained the esteem and admiration of all the surrounding nations. The Greeks were ever apt to be dazzled rather with splendid than useful virtues, and praised the laws of Lycurgus, which at best were calculated rather to make men warlike than happy, and to substitute insensibility instead of enjoyment. If considered in a political light, the city of Lacedæmon was but a military garrison, supported by the labour of a numerous peasantry, that were slaves. The laws by which they were governed are not much more rigorous than many of the military institutions of modern princes; the same labour, the same discipline, the same poverty, and the

same subordination, is found in many of the garrisoned towns of Europe, that prevailed for so many centuries in Sparta. The only difference, that appears to me between a soldier of Lacedæmon and a soldier in garrison at Gravelin, is, that the one was permitted to marry at thirty, and the other is obliged to continue single all his life; the one lives in the midst of a civilized country, which he is supposed to protect; the other lived in the midst of a number of civilized states, which he had no inclination to offend. War is equally the trade of both; and a campaign is frequently a relaxation from the more rigorous confinement of garrison duty.

When Lycurgus had thus completed his military institution, and when the form of government he had established seemed strong and vigorous enough to support itself, his next care was to give it all the permanence in his power. He therefore signified to the people, that something still remained for the completion of his plan; and that he was under a necessity of going to consult the oracle of Delphos, for its advice. In the mean time, he persuaded them to take an oath for the strict observance of all his laws till his return; and then departed, with a full resolution of never seeing Sparta more. When he was arrived at Delphos, he consulted the oracle, to know whether the laws he had made were sufficient to render the Lacedæmonians happy; and being answered, that nothing was wanting to their perfection, he sent this answer to Sparta, and then voluntarily starved himself to death. Others say, that he died in Crete, ordering his body to be burnt, and his ashes to be thrown into the sea. The death of this great lawgiver gave a sanction and authority to his laws, which his life was unable to confer. The Spartans regarded his end as the most glorious of all his actions, and a noble finishing of all his former services: they built a temple, and paid divine honours to him after his death; they considered themselves as bound by every tie of gratitude and religion to a strict observance of all his institutions; and the long continuance of the Spartan government is a proof of their persevering resolution.

The city of Lacedæmon, thus instituted, seemed only desirous of an opportunity of displaying the superiority of their power among the neighbouring states, their rivals. The war between them and the Messenians soon taught them to know

the advantages of their military institution; but as I am hastening to more important events, I will touch upon this as concisely as I can. There was a temple of Diana, common to the Messenians and Lacedæmonians, standing upon the borders of either kingdom. It was there that the Messenians were accused of attempting the chastity of some Spartan virgins, and of killing Teleclus, one of the Spartan kings, who interposed in their defence. The Messenians, on the other hand, denied the charge: and averred, that those supposed virgins were young men thus dressed up with daggers under their clothes, and placed there by Teleclus, with an intent to surprise them. To the mutual resentment occasioned by this, another cause of animosity was soon after added: Polychares, a Messenian, who had won the prize in the Olympic games, let out some cows to pasture to Euphænus a Lacedæmonian, who was to pay himself for their keeping with a share of the increase. Euphænus sold the cows, and pretended they were stolen from him. Polychares sent his son to demand the money; but the Lacedæmonian, to aggravate the crime, killed the young man, and persuaded his countrymen to give no redress. Polychares, therefore, undertook to do himself justice, and killed all the Lacedæmonians that came in his way. Expostulations passed between both kingdoms, till at last the affair came to a general war, which was carried on for many years with doubtful success. In this situation the Messenians sent to consult the oracle of Delphos, who required the sacrifice of a virgin of the family of Æpytus. Upon casting lots among the descendants of this prince, the chance fell upon the daughter of Lysiscus; but being thought to be supposititious, Aristodemus offered his daughter, whom all allowed to be his own. Her lover, however, attempted to avert the blow, by asserting, that she was with child by him; but her father was so enraged, that he ripped up her belly with his own hand, publicly to vindicate her innocence. The enthusiasm which this sacrifice produced, served for a while to give the Messenians the advantage; but being at last overthrown and besieged in the city of Ithoe, Aristodemus, finding all things desperate, slew himself upon his daughter's grave. With him fell the kingdom of Messenia; not without a most obstinate resistance, and many a defeat of

the Spartan army, which they held thus engaged for above twenty years. Nor must we omit one memorable transaction of the Lacedæmonians during this war: having drained their city of all its male inhabitants, and obliged themselves by oath not to return until their designs were accomplished; their women in the mean time remonstrated, that, from their long absence, all posterity would be at an end. To remedy this inconvenience, they detached fifty of their most promising young men from the army to go to Sparta; and to lie promiscuously with all the young women they fancied. The offspring of these virgins were from them called Partheniæ, who, finding themselves contemned and slighted by the Spartans on their return, as a spurious brood, joined some years after in an insurrection with the Helotas; but were soon suppressed. Being expelled the state, they went under the conduct of their captain, Philantus, and settled at Tarentum in Italy.

After a rigorous subjection of thirty-nine years, the Messenians once more made a vigorous struggle for freedom, being headed by Aristomenes, a young man of great courage and capacity. The success of the first A.M. 3319. engagement was doubtful, and the Lacedæmonians being advised by the oracle to send for a general from among the Athenians, this politic state sent them Tyrtaeus, a poet and schoolmaster, whose chief business was to harangue and repeat his own verses. The Spartans were little pleased with their new leader, but their veneration for the oracle kept them obedient to his commands. Their success, however, did not seem to improve with their duty: they suffered a defeat from Aristomenes, who, losing his shield in the pursuit, their total overthrow was prevented. A second and a third defeat followed soon after; so that the Lacedæmonians, quite dispirited, had thoughts of concluding a peace upon any terms. But Tyrtaeus so inflamed them by his orations and songs in praise of military glory, that they resolved upon another battle, in which they were victorious; and soon after Aristomenes was taken prisoner in a skirmish with fifty of his followers.

The adventures of this hero deserve our notice. Being carried prisoner to Sparta, he was thrown into a deep dungeon, which had been used for the execution of malefactors, and his fifty soldiers with him. They were all killed by the fall,

except Aristomenes, who, finding a wild beast at the bottom preying upon a carcass, securing the animal's mouth, he continued to hold by the tail, until the beast made directly to its hole. There finding the issue too narrow, he was obliged to let go his hold: but following the track with his eye, he perceived a glimmering from above, and at length wrought his way out. After this extraordinary escape, he repaired immediately to his troops, and at their head made a successful sally, by night, against the Corinthian forces. Nevertheless, he was once more, shortly after, taken by some Cretans; but his keepers being made drunk, he stabbed them with their own daggers, and returned to his forces. But his single valour was not sufficient to avert the ruin of his country; although, with his own single prowess, he had thrice earned the Hecatomphonia, a sacrifice due to those who had killed one hundred of the enemy hand to hand in battle, yet, the body of his forces being small, and fatigued with continual duty, the city of Eira, which he defended, was taken, and
A.M.3340. the Messenians were obliged to take refuge with Anaxilas, a prince of Sicily. As for Tyrtæus, the Lacedæmonians made him free of their city, which was the highest honour they had in their power to bestow. By the accession of the Messenian country to the territory of Sparta, this state became one of the most powerful of all Greece; and was second only to Athens, which state it always considered with an eye of jealousy.

CHAPTER III.

OF THE GOVERNMENT OF ATHENS, THE LAWS OF SOLON, AND THE HISTORY OF THE REPUBLIC FROM THE TIME OF SOLON TO THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE PERSIAN WAR.

WE now return to Athens. Codrus, the last king of this state, having devoted himself for the good of his country, a magistrate, under the title of Archon, was appointed to succeed him. The first who bore this office was Medon, the son of the late king, who, being opposed by his brother Nileus, was preferred by the oracle, and accordingly invested with his new dignity. This magistracy was at first for life; it was soon after reduced to a period of ten years, and at last became annual; and in this state it continued for near three hundred years. During this inactive government, little offers to adorn the page of history: the spirit of extensive dominion had not as yet entered into Greece; and the citizens were too much employed in their private intrigues to attend to foreign concerns. Athens, therefore, continued a long time incapable of enlarging her power; content with safety amidst the contending interests of aspiring potentates and factious citizens.

A desire of being governed by written laws at last made way for a new change in government. For more than a century they had seen the good effects of A.M. 3380. laws in the regulation of the Spartan commonwealth; and, as they were a more enlightened people, they expected greater advantages from a new institution. In the choice, therefore, of a legislator, they pitched upon Draco, a man of acknowledged wisdom and unshaken integrity, but rigid, even beyond human sufferance. It does not appear that any state of Greece was possessed of written laws before his time. However, he was

not afraid to enact the most severe laws, which laid the same penalties on the most atrocious and the most trifling offences. These laws punished all crimes with death, and are said, not to be written with ink, but with blood. This legislator being asked why he punished most offences with death? replied, "Small crimes deserve death, and I have no higher for the greatest." But the excessive severity of his laws prevented them from being justly administered. Sentiments of humanity in the judges, compassion for the accused when his fault was not equal to his suffering, the unwillingness of witnesses to exact too cruel an atonement, their fears also of the resentment of the people; all these conspired to render the laws obsolete before they could well be put in execution. Thus the new laws counteracted their own purposes, and their excessive rigour paved the way for the most dangerous impunity.

It was in this distressful state of the commonwealth that Solon was applied to for his advice and assistance, as the wisest and the justest man of all Athens. His great learning had acquired him the reputation of being the first of the seven wise men of Greece, and his known humanity procured him the love and veneration of every rank among his fellow-citizens. Solon was a native of Salamis, an island dependent on Athens, but which had revolted, to put itself under the power of the Megareans. In attempting to recover this island, the Athenians had spent much blood and treasure, until at last, wearied out with such ill success, a law was made, rendering it capital ever to advise the recovery of their lost possession. Solon, however, undertook to persuade them to another trial; and, feigning himself mad, ran about the streets, using the most violent gestures and language; but the purport of all was to upbraid the Athenians for their remissness and effeminacy, in giving up their conquests in despair. In short, he acted his part so well, by the oddity of his manner, and the strength of his reasoning, that the people resolved upon another expedition against Salamis; and, by a stratagem of his contrivance, in which he introduced several young men upon the island in women's clothes, the place was surprised, and added to the dominion of Athens.

But this was not the only occasion on which he exhibited superior address and wisdom. At a time when Greece had

carried the arts of eloquence, poetry, and government, higher than they had yet been seen among mankind, Solon was considered as one of the foremost in each perfection. The sages of Greece, whose fame is still undiminished, acknowledged his merit, and adopted him as their associate. The correspondence between these wise men was at once instructive, friendly, and sincere. They were seven in number, namely, Thales the Milesian, Solon of Athens, Chilo of Lacedæmon, Pittacus of Mitylene, Periander of Corinth, Bias and Cleobulus, whose birth places are not ascertained. Those sages often visited each other, and their conversations generally turned upon the methods of instituting the best form of government, or the arts of private happiness. One day, when Solon went to Miletos, to see Thales, the first thing he said, was to express his surprise that Thales had never desired to marry, or have children. Thales made him no answer then; but, a few days after, he contrived that a stranger, supposed to arrive from Athens, should join their company. Solon, hearing from whence the stranger came, was inquisitive after the news of his own city; but was only informed that a young man had died there, for whom the whole place was in the greatest affliction, as he was reputed the most promising youth in all Athens. "Alas!" cried Solon, "how much is the poor father of the youth to be pitied!—pray, what is his name?" "I heard the name," replied the stranger (who was instructed for the occasion), "but I have forgot it: I only remember, that all people talked much of his wisdom and justice." Every answer afforded new matter of trouble and terror to the inquisitive father, and he had just strength enough to ask, if the youth was the son of Solon? "The very same," replied the stranger; at which words Solon showed all the marks of the most inconsolable distress. This was the opportunity which Thales wanted, who took him by the hand, and said to him, with a smile, "Comfort yourself, my friend; all that has been told you is a mere fiction; but may serve as a very proper answer to your question, why I never thought proper to marry."

One day, at the court of Periander of Corinth, a question was proposed, which was the most perfect popular government? "That," said Bias, "where the laws have no superior." "That," said Thales, "where the inhabitants are neither too rich

nor too poor." "That," said Anacharsis, the Scythian, "where virtue is honoured and vice detected." "That," said Pittacus, "where dignities are always conferred upon the virtuous, and never upon the base." "That," said Cleobulus, "where the citizens fear blame more than punishment." "That," said Chilo, "where the laws are more regarded than the orators." But Solon's opinion seems to have the greatest weight, who said, "where an injury done to the meanest subject is an insult upon the whole constitution."

Upon a certain occasion, when Solon was conversing with Anacharsis, the Scythian philosopher, about his intended reformations in the state; "Alas!" cried the Scythian, "all your laws will be found to resemble spiders' webs; the weak and small flies will be caught and entangled, but the great and powerful will always have strength enough to break through."

Solon's interview with Croesus, king of Lydia, is still more celebrated. This monarch, who was reputed the richest of all Asia Minor, was willing to make an ostentatious display of his wealth before the Greek philosopher; and, after showing him immense heaps of treasure, and the greatest variety of other ornaments, he demanded whether he did not think the possessor the most happy of all mankind. "No," replied Solon: "I know one man more happy; a poor peasant of Greece, who, neither in affluence nor poverty, has but few wants, and has learned to supply them with his labour." This answer was by no means agreeable to the vain monarch, who, by his question, only hoped for a reply that would tend to flatter his pride. Willing, therefore, to extort one still more favourable, he asked, whether at least he did not think him happy? "Alas!" cried Solon, "what man can be pronounced happy before he dies?" The integrity and the wisdom of Solon's replies appeared in the event. The kingdom of Lydia was invaded by Cyrus, the empire destroyed, and Croesus himself was taken prisoner. When he was led out to execution, according to the barbarous manners of the times, he then, too late, recollected the maxims of Solon, and could not help crying out, when on the scaffold, upon Solon's name. Cyrus, hearing him repeat the name with great earnestness, was desirous of knowing the reason; and being informed by Croesus of that phi-

losopher's remarkable observation, he began to fear for himself; pardoned Croesus, and took him for the future into confidence and friendship. Thus Solon had the merit of saving one king's life, and of reforming another.

Such was the man to whom the Athenians applied for assistance in reforming the severity of their government, and instituting a just body of laws. Athens was at that time divided into as many factions as there were different sorts of inhabitants in Attica. Those that lived upon the mountains were fond of exact equality; those that lived in the low country were for the dominion of a few; and those that dwelt on the sea coasts, and were consequently addicted to commerce, were for keeping those parties so exactly balanced, as to permit neither to prevail. But besides these, there was a fourth party, and that by much the most numerous, consisting wholly of the poor, who were grievously harrassed and oppressed by the rich, and loaded with debts which they were not able to discharge. This unhappy party, which, when they know their own strength, must ever prevail, were now determined to throw off the yoke of their oppressors, and to choose themselves a chief, who should make a reformation in government, by making a new division of lands.

As Solon had never sided with either, he was regarded as the refuge of all; the rich liking him because he was rich, and the poor because he was honest. Though he was at first unwilling to undertake so dangerous an employment, he at last suffered himself to be chosen archon, and to be constituted supreme legislator with the unanimous consent of all. This was a situation in which nothing could be added to his power, yet many of the citizens advised him to make himself king, but he had too much wisdom to seek after a name which would render him obnoxious to many of his fellow citizens, while he was in fact possessed of more than regal authority. "A tyranny," he would say, "resembles a fair garden; it is a beautiful spot while we are within, but it wants a way to get out at."

Rejecting, therefore, the wish of royalty, he resolved upon settling a form of government, that should be founded on the basis of just and reasonable liberty. Not venturing to meddle with certain disorders, which he looked upon as incurable, he

undertook to bring about no other alterations but such as were apparently reasonable to the meanest capacity. In short, it was his aim to give the Athenians, not the best of possible constitutions, but the very best they were capable of receiving. His first attempt was, therefore, in favour of the poor, whose debts he abolished at once by an express law of insolvency. But to do this with the least injury he could to the creditor, he raised the value of money in a moderate proportion, by which he nominally increased their riches. But his management on this occasion had like to have had very dangerous consequences; for some of his friends, to whom the scheme had been previously communicated, took up vast sums of money while it was low, in order to be possessed of the difference when it became of greater value. Solon himself was suspected of having a hand in this fraud; but, to wipe off all suspicion, he remitted his debtors five; or, as others say, fifteen talents; and thus regained the confidence of the people.

His next step was to repeal all the laws enacted by Draco, except those against murder. He then proceeded to the regulation of offices, employments, and magistracies, all which he left in the hands of the rich. He distributed the rich citizens into three classes, ranging them according to their incomes. Those that were found to have five hundred measures yearly, as well in corn as liquids, were placed in the first rank; those that had three hundred were placed in the second; and those that had but two hundred made up the third. All the rest of the citizens, whose income fell short of two hundred measures, were comprised in a fourth and last class, and were considered as unqualified for any employment whatever. But to compensate for this exclusion, he gave every private citizen a privilege of voting in the great assembly of the whole body of the state. This, indeed, at first, might appear a concession of small consequence; but it was soon found to contain very solid advantages; for, by the laws of Athens, it was permitted, after the determination of the magistrates, to appeal to the general assembly of the people, and thus, in time, all causes of weight and moment came before them.

In some measure to counteract the influence of a popular

assembly, he gave greater weight to the court of Areopagus, and also instituted another council, consisting of four hundred. The Areopagus, so called from the place where the court was held, had been established some centuries before, but Solon restored and augmented its authority. To this court was committed the care of causing the laws to be observed and put in execution. Before his time the citizens of the greatest probity and justice were made judges of that tribunal. Solon was the first who thought it convenient, that none should be honoured with that dignity but such as had passed through the office of archon. Nothing was so august as this court, and its reputation for judgment and integrity became so very great, that the Romans sometimes referred causes, which were too intricate for their own decision, to the determination of this tribunal. Nothing was regarded here but truth: that no external objects might pervert justice, the tribunal was held in darkness, and the advocates were denied all attempts to work upon the passions of the judges. Superior to this, Solon instituted the great council of four hundred, who were to judge upon appeals from the Areopagus, and maturely to examine every question before it came to be debated in a general assembly of the people.

Such was the reformation in the general institutions for the good of the state; his particular laws for dispensing justice were more numerous. In the first place, all persons, who in public dissensions and differences espoused neither party, but continued to act with a blameable neutrality, were declared infamous, condemned to perpetual punishment, and to have all their estates confiscated. Nothing could more induce mankind to a spirit of patriotism than this celebrated law. A mind, thus obliged to take part in public concerns, learns, from habit, to make those concerns its principal care, and self-interest quickly sinks before them. By this method of accustoming the minds of the people to look upon that man as an enemy, that should appear indifferent and unconcerned in the misfortunes of the public, he provided the state with a quick and general resource in every dangerous emergency.

He next permitted every particular person to espouse the quarrel of any one that was injured or insulted. By this means every person in the state became the enemy of him who did

wrong, and the turbulent were thus overpowered by the number of their opponents.

He abolished the custom of giving portions in marriage with young women, unless they were only daughters. The bride was to carry no other fortune to her husband than three suits of clothes, and some household goods of little value. It was his aim to prevent making matrimony a traffic : he considered it as an honourable connection, calculated for the mutual happiness of both parties, and the general advantage of the state.

Before this lawgiver's time the Athenians were not allowed to make their wills ; but the wealth of the deceased naturally, and of course, devolved upon his children. Solon allowed every one that was childless to dispose of his whole estate as he thought fit ; preferring, by that means, friendship to kindred, and choice to necessity and constraint. From this institution the bond between the parents and children became more solid and firm : it confirmed the just authority of the one, and increased the necessary dependence of the other.

He made a regulation to lessen the rewards to the victors of the Olympic and Isthmian games. He considered it as unjust, that a set of idle people, generally useless, often dangerous to the state, should receive those rewards which should go to the deserving. He wished to see those emoluments go to the widows and families of such as fell in the service of their country, and to make the stipend of the state honourable, by being conferred only on the brave.

To encourage industry, the Areopagus was charged with the care of examining into every man's method of living, and of chastising all who led an idle life. The unemployed were considered as a set of dangerous and turbulent spirits, eager after innovation, and hoping to mend their fortunes from the plunder of the state. To discountenance all idleness, therefore, a son was not obliged to support his father, in old age or necessity, if the latter had neglected to give him some trade or occupation. All illegitimate children were also exempted from the same duty, as they owed little to their parents, except an indelible reproach.

It was forbidden to revile any one in public : the magistrates, who were not eligible till thirty, were to be particularly circumspect in their behaviour, and it was even death for an

archon to be taken drunk. It is observable, that he made no law against parricide, as supposing it a crime that could never exist in any community.

With regard to women, he permitted any man to kill an adulterer, if he was taken in the fact. He allowed of public brothels, but prohibited mercenary prostitutes from keeping company with modest women; and, as a badge of distinction, to wear flowered garments. The men also, who were notorious for frequenting their company, were not allowed to speak in public; and he who forced a woman incurred a very heavy fine.

These were the chief institutions of this celebrated law-giver; and, although neither so striking nor yet so well authorised as those of Lycurgus, they did not fail to operate for several succeeding ages, and seemed to gather strength by observance. As these laws became the basis of Roman jurisprudence, which has since been received almost throughout Europe, under the name of the civil law, it may be affirmed, that many of Solon's institutes are yet in force. After he had framed these institutions, his next care was to give them such notoriety, that none could plead ignorance. To this end transcripts of them were publicly hung up in the city for every one to peruse, while a set of magistrates, named Thesmothetæ, were appointed to revise them carefully, and distinctly repeat them once a year. Then, in order to perpetuate his statutes, he engaged the people, by a public oath, to observe them religiously, at least for the term of an hundred years: and thus having completed the task assigned him, he withdrew from the city, to avoid the importunity of some, and the captious petulance of others. For, as he well knew, it was hard, if not impossible, to please all.

Solon, being thus employed on his travels in visiting Egypt, Lydia, and several other countries, left Athens to become habituated to his new institutions, and to try by experience the wisdom of their formation. But it was not easy for a city, long torn by civil dissensions, to yield implicit obedience to any laws, how wisely so ever framed; their former animosities began to revive, when that authority was removed, which alone could hold them in subjection. The factions of the state were headed by three different leaders, who inflamed the ani-

mosity of the people against each other, hoping, by the subversion of all order, to indulge their own private hopes of preferment. A person named Lycurgus was, at the head of the people that inhabited the low country; Pisistratus declared for those who lived in the mountains; and Megacles was the leader of the inhabitants upon the sea coast.

Pisistratus was of these the most powerful. He was a well-bred man, of a gentle and insinuating behaviour, ready to succour and assist the poor, whose cause he pretended to espouse. He was wise and moderate to his enemies, a most artful and accomplished dissembler, and was every way virtuous, except in his inordinate ambition. His ambition gave him the appearance of possessing qualities which he really wanted: he seemed the most zealous champion for equality among the citizens, while he was actually aiming at the entire subversion of freedom; and he declared loudly against all innovations, while he was actually meditating a change. The giddy multitude, caught by these appearances, were zealous in seconding his views, and, without examining his motives, were driving headlong to tyranny and destruction.

It was just at the eve of success, and upon the point of being indulged in his utmost ambition, that Pisistratus had the mortification of seeing Solon return, after an absence of ten years, apprized of his designs and willing to subvert his schemes. Sensible, therefore, of his danger, and conscious of the penetration of this great lawgiver, the aspiring demagogue used all his artifice to conceal his real designs; and, while he flattered him in public, used every endeavour to bring over the people to second his interests. Solon at first endeavoured to oppose art to his cunning, and to foil him at his own weapons. He praised him in his turn, and was heard to declare, what might have been true, that, excepting the immoderate ambition of Pisistratus, he knew no man of greater, or more exalted virtues. Still, however, he set himself to counteract his projects, and to defeat his designs, before they were ripe for execution.

But in a vicious commonwealth no assiduity can warn, no wisdom protect. Pisistratus still urged his schemes with unabating ardour, and every day made new proselytes by his professions and his liberalities. At length, finding his schemes

ripe for open action, he gave himself several wounds, and in that condition, with his body all bloody, he caused himself to be carried in his chariot to the market place, where, by his complaints and eloquence, he so inflamed the populace, that they considered him as the victim of their cause, and as suffering such cruel treatment in their defence. An assembly of the people was, therefore, immediately convened, from whom he demanded a guard of fifty persons for his future security. It was in vain that Solon used all his authority and eloquence to oppose so dangerous a request. He considered his sufferings as merely counterfeited. He compared him to Ulysses in Homer, who cut himself with similar designs; but he alleged that he did not act the part right, for the design of Ulysses was to deceive his enemies, but that of Pisistratus was levelled against his friends and supporters. He upbraided the people with their stupidity, telling them, that for his own part he had sense enough to see through this design, but they only had strength enough to oppose it. His exhortations, however, were vain; the party of Pisistratus prevailed, and a guard of fifty men was appointed to attend him. This was all that he aimed at, for now, having the protection of so many creatures of his own, nothing remained but insensibly to increase their number. Thus every day his hirelings were seen to augment, while the silent fears of the citizens increased in equal proportions. But it was now too late, for having raised the number so as to put him beyond the danger of a repulse, he at length seized upon the citadel, while none was left who had courage or conduct to oppose him.

In this general consternation, which was the result of folly on the one hand, and treachery on the other, the whole city was one scene of tumult and disorder, some flying, others inwardly complaining, others preparing for slavery with patient submission. Solon was the only man, who, without fear or shrinking, deplored the folly of the times, and reproached the Athenians with their cowardice and treachery. "You might," said he, "with ease have crushed the tyrant in the bud; but nothing now remains but to pluck him up by the roots." As for himself, he had at least the satisfaction of having discharged his duty to his country and the laws; as for the rest, he had nothing to fear: and now, upon the destruction of his country,

his only confidence was in his great age, which gave him hopes of not being long survivor. In fact, he did not survive the liberty of his country above two years : he died at Cyprus, in the eightieth year of his age, lamented and admired by every state of Greece. Besides his skill in legislation, Solon was remarkable for several other shining qualifications. He understood eloquence in so high a degree, that from him Cicero dates the origin of eloquence in Athens. He was successful also in poetry ; and Plato asserts, that it was only for want of due application that he did not come to dispute the prize with Homer himself.

The death of Solon only served to involve Athens in new troubles and commotions. Lycurgus and Megacles, the leaders of the two opposite factions, uniting, drove Pisistratus out of the city ; but he was soon after recalled by Megacles, who gave him his daughter in marriage. New disturbances arose : Pisistratus was twice deposed, and twice found means to reinstate himself, for he had art to acquire power, and moderation to maintain it. The mildness of his government, and his implicit submission to the laws, made the people forget the means by which he acquired his power : and, caught by his lenity, they overlooked his usurpation. His gardens and pleasure grounds were free to all the citizens ; and he is said to be the first who opened a public library at Athens. Cicero is of opinion, that Pisistratus first made the Athenians acquainted with the books of Homer, that he disposed them in the order in which they now remain, and first caused them to be read at the feasts called Panathanea, which were in honour of Minerva, and were at first called Athenea ; and when afterwards revived and amplified by Theseus, who had collected the people of Attica into one city, were called "Panathanea, the sacrifice of all the Athenians." His justice was not less remarkable than his politeness. Being accused of murder, though it was in the time of his tyranny, he disdained to take the advantage of his authority, but went in person to plead his cause before the Areopagus, where his accuser would not venture to appear. In short, he was master of many excellent qualities, and perverted them no farther than as they stood in competition with empire. Nothing could be objected to him but his having greater power than the laws, and by not exerting that

power, he almost reconciled the citizens to royalty. Upon these accounts he was deservedly opposed to usurpers of fewer virtues; and there seemed such a resemblance between him and a more successful invader of his country's freedom, that Julius Cæsar was called the Pisistratus of Rome.

Pisistratus, dying in tranquillity, transmitted the sovereign power to his sons, Hippias and Hipparchus, who seemed to inherit all their father's virtues. A passion for learning, and its professors, had for some time prevailed in Athens; and this city, which had already far out-gone all its contemporaries in all the arts of refinement, seemed to submit tamely to kings, who made learning their pride and their profession. Anacreon, Simonides, and others, were invited to their courts, and richly rewarded. Schools were instituted for the improvement of youth in the learned professions, and Mercuries were set up in all the highways, with moral sentences written upon them, for the instruction of the lowest vulgar. Their reign, however, lasted but eighteen years, and ended upon the following occasion.

Harmodius and Aristogiton, both citizens of Athens, had contracted a very strict friendship for each other, and resolved to revenge the injuries which should be committed against either with common resentment. Hipparchus, being naturally amorous, debauched the sister of Harmodius, and afterwards published her shame as she was about to walk in one of the sacred processions, alleging, that she was not in a condition to assist at the ceremony. Such a complicated indignity naturally excited the resentment of the two friends, who formed a fixed resolution of destroying the tyrants, or falling in the attempt. Willing, however, to wait the most favourable opportunity, they deferred their purpose to the feast of the Panathænea, in which the ceremony required that all the citizens should attend in armour. For their greater security, they admitted only a small number of their friends into the secret of their design, conceiving, that upon the first commotion they should not want for abettors. Thus resolved, the day being come, they went early into the market place, each armed with his dagger, and stedfast to his purpose. In the mean time, Hippias was seen issuing with his followers from the palace, to give orders without the city to the guards for the intended

ceremony! As the two friends continued to follow him at a little distance, they perceived one of these to whom they had communicated their design, talking very familiarly with him, which made them apprehend their plot was betrayed. Eager, therefore, to execute their design, they were preparing to strike the blow, but recollected that the real aggressor would thus go unpunished. They once more, therefore, returned into the city, willing to begin their vengeance upon the author of their indignities. They were not long in quest of Hipparchus, they met him upon their return, and rushing upon him, dispatched him with their daggers without delay, but were soon after themselves slain in the tumult. Hippias, hearing of what was done, to prevent farther disorders, got all those disarmed whom he in the least suspected of being privy to the design, and then meditated revenge.

Among the friends of the late assertors of freedom was one Leona, a courtesan, who, by the charms of her beauty, and her skill in playing on the harp, had captivated some of the conspirators, and was supposed to be deeply engaged in the design. As the tyrant, for such the late attempt had rendered him, was conscious that nothing was concealed from this woman, he ordered her to be put to the torture, in order to extort the names of her accomplices. But she bore all the cruelty of their torments with invincible constancy; and, lest she should in the agony of pain be induced to a confession, she bit off her own tongue and spit it in the tyrant's face. In this manner she died faithful to the cause of liberty, showing the world a remarkable example of constancy in her sex. The Athenians would not suffer the memory of so heroic an action to pass into oblivion. They erected a statue to her memory, in which a lioness was represented without a tongue.

In the mean time, Hippias set no bounds to his indignation. A rebellious people ever makes a suspicious tyrant. Numbers of citizens were put to death; and, to guard himself for the future against a like enterprize, he endeavoured to establish his power by foreign alliances. He gave his daughter in marriage to the son of the tyrant of Lampsachus, he cultivated a correspondence with Artaphanes, governor of Sardis, and endeavoured to gain the friendship of the Lacedæmonians, who were at that time the most powerful people of Greece.

But he was supplanted in those very alliances from which he hoped the greatest assistance. The family of the Alcmaeonidae, who from the beginning of the revolution had been banished from Athens, endeavoured to undermine his interests at Sparta, and they at length succeeded. Being possessed of great riches, and also very liberal in their distribution, among other public services, they obtained liberty to rebuild the temple at Delphos, which they fronted in a most magnificent manner with Parian marble. So noble a munificence was not without a proper acknowledgment of gratitude from the priestess of Apollo, who, willing to oblige them, made her oracle the echo of their desires. As there was nothing, therefore, which this family so ardently desired as the downfall of regal power in Athens, the priestess seconded their intentions; and, whenever the Spartans came to consult the oracle, no promise was ever made of the god's assistance, but upon condition that Athens should be set free. This order was so often repeated by the oracle, that the Spartans at last resolved to obey. Their first attempts were, however, unsuccessful; the troops they sent against the tyrant were repulsed with loss. A second effort succeeded. Athens was besieged, and the children of Hippias were made prisoners as they were secretly conveyed to a place of safety out of the city. To redeem these from slavery, the father was obliged to come to an accommodation, by which he consented to give up his pretensions to the sovereign power, and to depart out of the Athenian territories in the space of five days. Thus Athens was once more set free from its tyrants, and obtained its liberty the very same year that the kings were expelled from Rome. The family of Alcmaeon were chiefly instrumental, but the people seemed fonder of acknowledging their obligations to the two friends who struck the first blow. The names of Harmodius and Aristogiton were held in the highest respect in all succeeding ages, and scarce considered inferior even to the gods themselves. Their statues were erected in the market-place, an honour, which had never been rendered to any before; and, gazing upon these, the people caught a love for freedom, and a detestation for tyranny, which neither time nor terrors could ever after remove.

A.M. 3496.

CHAPTER IV.

A SHORT SURVEY OF THE STATE OF GREECE PREVIOUS TO THE PERSIAN WAR.

HITHERTO we have seen the states of Greece in constant fluctuation, different states rising, and others disappearing; one petty people opposed to another, and both swallowed up by a third. Every city emerging from the ancient form of government, which was originally imposed upon it, and by degrees acquiring greater freedom. We have seen the introduction of written laws, and the benefits they produced, by giving stability to government.

During these struggles for power among their neighbouring states, and for freedom at home, the moral sciences, the arts of eloquence, poetry, arms, were making a rapid progress among them, and those institutions which they originally borrowed from the Egyptians were every day receiving signal improvements. As Greece was now composed of several small republics, bordering upon each other, and differing in their laws, characters, and customs, this was a continual source of emulation; and every city was not only desirous of warlike superiority, but also of excelling in all the arts of peace and refinement. Hence they were always under arms, and continually exercised in war, while their philosophers and poets travelled from city to city, and, by their exhortations and songs, warmed them with a love of virtue, and with an ardour for military glory. These peaceful and military accomplishments raised them to their highest pitch of grandeur, and they now only wanted an enemy worthy of their arms to show the world their superiority. The Persian monarchy, the greatest at that time in the world, soon offered itself as their opponent, and the contest ended with its total subversion.

But as Greece was continually changing not only its go-

vernment, but its customs, as in one century it presented a very different picture from what it offered in the preceding, it will be necessary to take a second view of this confederacy of little republics, previous to their contests with Persia, as, by comparing their strength with that of their opponent, we shall find how much wisdom, discipline, and valour, are superior to numbers, wealth, and ostentation.

Foremost in this confederacy we may reckon the city of Athens, commanding the little state of Attica, their whole dominions scarce exceeding the largest of our English counties in circumference. But what was wanting in extent was made up by the citizens being inured to war, and impressed with the highest ideas of their own superiority. Their orators, their philosophers, and their poets, had already given lessons of politeness to mankind; and their generals, though engaged only in petty conflicts with their neighbours, had begun to practise new stratagems in war. There were three kinds of inhabitants in Athens, citizens, strangers, and servants. Their numbers usually amounted to twenty-one thousand citizens, ten thousand strangers, and from forty to threescore thousand servants.

A citizen could only be such by birth, or adoption. To be a natural denizen of Athens, it was necessary to be born of a father and mother both Athenians, and both free. The people could confer the freedom of the city upon strangers, and those, whom they had so adopted, enjoyed almost the same rights and privileges as the natural citizens. The quality of citizens of Athens was sometimes granted in honour and gratitude to those who merited well of the state, as to Hippocrates the physician; and even kings sometimes canvassed that title for themselves and their children. When the young men attained the age of twenty, they were enrolled upon the list of citizens, after having taken an oath, and in virtue of this they became members of the state.

Strangers or foreigners, who came to settle at Athens, for the sake of commerce, or of exercising any trade, had no share in government, nor votes in the assemblies of the people. They put themselves under the protection of some citizen, and upon that account were obliged to render him certain duties and services. They paid a yearly tribute to the

state of twelve drachmas, and in default of payment were made slaves, and exposed to sale. -d-

Of servants, there were some free, and others slaves, who had been taken in war, or bought of such as trafficked in them. The former were freemen, who, through indigence, were driven to receive wages; and, while they were in this state, they had no vote in the assembly. Slaves were absolutely the property of their masters, and, as such, were used as they thought proper. They were forbidden to wear clothes, or to cut their hair like their masters, and, which indeed is amazing, Solon excluded them from the pleasure or privilege of pederasty, as if that had been honourable. They were likewise debarred from anointing and perfuming themselves, and from worshipping certain deities: they were not allowed to be called by honourable names, and in most other respects were treated as inferior animals. Their masters stigmatized them, that is, branded them with letters in the forehead, and elsewhere: however, there was even an asylum for slaves; where the bones of Theseus had been interred; and that asylum subsisted for near two thousand years. When slaves were treated with too much rigour and inhumanity they might bring their masters to justice; who, if the fact were sufficiently proved, were obliged to sell them to another master. They could even ransom themselves against their master's consent, when they had laid up money enough for that purpose; for out of what they got by their labour, after having paid a certain proportion to their master, they kept the remainder for themselves, and made a stock of it at their own disposal. Private persons, when they were satisfied with their services, often gave them their liberty; and when the necessity of the times obliged the state to make their greatest levies, they were enrolled among the troops, and from thence were ever after free.

The revenues of this city, according to Aristophanes, amounted to two thousand talents, or about three hundred thousand pounds of our money. They were generally gathered from the taxes upon agriculture, the sale of woods, the produce of mines, the contributions paid them by their allies, a capitation levied upon the inhabitants of the country, as well natives as strangers, and from fines laid upon different

mindemeadors. The application of these revenues was in paying the troops, both by land and sea, building and fitting out fleets, keeping up and repairing public buildings, temples, walls, ports, and citadels. But in the decline of their republic, the greatest part was consumed in frivolous expenses, games, feasts, and shows, which cost immense sums, and were of no manner of utility to the state.

But the greatest glory of Athens was its being the school and abode of polite learning, arts, and sciences. The study of poetry, eloquence, philosophy, and mathematics, began there, and came almost to their utmost perfection. The young people were first sent to learn grammar under masters who taught them regularly, and upon the principles of their own language. Eloquence was studied with still greater attention, as in that popular government it opened the way to the highest employments. To the study of rhetoric was annexed that of philosophy, which comprised all the sciences; and in these three were many masters, very conversant, but, as is common, their vanity still greater than their pretensions.

All the subordinate states of Greece seemed to make Athens the object of their imitation: and though inferior to it upon the whole, yet each produced great scholars, and remarkable warriors in its turn. Sparta alone took example from no other state, but still rigorously attached to the institutions of its great lawgiver, Lycurgus, it disdained all the arts of peace, which, while they polished, served to enervate the mind; and, formed only for war, looked forward to campaigns and battles, as scenes of rest and tranquillity. All the laws of Sparta, and all the institutions of Lycurgus, seemed to have no other object than war; all other employments, arts, polite learning, sciences, trades, and even husbandry itself, were prohibited amongst them. The citizens of Lacedæmon were of two sorts: those who inhabited the city of Sparta, and who for that reason were called Spartans; and those who inhabited the country dependent thereon. In the times of Lycurgus the Spartans amounted to nine thousand men, the countrymen to thirty thousand. This number was rather diminished than increased in succeeding times; but it still composed a formidable body; that often gave laws to the rest of Greece. The Spartan soldiers, properly so called,

were considered, as the flower of the nation; and we may judge of their estimation by the anxiety the republic expressed, when three hundred of them were once taken prisoners by the Athenians.

But notwithstanding the great valour of the Spartan state, it was formed rather for a defensive than an offensive war. They were always careful to spare the troops of their country, and, as they had very little money, they were not in a capacity to send their armies upon distant expeditions.

The armies both of Sparta and Athens were composed of four sorts of troops; citizens, allies, mercenaries, and slaves. The greatest number of troops in the two republics were composed of allies, who were paid by the citizens who sent them. Those which received pay from their employers were styled mercenaries. The number of slaves attending on every army was very great, and the Helotes, in particular, were employed as light infantry.

The Greek infantry consisted of two kinds of soldiers; the one heavy armed, and carrying great shields, spears, and scymitars: the other light armed, carrying javelins, bows, and slings. These were commonly placed in the front of the battle, or upon the wings, to shoot their arrows, or sling their javelins and stones at the enemy, and then retire through the intervals behind the ranks, to dart out occasionally upon the retiring enemy.

The Athenians were pretty much strangers to cavalry, and the Lacedæmonians did not begin the use thereof till after the war with Messene. They raised their horse principally in a small city not far from Lacedæmon, called Sciros, and they were always placed on the extremity of the left wing, which post they claimed as their rightful station.

But to recompense this defect of cavalry, the Athenians, in naval affairs, had a great superiority over all the states of Greece. As they had an extensive sea-coast, and as the profession of a merchant was held reputable among them, their navy increased, and was at length sufficiently powerful to intimidate the fleets of Persia.

Such were the two states, that in some measure engrossed all the power of Greece to themselves; and, though several petty kingdoms still held their governments in independence,

yet they owed their safety to the mutual jealousy of these powerful rivals, and always found shelter from the one against the oppressions of the other. Indeed the dissimilarity of their habits, manners, and education, served as well to divide these two states, as their political ambition. The Lacedæmonians were severe, and seemed to have something almost brutal in their character. A government too rigid, and a life too laborious, rendered their tempers haughtily sullen and untractable. The Athenians were naturally obliging and agreeable, cheerful among each other, and humane to their inferiors; but they were restless, unequal, timorous friends, and capricious protectors. From hence neither republic could sufficiently win over the smaller states of Greece to their interests; and although their ambition would not suffer the country to remain in repose, yet their obvious defects were always a bar to the spreading their dominion. Thus the mutual jealousy of these states kept them both in constant readiness for war, while their common defects kept the lesser states independent.

CHAPTER V.

FROM THE EXPELSION OF HIPPIAS TO THE DEATH OF DARIUS.

IT was in this disposition of Athens and Sparta and of the lesser states, their neighbours, that the Persian monarchy began to interest itself in their disputes, and made itself an umpire in their contentions for liberty, only to seize upon the liberties of all. It has been already related, that Hippias being besieged in Athens, and his children being taken prisoners, in order to release them, he consented to abdicate the sovereign power, and to leave the dominions of Athens in five days. Athens, however, in recovering its liberty, did not enjoy that tranquillity which freedom is thought to bestow. Two of the favourite citizens, Calisthenes, a favourite of the people, and Isagoras, who was supported by the rich, began to contend for that power, which they had but a little while before joined in depressing. The former, who was become very popular, made an alteration in the form of their establishment; and instead of four tribes, whereof they before consisted, enlarged their number to ten. He also instituted the manner of giving votes by Ostracism, as it was called. The manner of performing this was for every freeman, not under sixty years old, to give in a name of some citizen, whose power or fortune had, in his opinion, become dangerous to the state, written upon a tile, or oyster-shell (from whence the method of voting had its name), and he upon whom the majority fell, was pronounced banished for ten years. These laws, evidently calculated to increase the power of the people, were so displeasing to Isagoras, that rather than submit, he had recourse to Cleomenes, king of Sparta, who undertook to espouse his quarrel. In fact, the Lacedæmonians only wanted a favourable pretext for lessening and destroying the power of Athens, which, in consequence of the command of the

oracle, they had so lately rescued from tyranny. Cleomenes, therefore, availing himself of the divided state of the city, entered Athens, and procured the banishment of Calisthenes, with seven hundred families more who had sided with him in the late commotions. Not content with this, he endeavoured to new model the state; but being strongly opposed by the senate, he seized upon the citadel, from whence, however, in two days, he was obliged to retire. Calisthenes perceiving the enemy withdrawn, returned with his followers, and, finding it vain to make any farther attempts for power, restored the government as settled by Solon.

In the mean time the Lacedæmonians, repenting the services they had rendered their rival state, and perceiving the imposture of the oracle, by which they were thus impelled to act against their own interests, began to think of reinstating Hippias on the throne. But, previous to their attempt, they judged it prudent to consult the subordinate states of Greece, and to see what hopes they had of their concurrence and approbation. Nothing, however, could be more mortifying, than the universal detestation with which their proposal was received by the deputies of the states of Greece. The deputy of Corinth expressed the utmost indignation at the design, and seemed astonished that the Spartans, who were the avowed enemies of tyrants, should thus espouse the interests of one noted for cruelty and usurpation. The rest of the states warmly seconded his sentiments, and the Lacedæmonians, covered with confusion and remorse, abandoned Hippias and his cause for ever after.

Hippias, being thus frustrated in his hopes of exciting the Greeks to second his pretensions, was resolved to have recourse to one who was considered as a much more powerful patron. Wherefore, taking his leave of the Spartans, he applied himself to Artaphernes, governor of Sardis for the king of Persia, whom he endeavoured by every art to engage in a war against Athens. He represented to him the divided state of the city, he enlarged upon its riches, and the happiness of its situation for trade. He added the ease with which it might be taken, and the glory that would attend success. Influenced by these motives, the pride and the avarice of the Persian court were inflamed, and nothing was so ardently sought as

the pretext of a dispute with the Athenians. When, therefore, that city sent to the Persian court to vindicate their proceedings, alleging, that Hippias deserved no countenance from so great a people; the answer returned was, "That if the Athenians would be safe, they must admit Hippias for their king." Athens, having so lately thrown off the yoke, had too lively a sense of its past calamities to accept safety upon such base conditions, and resolved to suffer the last extremity rather than open their gates to a tyrant. When Artaphernes, therefore, demanded the restoration of Hippias, the Athenians boldly returned him a downright and absolute refusal. From this arose the war between Greece and Persia, one of the most glorious, and the most remarkable, that ever graced the annals of kingdoms.

But there were more causes than one tending to make a breach between these powerful nations, and producing an irreconcilable aversion for each other. The Greek colonies of Ionia, Æolia, and Caria, that were settled for above five hundred years in Asia Minor, were at length subdued by Croesus, king of Lydia; and he, in turn, sinking under the power of Cyrus, his conquests of course fell in with the rest of his dominions. The Persian monarch, thus possessed of a very extensive territory, placed governors over the several cities that were thus subdued; and as men bred up in a despotic court were likely enough to imitate the example set them at home, it is probable they abused their power. Be this as it may, in all the Greek cities they were called Tyrants; and as these little states had not yet lost all idea of freedom, they took every opportunity to recover their liberty, and made many bold, but unsuccessful struggles in that glorious cause. The Ionians particularly, who bore the greatest sway among them, let no occasion slip which promised the slightest hopes of shaking off the Persian yoke.

That which favoured their designs upon the present occasion was the expedition of Darius into Scythia, into which country he sent a numerous army, laying a bridge over the river Ister for that purpose. The Ionians were appointed to guard this important pass, but were advised by Miltiades, whom we shall afterwards find performing nobler exploits, to break down the bridge, and thus cut off the Persian retreat.

The Ionians, however, rejected his counsel, and Darius returned with his army into Europe, where he added Thrace and Macedon to the number of his conquests.

Histiæus, the tyrant of Miletus, was the person who opposed the advice of Miltiades. Being of an ambitious and intriguing disposition, he was willing to lessen the merit of all his contemporaries in order to enhance his own. But he was deceived in his expectations of success; from these schemes Darius justly suspecting his fidelity, took him with him to Susa, under pretence of using his friendship and advice, but in reality of preventing his future machinations at home. But Histiæus saw too clearly the cause of his detention, which he regarded as a specious imprisonment, and therefore took every opportunity of secretly exciting the Ionians to a revolt, hoping, that himself might one day be sent to bring them to reason.

Aristagoras was at that time this statesman's deputy at Miletus, and received the instructions of his master to stir up the Ionian cities to revolt with the utmost alacrity. In fact, from a late failure of this general upon Naxos, his credit was ruined at the Persian court, and no other alternative remained for him, but to comply with the advice of Histiæus in stirring up a revolt, and of trying to place himself at the head of a new confederacy.

The first step Aristagoras took to engage the affections of the Ionians was to throw up his power in Miletus, where he was deputy, and to reinstate that little place in all its former freedom. He then made a journey through all Ionia, where, by his example, his credit, and perhaps his menaces, he induced every other governor to imitate his example. They all complied the more cheerfully, as the Persian power, since the check it had received in Scythia, was the less able to punish their revolt, or to protect them in their continued attachment. Having thus united all these little states by the consciousness of one common offence, he then threw off the mask, declaring himself at the head of the confederacy, and bid defiance to the power of Persia.

To enable himself to carry on the war with more vigour, he went, in the beginning of the following year, to Lacedæmon, in order to engage that state in his interests, and engage it in

a war with a power that seemed every day to threaten the general liberty of Græce. Cleomenes was at that time king of Sparta, and to him Aristagoras applied for assistance, in what he represented as the common cause. He represented to him, that the Ionians and Lacedæmonians were countrymen; that it would be for the honour of Sparta to concur with him in the design he had formed of restoring the Ionians to liberty; that the Persians were enervated by luxury; that their riches would serve to reward the conquerors, while nothing was so easy as their overthrow. Considering the present spirit of the Ionians, it would not be difficult, he said; for the victorious Spartans to carry their arms even to the gates of Susa, the metropolis of the Persian empire, and thus give laws to those who presumed to call themselves the sovereigns of the world. Cleomenes desired time to consider this proposal; and, being bred up in Spartan ignorance, demanded how far it was from the Ionian sea to Susa? Aristagoras, without considering the tendency of the question, answered, that it might be a journey of three months. Cleomenes made no answer, but, turning his back upon so great an adventurer, gave orders, that before sun-set he should quit the city. Still, however, Aristagoras followed him to his house; and, finding the inefficacy of his eloquence, tried what his offers of wealth would do. He at first offered him ten talents, he then raised the sum to fifteen; and it is unknown what effect such a large sum might have had upon the Spartan, had not his daughter, a child of nine years old, who was accidentally present at the proposal, cried out, "Fly, father, or this stranger will corrupt you." This advice, given in the moment of suspense, prevailed; Cleomenes refused his bribes, and Aristagoras went to sue at other cities, where eloquence was more honoured, and wealth more alluring.

Athens was a city where he expected a more favourable reception. Nothing could be more fortunate for his interests than his arrival at the very time they had received the peremptory message from the Persians, to admit their tyrant, or to fear the consequences of their disobedience. The Athenians were at that time all in an uproar, and the proposal of Aristagoras met with the most favourable reception. It was much easier to impose upon a multitude than a single

person. The whole body of citizens engaged immediately to furnish twenty ships to assist his designs: and to these, the Eretrians and Euboeans added five more.

Aristagoras, thus supplied, resolved to act with vigour; and, having collected all his forces together, set sail for Ephesus: where, leaving his fleet, he entered the Persian frontiers, and marched by land to Sardis, the capital city of Lydia. Artaphernes, who resided there as the Persian viceroy, finding the city untenable, resolved to secure himself in the citadel, which he knew could not easily be forced. As most of the houses of this city were built with reeds, and consequently very combustible, one of the houses being set on fire, by an Ionian soldier, the flames quickly spread to all the rest. Thus the whole town was quickly reduced to ashes, and numbers of the inhabitants were slain. But the Persians were soon avenged for this unnecessary cruelty; for, either recovering themselves from their former panic, or being reinforced by the Lydians, they charged the Ionians in a body, and drove them back, with great slaughter. Nor was the pursuit discontinued even as far as Ephesus, where, the vanquished and the victors arriving together, a great carnage ensued, and but a small part of the routed army escaped, which took shelter aboard the fleet, or in the neighbouring cities. Other defeats followed after this. The Athenians, intimidated with such a commencement of ill success, could not be persuaded to continue the war. The Cyprians were obliged once more to submit to the Persian yoke. The Ionians lost most of their towns one after the other, and Aristagoras, flying into Thrace, was cut off by the inhabitants with all his forces.

In the mean time, Histæus, who was the original cause of all these misfortunes, finding that he began to be suspected in Persia, left that court under a pretence of going to quell those troubles, which he had all along secretly fomented; but his duplicity of conduct rendered him now suspicious to either party. Artaphernes, the Persian viceroy, plainly accused him of treachery, while his own Milesians refused to admit him as their master. Thus wavering, uncertain, and not knowing where to turn, having picked up a few scattered remains of the routed armies, he fell in with Harpagus, one

of the Persian generals, who routed his forces, and made Histæus himself a prisoner. Being sent to Artaphernes, that inhuman commander immediately caused him to be crucified, and ordered his head to be sent to Darius, who received the present with that disgust which evidenced his superior humanity. He wept over it with a friendly sorrow, and ordered that it should receive honourable interment.

In the mean time, the affairs of the Ionian confederacy every day became more desperate. The Persian generals, finding that Miletus was the city which they chiefly depended on, resolved to march thither with all their forces; concluding, that having carried that city, all the rest would submit of course. The Ionians having intelligence of this design, determined in a general assembly to make no opposition by land, where the Persians were too powerful; but to fortify Miletus, and exert all their efforts by sea, where they hoped for the advantage, from their superior skill in naval evolutions. They accordingly assembled a fleet of three hundred ships at a little island over against Miletus, and on the superiority of this fleet they placed their whole reliance. But the Persian gold effected what their arms were unable to compass. Their emissaries having secretly debauched the greatest part of the confederates, and engaged them to desert; when the two fleets came to engage, the ships of Samos, Lesbos, and several other places, sailed off, and returned to their own country. Thus the remaining part of the fleet, which did not amount to more than an hundred ships, was quickly overpowered, and almost totally destroyed.

After this the city of Miletus was besieged, and was easily taken. All the other cities, as well on the continent as among the islands, were forced to return to their duty. Those who continued obstinate were treated with great severity. The handsomest of the young men were chosen to serve in the king's palace, and the young women were all sent into Persia. Thus ended the revolt of the Ionians, which continued six years, from its first breaking out, under Aristagoras; and this was the third time the Ionians were obliged to undergo the yoke of foreign dominion; for they inherited a natural love of freedom, which all the Greeks were known to possess.

The Persians, having thus subdued the greatest part of

Asia Minor, began to look towards Europe, as offering conquests worthy their ambition. The assistance given the Ionians by the Athenian fleet, and the refusal of that state to admit Hippias as their king; the taking of Sardis, and the contempt they testified for the Persian power, were all sufficient motives for exciting the resentment of that empire, and for marking out all Greece for destruction. Darius, therefore, in the twenty-eighth year of his reign, having recalled all his other generals, sent Mardonius, the son of Gobryas, a young nobleman who had lately married one of the king's daughters, to command in chief throughout all the maritime parts of Asia; and particularly to revenge the burning of Sardis. This was an offence which that monarch seemed peculiarly to resent; and from the time of that conflagration he had given orders for one of his attendants, every time he sat down, to cry out, "Remember the Athenians."

Mardonius, willing to second his master's animosity, quickly passed into Thrace, at the head of a large army; and so terrified the inhabitants of that country, that they yielded implicit obedience to his power. From thence he set sail for Macedonia, but his fleet, attempting to double the cape of Mount Athos, in order to gain the coast of that country, were attacked by so violent a tempest, that upwards of three hundred ships were sunk, and above twenty thousand men perished in the sea. His land army, that took the longest way about, met, at the same time, with equal distresses; for, being encamped in a place of no security, the Thracians attacked them by night, and made a great slaughter among the enemy. Mardonius himself was wounded; and, finding his army unable to maintain the field, he returned to the Persian court, covered with grief and confusion, having miscarried both by sea and land.

But the ill success of one or two campaigns was not sufficient to abate the resentment or the ardour of the king of Persia. Possessed, as he was, of resources almost inexhaustible, wealth without end, and armies that seemed to increase from defeat, he only grew more determined from every repulse, and doubled his preparations in proportion to his former failures. He now perceived, that the youth and inexperience of Mardonius were unequal to so great an under-

taking: he therefore displaced him, and appointed two generals, Datis, a Mede, and Artaphernes, the son of him who was late governor of Sardis, in his stead. His thoughts were earnestly bent on attacking Greece with all his forces. He wished to take a signal revenge upon Athens, which he considered as the principal cause of the late revolt in Ionia: besides, Hippias was still near him to warm his ambition, and keep his resentment alive. Greece, he said, was now an object for such a conqueror; the world had long beheld it with an eye of admiration; and, if not soon humbled, it might in time supplant even Persia in the homage of the world.

Thus excited by every motive of ambition and revenge, Darius resolved to bend all his attention to a war with Greece. He had in the beginning of his reign sent spies, with one Democedes, a Greek physician, as their conductor, to bring him information with respect to the strength and situation of all the states of Greece. This secret deputation failed; he was, therefore, willing once more to send men under the character of heralds, to denounce his resentment; and, at the same time, to learn how the different states of the country stood affected towards him. The form used by the Persians, when they expected submission from lesser states, was to demand earth and water in the monarch's name, and such as refused were to be considered as opposers of the Persian power. On the arrival, therefore, of the heralds amongst the Greeks, many of the cities, dreading the Persian power, complied with their demands. The Æginetans, with some of the islands also, yielded up a ready submission; and almost all but Athens and Sparta were contented to exchange their liberties for safety.

But these two noble republics bravely disdained to acknowledge the Persian power; they had felt the benefits of freedom, and were resolved to maintain it to the last. Instead, therefore, of offering up earth and water, as demanded, they threw the heralds, the one into a well, the other into a ditch; and, adding mockery to insult, desired them to take earth and water from thence. This they probably did to cut off all hopes of a reconciliation, and to leave no safety but in perseverance and despair.

Nor were the Athenians content with this outrage, but re-

solved also to punish the Æginetans, who, by a base submission to the Persian power, had betrayed the common cause of Greece. They accordingly represented the affair to the Spartans, with all its aggravating circumstances, and heightened with that eloquence for which they were famous. Before such judges, it was not likely that cowardice or timidity would find many defenders: the Spartans immediately gave judgment against the people of Ægina, and sent Cleomenes, one of their kings, to apprehend the authors of so base a concession. The people of Ægina, however, refused to deliver them, under pretence that Cleomenes came without his colleague. This colleague was Demaratus, who had himself secretly furnished them with that excuse. As soon as Cleomenes was returned to Sparta, in order to be revenged on Demaratus for thus counteracting the demands of his country, he endeavoured to get him deposed, as not being of the royal family. In fact, Demaratus was born only seven months after marriage, and this was supposed by many to be a sufficient proof of his bastardy. This accusation, therefore, being revived, the Pythian oracle was appointed to determine the controversy; and the priestess being privately suborned by Cleomenes, an answer was given against his colleague, just as he had dictated. Demaratus thus being illegitimate, and unable to endure so gross an injury, banished himself from his country, and retired to Darius, who received him with great friendship, and gave him a considerable settlement in Persia. He was succeeded in the throne by Leotychides, who, concurring with the views of Cleomenes, punished the Æginetans, by placing ten of their most guilty citizens in the hands of the Athenians; while Cleomenes, some time after, being detected of having suborned the priestess, slew himself in a fit of despair.

On the other hand, the Æginetans complained of the severity of their treatment; but finding no likelihood of redress, they resolved to obtain that justice by force which was refused to their supplications. Accordingly they intercepted an Athenian ship, which, in pursuance of an annual custom, ever since the times of Theseus, was going to Delos to offer sacrifice. This produced a naval war between these two states; in which, after a variety of fortunes, the Æginetans were

worsted, and the Athenians possessed themselves of the sovereignty of the seas. Thus those civil discords, which seemed at first to favour the designs of the common enemy, turned out to the general advantage of Greece; for the Athenians, thus acquiring great power at sea, were put in a capacity of facing the Persian fleets, and of cutting off those supplies which were continually carrying to their armies by land.

In the mean time, the preparations on both sides for a general war were carried on with the greatest animosity and dispatch. Darius sent away his generals, Datis and Artaphernes, whom he had appointed in the room of Mardonius, to what he supposed a certain conquest. They were furnished with a fleet of six hundred ships, and an army of an hundred and twenty thousand men. Their instructions were to give up Athens and Eretria, a little city which had joined in the league against him, to be plundered; to burn all the houses and temples of both, and to lead away all the inhabitants into slavery. The country was to be laid desolate, and the army was provided with a sufficient supply of chains and fetters for binding the conquered nations.

To oppose this formidable invasion, the Athenians had only their courage, their animosity, their dread of slavery, their discipline, and about ten thousand men. Their civil commotions with the other states of Greece had given them a spirit of war and stratagem, while the genius of their citizens, continually excited and exercised, was arrived at the highest pitch, and fitted them for every danger. Athens had long been refining in all those arts which qualify a state to extend, or to enjoy conquest; every citizen was a statesman and a general, and every soldier considered himself as one of the bulwarks of his country. But in this little state, from whence first flowed all those improvements that have since adorned and civilized society, there was at that time three men, who were considered as superiors to all the rest, all remarkable for their abilities in war, and their integrity in peace; for those qualifications that are fitted to advance the glory of states, or procure the happiness of the individual.

Of these, Miltiades, as being the most experienced, was at that time the most known. He was the son of Cimon, and nephew of Miltiades, an illustrious Athenian, who accepted

the government of the Dolonei, a people of the Thracian Chersonesus. Old Miltiades dying without issue, he was succeeded in his government by Stesagoras, his nephew; and he also dying, young Miltiades was chosen as his successor. He was appointed to that government the same year that Darius undertook his unsuccessful expedition against the Scythians. He was obliged to attend that prince as far as the Ister, with what shipping he was able to supply; but, ever eager to throw off the Persian yoke, it was he who advised the Ionians to destroy the bridge, and leave the army of Darius to its fate. When the affairs of the continent began to decline, Miltiades, rather than live in dependence, resolved to return once more to Athens; and thither he returned with five ships, which were all that remained of his shattered fortunes.

At the same time, two other citizens, younger than Miltiades, began to distinguish themselves at Athens, namely, Aristides and Themistocles. These were of very different dispositions; but from this difference resulted the greatest advantages to their country. Themistocles was naturally inclined to a popular government, and omitted nothing that could render him agreeable to the people, or gain him friends. His complaisance was boundless, and his desire to oblige sometimes out-stepped the bounds of duty. His partiality was often conspicuous. Somebody, talking with him once on the subject, told him he would make an excellent magistrate, if he had more impartiality: "God forbid," replied he, "that I should ever sit upon a tribunal, where my friends should find no more favour than strangers.

Aristides was as remarkable for his justice and integrity. Being a favourer of aristocracy, in imitation of Lycurgus, he was friendly, but never at the expense of justice. In seeking honours, he ever declined the interests of his friends, lest they should, in turn, demand his interest, when his duty was to be impartial. The love of the public good was the great spring of all his actions; and, with that in view, no difficulties could daunt, no success or elevation exalt him. On all occasions he preserved his usual calmness of temper, being persuaded that he was entirely his country's, and very little his own. One day, when an actor was repeating some lines from *Æschylus* on the stage, coming to a passage, which described a man as not desiring to appear honest, but to be so, the

whole audience cast their eyes on Aristides, and applied the passage. In the administration of public offices, his whole aim was to perform his duty, without any thought of enriching himself.

Such were the characters of the illustrious Athenians, that led the councils of the state, when Darius turned his arms against Greece. These inspired their fellow-citizens with a noble confidence in the justice of their cause, and made all the preparations against the coming invasion, that prudence and deliberate valour could suggest. In the mean time, Datis and Artaphernes led on their numerous forces towards Europe; and, after having made themselves masters of the islands in the *Ægean* sea without any opposition, they turned their course towards Eretria, that city which had formerly assisted the Ionians in their revolt. The Eretrians, now driven to the last extremity, saw no hopes of meeting the enemy in the field; wherefore they sent back four thousand men that the Athenians had supplied them with, and resolved patiently to stand a siege. For six days the Persians attempted to storm the city, and were repulsed with loss; but on the seventh, the city, by the treachery of some of the principal inhabitants, being betrayed into their hands, they entered, plundered, and burned it. The inhabitants were put in chains, and sent as the first fruits of the war to the Persian monarch; but he, contrary to their expectation, treated them with great lenity, and gave them a village in the country of Cissa for their residence, where Apollonius Tyanæus found their descendants six hundred years after.

After such splendid success at Eretria, nothing now remained but the apparently easy conquest of Greece. Hippias, the expelled tyrant of Athens, still accompanied the Persian army, and led them, by the safest marches, into the heart of the country; at length, flushed with victory, and certain of success, he conducted them to the plains of Marathon, a fertile valley, but ten miles distant from Athens. From thence they sent to summon the citizens, acquainting them with the fate of Eretria, and informing them, that not a single inhabitant had escaped their vengeance. But the Athenians were not to be intimidated by any vicinity of danger. They had sent, indeed, to Sparta, to implore succours against the common enemy, which were granted without deliberation; but the su-

perstition of the times rendered their assistance ineffectual, for it was an established law among the Spartans, not to begin a march before the full moon. They applied also to other states, but they were too much awed by the power of Persia to move in their defence. An army of an hundred and twenty thousand men, exulting in the midst of their country, was too formidable for a weak and jealous confederacy to oppose. The inhabitants of Platea alone furnished them with a thousand soldiers, and they were left to find all other assistance in their courage and their despair.

In this extremity, they were obliged to arm their slaves for the safety of all; and their forces, thus united, amounted to but ten thousand men. Hoping, therefore, to derive from their discipline what they wanted in power, they placed their whole army under the conduct of ten generals, of whom Miltiades was chief; and of these, each was to have the command of the troops day about, in regular succession. An arrangement in itself so unpromising, was still more embarrassed by the generals themselves disputing whether they should hazard a battle, or wait the approach of the enemy within the walls. The latter opinion seemed for a while to prevail: it was urged, that it would be rashness itself to face so powerful and well-appointed an army with an handful of men. It was alleged, that the soldiers would gather courage from their security behind their walls, and that the forces of Sparta without might make a diversion in case of a sally from within. Miltiades, however, declared for the contrary opinion, and showed, that the only means to exalt the courage of their own troops, and to strike a terror into those of the enemy, was, to advance boldly towards them, with an air of confidence and desperate intrepidity. Aristides also strenuously embraced this opinion, and exerted all his masculine eloquence to bring over the rest. The question being put, when the suffrages came to be taken, the opinions were equal on either side of the argument. It now, therefore, remained for Callimachus, the polemarch, who had a right of voting as well as the ten commanders, to give his opinion, and decide this important debate. It was to him Miltiades addressed himself with the utmost earnestness, alleging, that the fate of his country was now in his power; that his single vote was to determine whether his country should be enslaved or free; that his fame might now,

by a single word, be made equal to that of Harmodius and Aristogiton, who were the authors of Athenian liberty. "If," said he, "we decline a battle, I foresee some great dissention will shake the fidelity of the army, and induce them to a compliance with the Medes; but if we fight before corruption insinuates itself into the hearts of the Athenians, we may hope, from the equity of the gods, to obtain the victory." Thus exhorted, Callimachus did not long debate, but gave his voice in favour of an open engagement; and Miltiades, thus seconded, prepared to marshal up his little army for the great encounter.

In the mean time it appeared, that so many leaders commanding in succession, only served to perplex and counteract each other. Aristides perceived, that a command which changes every day must be incapable of projecting any uniform design; he therefore gave it as his opinion, that it was necessary to invest the whole power in one single person; and, to induce his colleagues to conform, he himself set the first example of resignation. When the day came, on which it was his turn to command, he resigned it to Miltiades, as the more able and experienced general; while the other commanders, warmed by so generous a preference, followed his example.

Miltiades, thus vested in the supreme command, which was now the post of highest danger, like an experienced general, endeavoured, by the advantage of his ground, to make up for his deficiency in strength and numbers. He was sensible, that by extending his front to oppose the enemy he must weaken it too much, and give their dense body the advantage. He therefore drew up his army at the foot of a mountain, so that the enemy should not surround him, or charge him in the rear. On the flanks on either side he caused large trees to be thrown, which were cut down for that purpose, and these served to guard him from the Persian cavalry, that generally wheeled on the flank in the heat of an engagement.

Datis, on his side, was sensible of this advantageous disposition; but relying on his superiority of number, and unwilling to wait till the Spartan reinforcements should arrive, he determined to engage. And now was to be fought the first great battle which the Greeks had ever engaged in. It was not like any of their former civil contests, arising from jealousy, and terminating in an easy accommodation: it was a

battle that was to be decided with the greatest monarch of the earth, with the most numerous army that had been hitherto seen in Europe. This was an engagement that was to decide the liberty of Greece, and, what was of infinitely greater moment, the future progress of refinement among mankind. Upon the event of this battle depended the complexion which the manners of the West were hereafter to assume; whether they were to adopt Asiatic customs with their conquerors, or to go on in modelling themselves upon Grecian refinements, as was afterwards the case. This, therefore, may be considered as one of the most important battles that ever was fought, and the event was as little to be expected as the success was glorious.

The signal was no sooner given, than the Athenians, without waiting the Persian onset, rushed in upon their ranks with desperate rapidity, as if wholly regardless of safety. The Persians regarded this first step of the Athenians as the result of madness, and were more inclined to despise them as maniacs, than oppose them as soldiers. However, they were quickly undeceived. It had never before been the custom of the Greeks to run on with this headlong valour; but, comparing the number of their own forces with that of the enemy, and expecting safety only from rashness, they determined to break through the enemy's ranks, or fall in the attempt. The greatness of their danger added to their courage, and despair did the rest. The Persians, however, stood their ground with great intrepidity, and the battle was long, fierce, and obstinate. Miltiades had made the wings of his army exceeding strong, but had left the main body more weak, and not so deep; for having but ten thousand men to oppose to such a numerous army, he supposed the victory could be obtained by no other means than strengthening his flanks; not doubting but when his wings were once victorious, they would be able to wheel upon the enemy's main body on either side, and thus put them easily to the rout. The Persians, therefore, finding the main body weakest, attacked it with their utmost vigour. It was in vain that Aristides and Themistocles, who were stationed in this post of danger, endeavoured to keep their troops to the charge. Courage and intrepidity were unable to resist the torrent of increasing numbers, so that they were at last obliged to give ground. But in the mean time the wings

were victorious; and now, just as the main body was fainting under the unequal encounter, these came up, and gave them time to recover their strength and order. Thus the scale of victory quickly began to turn in their favour, and the Persians, from being the aggressors, now began to give ground in turn; and, being unsupported by fresh forces, they fled to their ships with the utmost precipitation. The confusion and disorder was now universal, the Athenians followed them to the beach, and set many of their ships on fire. On this occasion it was that Cyndæyrus, the brother of the poet *Æschylus*, seized with his hand one of the ships that the enemy was pushing off from the shore. The Persians within, seeing themselves thus arrested, cut off his right hand that held the prow: he then laid hold of it with his left, which they also cut off; at last he seized it with his teeth, and in that manner expired.

Seven of the enemy's ships were taken, above six thousand persons were slain, without reckoning those who were drowned in the sea as they endeavoured to escape, or those who were consumed when the ships were set on fire. Of the Greeks, not above two hundred men were killed, among whom was *Callimachus*, who gave his vote for bringing on the engagement. *Hippias*, who was the chief incendiary of the war, is thought to have fallen in this battle, though some say he escaped, and died miserably at *Lemnos*.

Such was the famous battle of *Marathon*, which the Persians were so sure of gaining, that they had brought marble into the field, in order to erect a trophy there. Just after the battle, an Athenian soldier, whose name was *Eucles*, still covered all over with blood and wounds, quitted the army and ran to *Athens*, to carry his fellow-citizens the news of the victory. His strength just sufficed to reach the city, and, throwing himself into the door of the first house he met, he uttered three words, "Rejoice, we triumph," and instantly expired.

While a part of the army marched forward to *Athens*, to protect it from the attempts of the enemy, *Aristides* remained upon the field of battle to guard the spoil and the prisoners; and although gold and silver were scattered about the enemy's deserted camp in abundance, though their tents and galleys were full of rich furniture and sumptuous apparel, he would not permit any of it to be embezzled, but reserved it as a common reward for all who had any share in the victory. Two

thousand Spartans also, whose laws would not permit them to march until the full of the moon, now came into the field, but the action being over the day before, they only had an opportunity of paying due honours to those who gained so glorious a victory, and to bring back the news to Sparta. Of the marble, which the Persians had brought with them, the Athenians made a trophy, being carved by Phidias into a statue, in honour of the goddess Nemesis, who had a temple near the field of battle.

In the mean time, the Persian fleet, instead of sailing directly back to Asia, made an attempt to surprise Athens before the Greek forces could arrive from Marathon. But the latter had the precaution to move directly thither, and performed their march with so much expedition, that though it was forty miles from Marathon, they arrived there in one day. In this manner the Greeks not only repelled their enemies, but confirmed their security. By this victory the Grecians were taught to know their own strength, and not to tremble before an enemy terrible only in name. This taught them, through the whole of succeeding ages, to imitate their ancestors with an ardent emulation, and inspired them with a wish of not degenerating from the Grecian glory. Those Athenians that were slain in battle had all the honour immediately paid them that was due to their merit. Illustrious monuments were erected to them all in the very place where the battle was fought, upon which their names, and the tribe to which they belonged, were inscribed. There were three distinct sorts of monuments set up: one for the Athenians, one for the Platæans, and a third for the slaves, who had been enrolled into their troops upon that urgent occasion. ○

But their gratitude to Miltiades spoke a nobleness of mind, that far surpassed expensive triumphs, or base adulation. Sensible that his merits were too great for money to repay, they caused a picture to be painted by Polygnotus, one of their most celebrated artists, where Miltiades was represented at the head of the ten commanders, exhorting the soldiers, and setting them an example of their duty. This picture was preserved for many ages, with other paintings of the best masters, in the portico where Zeno afterwards instituted his school of philosophy. An emulation seemed to take place in every rank

of life ; Polygnotus valued himself so much upon the honour of being appointed to paint this picture, that he gave his labour for nothing. In return for such generosity, the Amphictyons appointed him a public lodging in the city, where he might reside during pleasure.

A.M. 3514.

But though the gratitude of the Athenians to Miltiades was very sincere, yet it was of no long continuance. This fickle and jealous people, naturally capricious, and now more than ever careful of preserving their freedom, were willing to take every opportunity of mortifying a general, from whose merit they had much to fear. Being appointed with seventy ships to punish those islands that had favoured the Persian invasion, he sailed to Paros. The reason he alleged for invading this island was, that the inhabitants had assisted the Persians with ships, in the expedition of Marathon ; but the true ground of his hatred to that people was, that one Lysagoras, a Parian, had done him ill offices with Hydarnes, the Persian. When he arrived on the island, he sent heralds to the capital, requiring an hundred talents to be paid to him ; threatening, in case of refusal, to besiege the city ; and, if he should take it, to give it up to be plundered by his soldiers. The Parians, however, were not to be terrified ; they even refused to deliberate on his proposition, and prepared themselves for an obstinate defence. Miltiades caused the place to be invested, and carried on the siege with great vigour, till one Timo, a Parian woman, a priestess, pretended to inform him how he might take the city. In consequence of what this woman told him, he repaired to the temple of Ceres the lawgiver, and not being able to open its gates, he climbed to the top of the wall, and from thence leaped down. Being seized with a sudden tremor, and resolving to return, he reascended the wall ; but, his foot slipping, he fell, and either broke his thigh-bone, or dislocated his knee-pan. However, he was constrained to raise the siege, and to return wounded to Athens, where an unfortunate man was never welcome. The whole city began to murmur ; and one Xanthippus accused him of having taken a bribe from Persia. As he was not in a condition to answer this charge, being confined to his bed by the wound he received at Paros, the accusation took place against him, and he was condemned to lose his life. The manner of executing criminals found

guilty of great offences was by throwing them into the Barathrum, a deep pit, from whence none were ever seen to return. This sentence was pronounced against him, but his former services were such as to have this punishment commuted into a penalty of fifty talents, the sum which it had cost the state in fitting out the late unsuccessful expedition. Not being rich enough to pay this sum, he was thrown into prison, where his wound growing worse from bad air and confinement, it turned at last to gangrene, and put an end to his life and misfortunes.

Cimon, his son, who was at this time very young, signalized his piety on this occasion. As this ungrateful city would not permit the body of Miltiades to be buried until all his debts were paid, this young man employed all his interest among his friends, and strained his utmost credit to pay the fine, and procured his father's body an honourable interment.

Miltiades has very justly been praised for his condescension, moderation, and justice. To him Athens was indebted for all its glory; he being the man who first taught her to despise the empty menaces of the boastful Persian king.

CHAPTER VI.

FROM THE DEATH OF MILTIADES, TO THE RETREAT OF XERXES OUT OF GREECE.

THE misfortunes of Darius only served to increase his resentment, and give spirit to his perseverance. Finding the ill success of his generals, he resolved to try the war in person, and dispatched orders throughout the whole dominions for fresh preparations. However, a revolt in Egypt for a while averted his resentment; a contest among his sons about nominating his successor still farther retarded his designs; and at last, when he had surmounted every obstacle, and was just preparing to take a signal vengeance, his death put an end to all his projects, and gave Greece a longer time for preparation.

Xerxes, his son, succeeded, who, with the empire, inherited also his father's animosity against Greece. Having carried on a successful expedition against Egypt, he expected the same good fortune in Europe. Confident of victory, he did not choose, he said, for the future, to buy the figs of Attica; he would possess himself of the country, and thus have figs of his own. But before he engaged in an enterprize of that importance, he thought proper to assemble his council, and collect the opinions of the principal officers of his court. In his speech at opening the council, he evidently showed his desire of revenge, and his passion for military glory. The best way, therefore, to pay court to this young monarch was by flattering him in his favourite pursuits, and giving his impetuous aims the air of studied designs. Mardonius, grown neither wiser nor less ambitious by his own bad success, began by extolling Xerxes above all other kings that had gone before. He urged the indispensable necessity of avenging the dishonour done to the Persian name; he represented the Greeks as cowards, that were accidentally successful; and was firmly of opinion,

that they would never more stand even the hazard of a battle. A discourse, that so nearly coincided with his own sentiments, was very pleasing to the young monarch; and the rest of the company, by their looks and their silence, seemed to applaud his impetuosity. But Artabanus, the king's uncle, who had long learned to reverence courage, even in an enemy, and presuming upon his age and experience to speak his real sentiments, rose with an honest freedom to represent the intended expedition in its true light. "Permit me, sir," said he, "to deliver my sentiments upon this occasion, with a liberty suitable to my age, and your interest. When Darius, your father and my brother, first thought of making war against the Scythians, I used all my endeavour to divert him from it. The people you are going to attack are infinitely more formidable than they. If the Athenians alone could defeat the numerous army commanded by Datis and Artaphernes, what ought we to expect from an opposition of all the states of Greece united? You design to pass from Asia into Europe, by laying a bridge over the sea. But what if the Athenians should advance and destroy this bridge, and so prevent our return? Let us not expose ourselves to such dangers, as we have no sufficient motives to compel us to face them; at least, let us take time to reflect upon it. When we have maturely deliberated upon an affair, whatever happens to be the success of it, we have nothing to regret. Precipitation is imprudent, and is usually unsuccessful. Above all, do not suffer yourself, great prince, to be dazzled with the splendour of imaginary glory. The highest and the most lofty trees have the most reason to dread the thunder. God loves to humble the ostentatious, and reserves to himself alone the pride of importance. As for you, Mardonius, who so earnestly urge this expedition, if it must be so, lead it forward. But let the king, whose life is dear to us all, return back to Persia. In the mean time, let your children and mine be given up as a pledge, to answer for the success of the war. If the issue be favourable, I consent that mine be put to death; but if it be otherwise, as I well foresee, then I desire that you and your children may meet the reward of rashness."

This advice, which was rather sincere than palatable, was received by Xerxes with a degree of rage and resentment.

"Thank the gods," cried he, "that thou art my father's brother; were it not for that, thou shouldest this moment meet the just reward of thy audacious behaviour. But you shall have your punishment. Remain here behind, among the women; those you but too much resemble in your cowardice and fear. Stay here, while I march at the head of my troops, where my duty and glory call me." Upon cooler thoughts, however, Xerxes seemed better reconciled to his uncle's opinion. When the first emotions of his anger were over, and he had time to reflect on his pillow upon the different counsels that were given him, he confessed the rashness of his former rebuke, and ingenuously ascribed it to heat of youth, and the ardour of passion. He offered to come over to his opinion, at the same time assuring the council, that from his dreams he had every encouragement to proceed with the expedition. So much condescension on the one hand, and such favourable omens on the other, determined the whole council to second his inclinations. They fell prostrate before him, eager to show their submission and their joy. A monarch, thus surrounded by flatterers, all striving which should most gratify his pride and passions, could not long continue good, though naturally inclined to virtue. Xerxes, therefore, seems a character thus ruined by power, exerting his natural justice and wisdom at short intervals, but then giving way to the most culpable and extravagant excesses. Thus, the council of Artabanus being rejected, and that of Mardonius favourably received, the most extensive preparations were made for carrying on the war.

The greatness of these preparations seemed to show the high sense which the Persians had of their enemy. Xerxes, that he might omit nothing conducive to success, entered into an alliance with the Carthaginians, who were, at that time, the most potent people of the West; with whom it was stipulated, that while the Persian forces should attack Greece, the Carthaginians should awe the Greek colonies, dispersed over the Mediterranean, from coming to their assistance. Thus having drained all the East to compose his own army, and the West to supply that of the Carthaginians under Amilcar, he set out from Susa in order to enter upon this war, ten years after the battle of Marathon.

Sardis was the place where the various nations that were compelled to his banner were to assemble. His fleet was to advance along the coasts of Asia Minor towards the Hellespont. But, in doubling the cape of Mount Athos, many ships were detained, he was resolved to cut a passage through that neck of land, which joined the mountain to the continent, and thus give his shipping a shorter and safer passage. This canal was a mile and a half long, and hollowed out from a high mountain. It required immense labour to perform so great a work, but his numbers and his ambition were sufficient to surmount all difficulties. To urge on the undertaking the faster, he treated his labourers with the greatest severity; while, with all the ostentation of an eastern prince, he gave his commands to the mountain to sink before him. "Athos, thou proud, aspiring mountain, that liftest up thy head into the heavens, be not so audacious as to put obstacles in my way; if thou givest me that opposition, I will cut thee level to the plain, and throw thee headlong into the sea."

As this monarch passed on his march to the place of general destination, he went through Cappadocia, crossed the river Halys, and came to Calene, a city of Phrygia, near the source of the river Meander. He was there met by Pythias, a Lydian prince; who, by the most extreme parsimony and oppression, had become, next to Xerxes, the most opulent man in all the Persian empire. His treasures, however, were not sufficient to buy off the attendance of his eldest son, whom he requested might be permitted to remain with him, as he was old and helpless. He had before offered his money, which amounted to about four millions sterling, for the monarch's use; but this Xerxes had refused: and now, finding the young prince willing to remain with his father, he was so enraged, that he commanded him to be put to death before his father's eyes. Then causing the dead body to be cut in two, and one part of it to be placed on the right, and the other on the left, he made the whole army to pass between them, to terrify them from a reluctance to engage by his example.

From Phrygia Xerxes marched to Sardis, and in the opening of spring directed his march down towards the Helles

pont, where his fleet lay in all their pomp, expecting his arrival. Here being arrived, he was desirous of taking a survey of all his forces, which composed an army which was never equalled either before or since. It was composed of the most powerful nations of the East, and of people scarcely known to posterity, except by name. The remotest India contributed its supplies, while the coldest tracts of Scythia sent their assistance. Medes, Persians, Bactrians, Lydians, Assyrians, Hyrcanians, and an hundred other countries, of various forms, complexions, languages, dresses, and arms. The land army, which he brought out of Asia, consisted of seventeen hundred thousand foot, and fourscore thousand horse. Three hundred thousand more, that were added upon crossing the Hellespont, made all his land forces together amount to above two millions of men. His fleet, when it set out from Asia, consisted of twelve hundred and seven vessels, each carrying two hundred men. The Europeans augmented his fleet with an hundred and twenty vessels, each of which carried two hundred men. Besides these, there were a thousand smaller vessels, fitted for carrying provisions and stores: the men contained in these, with the former, amounted to six hundred thousand; so that the whole army might be said to amount to two millions and a half, which, with the women, slaves, and sutlers, always accompanying a Persian army, might make the whole above five millions of souls: a number, if rightly conducted, capable of overturning the greatest monarchy; but being commanded by presumption and ignorance, they only served to obstruct and embarrass each other.

Lord of so many and such various subjects, Xerxes found a pleasure in reviewing his forces, and was desirous of beholding a naval engagement, of which he had not hitherto been a spectator. To this end a throne was erected for him upon an eminence, and in that situation beholding all the earth covered with his troops, and all the sea crowded with his vessels, he felt a secret joy diffuse itself through his frame, from the consciousness of his own superior power. But all the workings of this monarch's mind were in extreme: a sudden sadness soon took place of his pleasure, and, dissolving in a shower of tears, he gave himself up to the reflection, that not one of so many thousands would be alive a hundred years after.

Artabanes, who neglected no opportunity of moralizing upon every occurrence, took this occasion to discourse with him upon the shortness and miseries of human life. Finding this more distant subject attended to, he spoke more closely to the present occasion; insinuated his doubts of the success of the expedition; urged the many inconveniences the army had to suffer, if not from the enemy, at least from their own numbers. He alleged, that plagues, famine, and confusion, were the necessary attendants of such ungovernable multitudes by land, and that empty fame was the only reward of success. But it was now too late to turn this young monarch from his purpose. Xerxes informed his monitor, that great actions were always attended with proportionable danger; and that if his predecessors had observed such scrupulous and timorous rules of conduct, the Persian empire would never have attained to its present height of glory.

Xerxes, in the mean time, had given orders for building a bridge of boats across the Hellespont, for the transporting his army into Europe. This narrow strait, which now goes by the name of the Dardanelles, is near an English mile over. But soon after the completion of this work, a violent storm arising, the whole was broken and destroyed, and the labour was to be undertaken anew. The fury of Xerxes, upon this disappointment, was attended with equal extravagance and cruelty. His vengeance knew no bounds; the workmen, who had undertaken the task, had their heads struck off by his order; and that the sea itself also might know its duty, he ordered it to be lashed as a delinquent, and a pair of fetters to be thrown into it to curb its future irregularities. Thus having given vent to his absurd resentment, two bridges were ordered to be built in the place of the former, one for the army to pass over, and the other for the baggage and the beasts of burthen. The workmen, now warned by the fate of their predecessors, undertook to give their labours greater stability: they placed three hundred and sixty vessels across the strait, some of them having three banks of oars, and others fifty oars a piece. They then cast large anchors into the water on both sides, in order to fix these vessels against the violence of the winds and the current. They then drove large piles into the earth, with huge rings fastened to them, to which were tied six vast ca-

bles, which went over each of the two bridges. Over all these they laid trunks of trees, cut purposely for that use, and flat boats again over them, fastened and joined together, so as to serve for a floor, or solid bottom. When the whole work was thus completed, a day was appointed for their passing over; and, as soon as the first rays of the sun began to appear, sweet odours of all kinds were abundantly scattered over the new work, and the way was strewed with myrtle. At the same time Xerxes poured out libations into the sea, and, turning his face towards the east, worshipped that bright luminary, which is the god of the Persians. Then, throwing the vessel which had held his libation into the sea, together with a golden cup and Persian cimeter, he went forward, and gave orders for the army to follow. This immense train were no less than seven days and seven nights passing over, while those, who were appointed to conduct the march, quickened the troops by lashing them along; for the soldiers of the East at that time, and to this very day, are treated like slaves.

Thus this immense army having landed in Europe, and being joined by the several European nations that acknowledged the Persian power, Xerxes prepared for marching directly forward into Greece. Beside the generals, of every nation, who each of them commanded the troops of their respective countries, the land army was commanded by six Persian generals, to whom all the rest were subordinate. These were Mardonius, Tirintatechmus, Smerdonus, Massistus, Gergis, and Megabyzas. Ten thousand Persians, who were called the Immortal Band, were commanded by Hydarnes, while the cavalry and the fleet had their own respective commanders. Beside those who were attached to Xerxes from principle, there were some Greek princes, who, either from motives of interest or fear, followed him in this expedition. Among these were Artemisia, queen of Halicarnassus, who, after the death of her husband, governed the kingdom for her son. She had brought indeed but the trifling succour of five ships, but she had made ample amends by her superiour prudence, courage, and conduct. Of this number also was Demaratus, the exiled king of Sparta, who, resenting the indignity put upon him by his subjects, took refuge in the Persian court, an indignant spectator of its luxuries and slavish sub-

mission. Being one day asked by Xerxes if he thought the Grecians would dare to wait his approach, or would venture an engagement with armies that drank up whole rivers in their march; "Alas, great prince," cried Demaratus, "Greece, from the beginning of time, has been trained up and accustomed to poverty; but the defects of that are amply recompensed by virtue, which wisdom cultivates, and the laws support in vigour. As for the Lacedæmonians, as they have been bred up in freedom, they can never submit to be slaves. Though all the rest of the Greeks should forsake them, though they should be reduced to a band of a thousand men, yet still they would face every danger, to preserve what they hold dearer than life. They have laws, which they obey with more implicit reverence than your subjects are obeyed by you. By these laws they are forbid to fly in battle, and they have only the alternative to conquer or die." Xerxes was not offended with the liberty of Demaratus, but, smiling at his blunt sincerity, ordered his army to march forward, while he had directed his fleet to follow him along the coast, and to regulate their course by his motions.

In this manner he pursued his course without any interruption; every nation near which he approached sending him all the marks of homage and subjection. Wherever he came, he found provisions and refreshments prepared beforehand, pursuant to the orders he had given. Every city he arrived at exhausted itself in giving him the most magnificent reception. The vast expense of these feasts gave a poor Thracian an opportunity of remarking, that it was a peculiar favour of the gods, that Xerxes could eat but one meal a day. Thus did he continue his march through Thrace, Macedonia, and Thessaly, every knee bending before him till he came to the straits of Thermopylæ, where he first found an army prepared to dispute his passage.

This army was a body of Spartans, led on by Leonidas their king, who had been sent thither to oppose him. As soon as it was known in Greece that Xerxes was preparing to invade that country, and that an army of millions were coming on with determined resolution to ruin it, every state seemed differently affected in proportion to its strength, its courage, or its situation. The Stoilians refused their aid, being kept

in awe by Amilcar the Carthaginian. The Coreyceans pretended that they were wind-bound, and would not let their ships stir from the harbour. The Cretans, having consulted the Delphic oracle, absolutely determined to remain inactive. The Thessalians and Macedonians, from their situation, were obliged to submit to the conqueror, so that no states were found bold enough to face this formidable army but Athens and Lacedæmon: These states had received intelligence of the Persian designs from Demaratus, long before they had been put into execution. They had also sent spies to Sardis, in order to have a more exact information of the number and quality of the enemy's forces. The spies, indeed, were seized, but Xerxes ordered them to be conducted through his army, and to give an exact account of what they had seen at their return. They had sent deputies to all the neighbouring states to awaken their ardour, to apprize them of their danger; and to urge the necessity of fighting for their common safety. But all their remonstrances were vain; fear, assuming the name of prudence, offered frivolous excuses, or terms which were inadmissible. Relying, therefore, on their own strength, these generous states resolved to face the danger with joint forces, and conquer or fall in the cause of freedom. Having summoned a general council at the Isthmus, they there solemnly resolved to wave all private quarrels or pretensions, and join against the common danger.

One cannot, without astonishment, reflect on the intrepidity of the Greeks, who determined to face the innumerable army of Xerxes with such disproportioned forces. All their forces joined together amounted only to eleven thousand two hundred men. But they were all soldiers, bred amidst fatigue and danger, all determined to a man either to conquer or die. Their first care, however, was to appoint a general. It was then that the most able and experienced captains, terrified at the danger, had taken the resolution of not presenting themselves as candidates. Epicydes, indeed, a great orator, but a man of ignorance, avarice, and presumption, was ready to lead them on; but, under his guidance, nothing could be hoped for but confusion and disappointment. In this pressing juncture, therefore, Themistocles, conscious of his own capacity, and warmed with a love of glory, which was

great in proportion to the danger, resolved to use every art to get himself appointed to the command. For this purpose he used all his interest, and even distributed bribes to remove his competitor; and having gratified the avarice of Epiclydes, which was his ruling passion, he soon found himself appointed to the command, which was the darling object of his ambition.

But in this pressing exigence, it was incumbent on the Athenians to avail themselves of every person that might be serviceable, however obnoxious he might appear to their resentment. There were many useful citizens, whom they had, upon some factious discontents, sent into banishment, and these they now repentingly wished to restore. Among this number was Aristides, that brave and just man, who had, at the battle of Marathon, and upon other occasions, been instrumental in gaining their victories; and who had, upon all occasions, improved them, by the disinterestedness and integrity of his example. This magistrate, having had many contests with Themistocles, who was his rival in power and fame, and always wished to supplant him, was at length condemned to go into banishment by the power of his prevailing faction. It was on that occasion that a peasant, who could not write, and did not know Aristides personally, applied to himself, and desired him to write the name of Aristides upon the shell by which his vote was given against him. "Has he done you any wrong," said Aristides, "that you are for condemning him in this manner?" "No," replied the peasant, "but I hate to hear him praised for his justice." Aristides, without saying a word more, calmly took the shell, wrote down his name upon it, and contentedly retired into banishment. But the present distresses of his country were now an object that strongly solicited his return. Even Themistocles, his rival, was so far from remembering his old resentments, that he now ardently desired the assistance of his counsel, and gave up all his private resentments to the good of the state. The hatred of these great men had nothing in it of that bitter and implacable spirit which prevailed among the Romans in the latter times of the republic, or perhaps the desperate situation of their country might only occupy their thoughts at that time.

But the preparations by land alone were not sufficient to

repel the growing danger. If the Greeks had trusted to their land armies, without further succour, they must have been undone. Themistocles, who saw that the victory of Marathon must be followed by many more before safety could be ascertained, had prudently caused an hundred galleys to be built, and turned all his thoughts to give Athens a superiority at sea. The oracle had declared some time before, that Athens should only defend herself with wooden walls: and he took the advantage of that ambiguity to persuade his countrymen, that by such walls was only meant her shipping. He had the address to procure some money, annually coming in from silver mines which the Athenians had in their district, to the purposes of equipping and manning this fleet; and now, upon the approach of Xerxes, the confederates found themselves at the head of a very powerful squadron of two hundred and eighty sail, the command of which was conferred upon Euribiades, a Lacedæmonian.

When the news came to Athens, that the Persians were on the point of invading Greece, and that to this end they were transporting their forces by sea, Themistocles advised his countrymen to quit their city, embark on board their galleys, and meet their enemies while they were yet at a distance. To this expedient they would by no means consent. He then put himself at the head of their army.

All measures being taken that this brave confederacy could devise, it next remained to settle in what place they should first meet the Persians in the field, in order to dispute their entrance into Greece. The people of Thessaly represented, that, as they were most exposed, and first liable to be attacked by the enemy, it was but reasonable that their security should be the first object of attention. The Greeks, willing to protect all who would declare in their quarrel, in pursuance of this request, resolved to send their chief forces to guard the passage which separates Macedonia from Thessaly, near the river Peneus. But Alexander, the son of Amyntas, representing that post as untenable, they were obliged to change their measures; and at last resolved to send a body of men to guard the pass at Thermopylæ, where a few were capable of acting against numbers.

Thermopylæ was a narrow pass of twenty-five feet broad,

between Thessaly and Phocis, defended by the remains of a wall, with gates to it, formerly built by the Phocians, to secure them against the incursions of their neighbouring enemy. From these gates, and some hot baths, which were at the entrance into the pass, the strait had its name. This was pitched upon, as well for the narrowness of the way, as for its vicinity to the sea, from whence the land forces could occasionally receive assistance from the fleet. The command of this important pass was given to Leonidas, one of the kings of Sparta, who led thither a body of six thousand men. Of these three hundred were Spartans, the rest consisting of Boeotians, Corinthians, Phocians, and Arcadians, all such as in the present exigency were prepared for the field, and were not afraid of the numbers of the enemy. Each of these had particular commanders of their own, but Leonidas had the conduct of the whole. But though the determined resolution of these troops was incapable of being shaken, little was expected from the nature of their destination. They were all along taught to look upon themselves as a forlorn hope, only placed there to check the progress of the enemy, and give them a foretaste of the desperate valour of Greece; nor were even oracles wanting to check their ardour. It had been declared, that, to procure the safety of Greece, it was necessary that a king, one of the descendants of Hercules, should die. This task was cheerfully undertaken by Leonidas; and as he marched out from Lacedæmon, he considered himself as a willing victim offered up for the good of his country. However, he joyfully put himself at the head of his little band, took possession of his post, and, with deliberate desperation, waited at Thermopylæ for the coming up of the Persian army.

Xerxes, in the mean time, approached with his numerous army, flushed with success, and confident of victory. His camp exhibited all the marks of eastern magnificence and Asiatic luxury. He expected to meet no obstruction on his way to Greece; he led on his forces rather to terrify the enemy than to fight them; great, therefore, was his surprise, to find that a few desperate men were determined to dispute his passage. He had all along flattered himself, that, on the first hearing of his arrival, the Grecians would betake them-

selves to flight: nor could he ever be persuaded to believe what Demaratus had assured him, that, at the first pass he came to, his whole army would be put to a stand. He himself took a view of their camps and intrenchments. The Lacedæmonians were some of them calmly amusing themselves with military exercises, others with combing their long hair. He inquired the reason of this conduct; and he was informed that it was the Spartan manner of preparing themselves for battle. Still, however, entertaining some hopes of their flight, he waited four days to give them time to reflect on the greatness of their danger; but they still continued gay and unconcerned, as men who regarded death as the end of labour. He sent to them to deliver up their arms. Leonidas, with truly Spartan contempt, desired him to "come and take them." He offered, if they would lay down their arms, to receive them as friends, and to give them a country much larger and better than what they fought for. No country, they replied, was worth acceptance, unless won by virtue; and that for their arms, they should want them, whether as his friends, or enemies. Upon this, the monarch addressed himself to Demaratus, asking, if these desperate men could expect to out-run his horses? Demaratus answered, that they would fight it out to the last, and not a man of them would survive his country's freedom. Some men were heard to say, that the Persians were so numerous, that their darts would darken the sun. Dienece, a Spartan, replied, "Then we shall fight in the shade."

Xerxes, thus treated with contempt, at length ordered a body of Medes to advance; desiring such as had lost any of their relations at the battle of Marathon, to take their revenge upon the present occasion. Accordingly they began the onset, but were repulsed with great loss. The number of the assailants only served to increase their confusion; and it now began to appear, that Xerxes had many followers, but few soldiers. These forces being routed by the Grecian troops, the Persian Immortal Band was brought up, consisting of ten thousand men, to oppose them. But these were as unsuccessful as the former. The charge was renewed the next day, Xerxes endeavouring to inspire his troops with the promises of reward, since he found they were dead to the sense of shame. But

though their charge was violent, it was unsupported; and the Greeks, standing closely connected in a body, withstood the shock, and filled the way with Persian carcasses. During these unsuccessful assaults, Xerxes was a spectator, sitting upon his throne, placed upon an eminence, and directing the order of battle, impetuous in his pride and resentment, and now and then seen to leap from his seat, when he beheld his troops in confusion, or offering to give way.

Thus did the Greeks keep their ground for two days, and no power on earth seemed capable of removing them from their advantageous situation. Xerxes, out of all hopes of being able to force a passage, appeared under the greatest consternation; but he was relieved from his embarrassment by the appearance of Epialtes, a Trachinian, who had deserted from the enemy, and undertook to show his troops a secret path, that led through the defiles of the mountains, and through which a body of forces might be led to fall upon the Grecians in the rear. He quickly, therefore, dispatched a body of twenty thousand men thither, who, marching all night, arrived, at the break of day, at the top of the mountain, and possessed themselves of that advantageous post.

The Greeks were soon apprized of this misfortune; and Leonidas, seeing that his post was no longer tenable, advised the troops of his allies to retire, and reserve themselves for better times; and the future safety of Greece. As for himself, and his fellow Spartans, they were obliged by their laws not to fly; that he owed a life to his country, and that it was now his duty to fall in its defence. Thus having dismissed all but his three hundred Spartans, with some Thespians and Thebans, in all not a thousand men, he exhorted his followers in the most cheerful manner to prepare for death. "Come, my fellow soldiers," says he, "let us dine cheerfully here, for to night we shall sup with Pluto." His men, upon hearing his determined purpose, set up a loud shout, as if they had been invited to a banquet, and resolved every man to sell his life as dearly as he could. The night now began to advance, and this was thought the most glorious opportunity of meeting death in the enemy's camp, where the silence would favour desperation, and hide the smallness of their numbers. Thus resolved, they made directly to the Persian tents, and, in the

darkness of the night, had almost reached the royal pavilion, with hopes of surprising the king. The obscurity added much to the horror of the scene: and the Persians, falling upon each other without distinction, rather assisted the Grecians than defended themselves. Thus success seemed to crown the rashness of their enterprise, until, the morning beginning to dawn, the light discovered the smallness of their numbers. They were soon, therefore, surrounded by the Persian forces, who, fearing to fall in upon them, flung their javelins from every quarter, till the Greeks, not so much conquered, as tired with conquering, fell amidst heaps of the slaughtered enemy, leaving behind them an example of intrepidity never known before. Leonidas was one of the first that fell, and the endeavours of the Lacedæmonians to defend his dead body were incredible. It was found, after the battle, buried under a mountain of the dead, and was nailed to a cross, by way of infamy, by the brutal victor. Of all the train, two only escaped, whose names were Aristodemus and Panites. The latter, upon his return to Sparta, was branded with infamy, and treated with such contempt, that he killed himself. Aristodemus reserved himself for another occasion, and, by his bravery at the battle of Platæa, recovered that honour which he had lost. Some time after this transaction, the Amphyctions ordered a magnificent monument to be erected over those brave defenders of their country, and Simonides, the poet, wrote their epitaph.

Xerxes, in this battle, is said to have lost twenty thousand men, among whom were two of his brothers. But, to conceal the greatness of his loss from the army, he caused all but a thousand of those that were slain to be buried in holes indiscriminately; however, this stratagem had very bad success, for when the soldiers of his fleet were curious some time after in taking a survey of the field of battle, they discovered the artifice, and urged it as an act of flagrant impiety against him.

Dismayed at an obstinacy in the enemy that cost him so dear, Xerxes was, for some time, more inclined to try his fortune at sea, than to proceed immediately into the country, where he had learned from Demaratus, that eight thousand Spartans, such as he had but lately fought with, were ready to receive him. Accordingly, the very day of the battle of Thermopylæ, there was an engagement at sea between the

two fleets. The Grecian fleet consisted of two hundred and seventy-two vessels. That of the enemy had lately lost four hundred vessels in a shipwreck, but was still greatly superior to the fleet of the Grecians. To repair this loss by a victory, two hundred Persian vessels had orders to take a compass, and surprise the Grecians lying in the straits of Eubœa; but the Grecians, being apprized of their designs, set sail by night, and so, by a counter surprise, fell in with them while they were thus separated from their main squadron, took and sunk thirty, forced the rest to sea, and there, by stress of weather, they were all soon after either sunk or stranded. Enraged at these disappointments, the Persians bore down the next day with their whole fleet, and, drawing up in form of an half-moon, made an offer of battle, which the Greeks as readily accepted. The Athenians, having been reinforced with three and fifty sail, the battle was very obstinate and bloody, and the success pretty nearly equal on both sides, so that both parties seemed content to retire in good order.

All these actions, which passed near Artemisa, though at that time indecisive, yet served not a little to animate and inspire the Athenians, who were now taught to think that there was nothing either formidable in their numbers, or useful in the size of the Persian ships. Thus strengthening themselves with the hopes of more splendid engagements, they sailed away from Artemisa, and stopped at Salamis, where they might most conveniently assist the Athenians.

In the mean time, Xerxes having entered with his numerous army into the country of Phocis, burned and plundered every town through which he passed. The inhabitants of Peloponnesus, who were naturally defended by their inaccessible situation, as their country was joined to the continent only by a neck of land, thought it the most prudent way to defend the isthmus by a wall, take shelter behind that rampart, and to leave the rest of Greece to the mercy of the conqueror. The Athenians, however, whose country lay without the isthmus, remonstrated loudly against this desertion, and endeavoured to persuade the Greeks to face the enemy in the plain. But prudence prevailed, and Themistocles gave them to understand, that though their country should be for a while overrun

by the barbarous invader, yet they had still their wooden walls to rely on, for their fleet was ready to transport them to such of their settlements as they thought proper. At first, however, this advice was the most hateful that could be imagined. The people thought themselves inevitably lost if they should once abandon the temples of their gods, and the tombs of their ancestors. But Themistocles, using all his eloquence and address to work upon their passions, represented to them, that Athens did not consist either of its walls or its houses, but of its citizens, and that the saving of these was the true preservation of the state. A decree, therefore, was passed, by which it was ordained, that Athens, for a while, should be given up in trust to the gods, and that all the inhabitants, whether in freedom or slavery, should embark on board the fleet. When they began to prepare for this extraordinary embarkation, they had recourse to the council of Areopagus, who, from funds to us unknown, distributed eight drachmas to every man who went on board. In this calamitous desertion, Cimon, though very young, was seen encouraging the citizens by his words and example. Bearing in his hand a part of his horse's furniture, he went to offer it as now useless, in the temple of Minerva, and then going down to the water-side, was the first that cheerfully went on board. When he was followed by the rest of the city, so moving and melancholy a sight drew tears even from the most obdurate. A brave, generous, polite, and ancient people, now forced from their native seats, to undergo all the vicissitudes and dangers of the sea; to implore a retreat from foreign states, and give up their native lands to the spoiler, was a most moving spectacle. Yet the steadiness and courage of some, and the pious resignation of all, demanded the utmost admiration. The young and adventurous embarked for Salamis; the old, the women, and children, took shelter at the city of Trezene, the inhabitants of which generously offered them an asylum. They even allowed them a maintenance at the expense of the public, permitted their children to gather fruit wherever they pleased, and appointed masters for their instruction. But, in this general desertion, that which extremely raised the compassion of all, was the great number of old men they were obliged to leave in the

city, on account of their age and infirmities. Many also voluntarily remained behind, believing that the citadel, which they had fortified with wooden ramparts, was what the oracle pointed out for general security. To heighten this scene of general distress, the matrons were seen clinging with fond affection to the places in which they had so long resided; the wives filled the streets with loud lamentations, and even the poor domestic animals seemed to take a part in the general concern. It was impossible to see those poor creatures run howling and crying after their masters, who were going on shipboard, without being strongly affected. Among these, the faithfulness of a particular dog is recorded, who jumped into the sea after his master, and continued swimming as near as he could to the vessel till he landed at Salamis, and died the moment after upon the shore. Those few inhabitants that remained behind retired into the citadel, where, literally interpreting the oracle, they fortified it as well as they could, and patiently awaited the invader's approach.

While Xerxes was continuing his march, he was told that the Grecians were employed in seeing the games and combats then celebrating at Olympia. It was not without indignation that he found his power so little able to terrify his enemies, or interrupt their amusements. Having sent off a considerable detachment of his army to plunder the temple at Delphos, with the rest he marched down into Attica, where he found Athens deserted of all but a few in the citadel. These men, despairing of succour, and unwilling to survive the loss of their country, would listen to no terms of accommodation; they boldly withstood the first assault, and, warmed by enthusiasm of religion, began to hope for success. But a second assault carried their feeble out-works; they were all put to the sword, and the citadel reduced to ashes. Flushed with this success, Xerxes dispatched a messenger to Susa with the news of his victories, and, at the same time, sent home a great number of pictures and statues, among which were those of Harmodius and Aristogiton.

In the mean time, the confederate Greeks summoned a council of war, to consult upon the proper manner and place of opposing this barbarous inundation. With respect to the operations by land, it was universally determined to defend

the isthmus by a wall, and Cleombrotus, the brother of Leonidas, was appointed to command that station; but as to the operations at sea, these were not so generally agreed on. Eurybiades the Spartan, who was appointed to the command of the fleet, was for having it advance near the isthmus, that it might co-operate with the army at land; but Themistocles was entirely of another opinion, and asserted, that it would be the most manifest error to abandon so advantageous a post as that of Salamis, where they were then stationed. They were now, he said, in possession of the narrow seas, where the number of the enemy could never avail them; that the only hope now left the Athenians was their fleet, and that this must not be capriciously given up by ignorance to the enemy. Eurybiades, who considered himself as glanced at, could not contain his resentment, but offered to strike Themistocles for his insolence. "Strike me," cried the Athenian, "strike me, but hear me." His moderation and his reasoning prevailed; the generals were reconciled to each other, and the result of the council was, that they should prepare to receive the Persians on the isthmus by land, and in the strait of Salamis by sea.

Meanwhile Xerxes, after having demolished and burned Athens, marched down towards the sea, to act in conjunction with his fleet, which he had determined should once more come to an engagement with the enemy. This was what Themistocles most ardently desired in his present situation, but he was fearful his confederates would not have courage to abide the encounter. Their thoughts were still bent upon sailing towards the isthmus, and assisting their army in case of distress. Themistocles, therefore, in this exigence, was obliged to have recourse to one of those stratagems which mark superiority of genius: he contrived to let Xerxes privately understand, that the confederates were now assembled at Salamis, preparing for flight, and that it would be an easy task to attack and destroy them. This information was attended with the desired success. Xerxes gave orders to his fleet to surround Salamis by night, in order to prevent an escape which he so much dreaded.

In this manner the Grecian fleet was blocked up, and no safety remained but in intrepidity and conquest. Even The-

mistocles himself was not apprized of the situation of his own forces and that of the enemy; all the narrow straits were blocked up, and the rest of the Persian fleet were sent for, to make every passage impracticable. In this exigence, Aristides, in whose bosom the love of his country always prevailed over every private revenge, was resolved to venture all, in order to apprize Themistocles of his situation and danger. He was then at Egina, where he had some forces under his command, and, with very great danger, ventured in a small boat through all the fleet of the enemy by night. Upon landing, he made up to the tent of Themistocles, and addressed him in the following manner:—"If we are wise, Themistocles, we shall henceforth lay aside those vain and puerile dissensions which have hitherto separated us. One strife, and a noble emulation it is, now remains for us, which of us shall be most serviceable to our country. It is yours to command as a general, it is mine to obey as a subject: and happy shall I be, if my advice can any way contribute to your and my country's glory." He then informed him of the fleet's real situation, and warmly exhorted him to give battle without delay. Themistocles felt all that generous gratitude which so disinterested a conduct demanded; and, eager to show a return of noble friendship, let him into all his projects and aims, particularly this last, of suffering himself to be surrounded. After this, they used their joint authority with the other commanders to persuade them to engage, and accordingly both fleets prepared themselves for battle. ○

The Grecian fleet consisted of three hundred and eighty ships, the Persian fleet was much more numerous; but, whatever advantage they had in numbers, and the size of their ships, they fell infinitely short of the Greeks in their naval skill, and their acquaintance with the seas where they fought; but it was particularly in their commander that the Greeks had the advantage. Eurybiades had nominally the conduct of the fleet, but Themistocles in reality conducted all their operations. Nothing escaped his vigilance, and he knew how to improve every incident to the greatest advantage. He therefore deferred the onset, until a wind, which at that time of the year was periodical, and which he knew would be favourable, should set in. As soon as this arose, the signal

was given for battle, and the Grecian fleet sailed forward in exact order.

Xerxes, imputing his former ill success at sea to his own absence, was resolved to be a witness of the present engagement, from the top of a promontory, where he caused a throne to be erected for that purpose. This served, in some measure, to animate his forces, who, conscious of their king's observance of them, resolved to merit his applause. The Persians, therefore, advanced with such courage and impetuosity, as struck the enemy with terror, but their ardour abated when the engagement became closer. The numerous disadvantages of their circumstances and situation then began to appear. The wind blew directly in their faces: the height and heaviness of their vessels rendered them unwieldy and useless; even the number of their ships, in the narrow sea where they fought, only served to embarrass and increase their confusion. The Ionians, whom Themistocles had implored, by characters engraven along the rocks of the coast, to remember from whence they derived their original, were the first who betook themselves to flight. In the other wing the contest was for some time doubtful, until the Phoenicians and Cyprians being driven on shore, the rest retired in great disorder, and fell foul of each other in their retreat. In this total defection, Artemisia alone seemed to stop the progress of victory; and, at the head of her five ships, performed incredible acts of valour. Xerxes, who was a spectator of her conduct, could not help crying out, that his soldiers behaved like women in the conflict, and the women like soldiers. As this queen, from her signal intrepidity, was become very obnoxious to the Athenians, a price was set upon her head; sensible of which, as she was upon the point of falling into their hands, by a lucky turn of thought, she pretended to desert from her own party, and to fall foul of one of their ships. The Greeks, thus concluding that she either belonged to them, or was a deserter, permitted her to escape. In the mean time, the confederates pursued the Persian fleet on every side; some were intercepted at the straits of Attica, many were sunk, and more taken. Above two hundred were burnt, all the rest were dispersed; and the allies, dreading the resentment of the Greeks, as well as of the Persian king, made the best of their way to their own country.

Such was the success of the battle of Salamis, in which the Persians had received a severer blow than they had ever hitherto experienced from Greece. Themistocles, in a secret conversation with Aristides, was, or pretended to be, so elated, as to propose breaking down the bridge by which Xerxes had made his way into Europe. Whether Themistocles was really sincere in the proposal, remains a doubt; but Aristides used all his powers to dissuade his coadjutor from such an undertaking. He represented to him the danger of reducing so powerful an enemy to desperation, and asserted, that it was his wish to be relieved from such an usurper with all possible dispatch. Themistocles at once acquiesced in his reasons; and, in order to hasten the king's departure, contrived to have him secretly informed, that the Grecians designed to break down the bridge.

The situation of Xerxes was such, that the smallest repulse was now sufficient to wean him from his darling expedition. Astonished at the late overthrow, and alarmed at this new information, he only wanted a decent pretext for retreating, when Mardonius came conveniently to extricate him from his embarrassments. He began by extenuating the late loss, and the many expedients that remained to relieve their situation; he laid all the blame of their defeat upon the cowardice of the auxiliaries, and their insincere attachment to his cause. He advised him to return speedily to his kingdom, lest his ill success, and fame, which always represents things worse than they are, should occasion any commotions in his absence. He engaged, if he would leave him three hundred thousand of his choice troops, to subdue all Greece with glory. On the other hand, if the event proved otherwise, he would take all the blame of miscarriage, and suffer in person, if it were to retrieve the honour of his master. This advice was very well received by Xerxes, who, thinking enough had been given to glory, when he had made himself master of Athens, prepared to return to Persia at the head of a part of his army; leaving the other part of it with Mardonius, not so much with the hopes of reducing Greece, as through the fear of being pursued.

These resolutions were communicated in a council held soon after the fight; and the night following, the fleet set sail

in great confusion towards the Hellespont, and took up their winter quarters at Cuma. The king himself, leaving the generals to take care of the army, hastened with a small retinue to the sea side, which he reached forty-five days after the battle of Salamis. When he arrived at that place, he found the bridge broken down by the violence of the waves, in a tempest that had lately happened. He was therefore obliged to pass the strait in a small boat; which manner of returning, being compared to the ostentatious method in which he had set out, rendered his disgrace still more poignant and afflicting. The army, which he had ordered to follow him, having been unprovided with provisions, suffered great hardships by the way. After having consumed all the corn they could find, they were obliged to live upon herbs, and even upon the bark and leaves of trees. Thus harassed and fatigued, a pestilence began, to complete their misery: and, after a fatiguing journey of forty-five days, in which they were pursued rather by vultures and beasts of prey than by men, they came to the Hellespont, where they crossed over. They marched from thence to Sardis. Such was the end of Xerxes' expedition into Greece: a measure begun in pride, and terminated in infamy. It is to be observed, however, that we have all this account from the Greek writers only, who, no doubt, have been partial to their countrymen. I am told, that the Persian historians represent this expedition in a very different light; and say, that the king was recalled, in the midst of his successes, to quell an insurrection at home. Be this as it will, the affairs of Persia seemed after that to go backward, until the time when Alexander led a conquering army of Greeks to invade them in turn.

CHAPTER VII.

FROM THE RETREAT OF XERXES TO THE PEACE CON- CLUDED BETWEEN THE GREEKS AND PERSIANS.

THE first object the Greeks attended to after the battle of Salamis was to send the first fruits of the rich spoil they had taken from the Persians to Delphos. Considered in a confederated light, they were ever attentive to the duties of religion; and though their sects and opinions in philosophy taught mankind to entertain but very mean ideas of the object of public worship, yet it was religion that formed their bond of union, and for a while held them feebly together. When that bond came to be broken, and the council of the Amphytyons became rather a political than a religious assembly, the general union no longer prevailed, and the different states fell a sacrifice to their own contentions.

The joy of the Greeks upon this victory was general and loud: every commander had his share of honour, but the glory of Themistocles eclipsed that of all the rest. It was a custom in Greece, that, after a battle, the commanding officers should declare who had distinguished themselves most, by writing the names of such as merited the first and second rewards. On this occasion each officer concerned adjudged the first rank to himself, but all allowed the second to Themistocles, which was, in fact, allowing him a tacit superiority. This was farther confirmed by the Lacedæmonians, who carried him in triumph to Sparta; and who, having adjudged the reward of valour to their own countryman, Eurybiades, adjudged that of wisdom to Themistocles. They crowned him with olive, presented him with a rich chariot, and conducted him with three hundred horse to the confines of their state. But there was an homage paid him that flattered his pride yet more: when he appeared at the Olympic games, the spectators received him with uncommon acclamations. As soon as he appeared the

whole assembly rose up to do him honour: nobody regarded either the games or the combatants; Themistocles was the only spectacle worth their attention. Struck with such flattering honours, he could not help observing, that he that day reaped the fruits of all his labours.

After the Grecians were returned from pursuing the Persian fleet, Themistocles sailed to all the islands that had espoused their interests, in order to levy contributions. The first he applied to was that of Andros, from whose inhabitants he required a considerable sum. "I come," said he, "to you, accompanied by two very powerful divinities, Persuasion and Necessity." "Alas!" replied they, "we also have divinities on our side, Poverty and Impossibility." In consequence of this reply, he blocked them up for some time; but, finding them too well fortified, he was obliged to retire. Some other islands, however, were neither furnished with so much reason, nor so much power. He exacted large sums from all such as were incapable of opposition; and these contributions he chiefly converted to his own private advantage: thus showing in his own character two very oddly assorted qualities, avarice and a love of fame.

Mardonius, who remained in Greece with a body of three hundred thousand men, passed the winter in Thessaly; and, in the beginning of spring, led them down into the province of Boeotia. From thence he sent Alexander, king of Macedonia, with a splendid retinue, to Athens, to make proposals for an accommodation, and to endeavour to make them separate their interests from the general cause of Greece. He offered to rebuild their city, to give them a considerable sum of money, to suffer them to enjoy their laws and constitution, and to give them the government of all Greece. The Spartans, alarmed at this alluring offer, dispatched a messenger to Athens, who was instructed to say, that they hoped the Athenians entertained juster notions of true glory and patriotism; that they held the common danger, by which the various states of Greece were bound to give mutual aid to each other, as of a more urgent nature; and, at least, that they had a greater reverence for the memory of their illustrious ancestors, than to sacrifice those whom they had so gallantly defended and delivered, by acceding to the infamous

terms which had been proposed. That the Athenians might not hold up necessity as a plea for their complying, the Spartans generously offered to maintain their wives and children at their own expense, and in their own city. Aristides was at that time in the highest office, being principal archon at Athens. It was in his presence that the king of Macedon made his proposals, and that the deputies from the other states of Greece endeavoured to avert the force of them. But Aristides wanted no prompter but the natural dictates of his own heart to give them an answer. "To men," said he, "bred up to pleasure and ignorance, it is natural to proffer great rewards, and to hope by bribes to buy off virtue. Barbarians, who make silver and gold the chief objects of their esteem, may be excused for thinking to corrupt the fidelity of a people; but that the Lacedæmonians, who came to remonstrate against these offers, should suppose they could prevail, was indeed surprising. The Athenians have the common liberty of Greece entrusted to their care, and mountains of gold are not able to shake their fidelity. No: so long as that sun, which the Persians adore, continues to shine with wonted splendour, so long shall the Athenians be mortal enemies to the Persians; so long shall they continue to pursue them for ravaging their lands, for burning their houses, and polluting their temples: such is the answer we return to the Persian proposal: and you," continued he, addressing himself to Alexander, "if you are truly their friend, refrain for the future from being the bearer of such proposals; your honour, and perhaps even your safety, demands it."

The treaty being thus broke up, Mardonius prepared to set out with vigour, and invaded Attica, which the Athenians were once more obliged to desert, and leave to his fury. He entered Athens ten months after it had been taken by Xerxes, the inhabitants having again conveyed themselves to Salamis, and other neighbouring places. In that state of exile and want they continued, contented with all their sufferings, since repaid by freedom. Even Lyoidas, a senator, who attempted to propose a submission, was stoned to death, while his wife and children met with the same fate from the women; so

strong was the aversion which the Athenians had conceived against all communications with Persia.

In the mean time the Spartans, whose duty it was to co-operate with the Athenians with equal ardour, unmindful of the general cause, only thought of making preparations for their own security, and resolved to fortify the isthmus, in order to hinder the enemy from entering into Peloponnesus. This the Athenians considered as a base and ungrateful defection; and sent deputies to remonstrate against the Spartan conduct. These had orders to say, that if Sparta should persist in its partial method of seeking security, the Athenians would follow their example; and, instead of suffering all for Greece, would turn with their fleet to the Persians, who, being thus masters of the sea, could invade the territory of Sparta whenever they should think proper. These menaces had so good an effect, that five thousand men were privately dispatched, each attended with seven Helotes, and were actually upon their march before the Spartans gave the Athenian deputies any answer.

Mardonius, at this time, had left Attica, and was on his return to the country of Boeotia, where he resolved to wait the approach of the enemy, as he could there draw up his forces with greater ease than in the hilly parts of Attica, where a few might be opposed to numbers with greater success. He encamped by the river Asopus, along the banks of which his army extended, consisting of three hundred thousand fighting men.

Great as this army was, the Greeks, with much inferior forces, resolved to meet it in the field. Their forces were by this time assembled, and amounted to seventy thousand men; of these, five thousand were Spartans, attended by thirty-five thousand Helotes. The Athenians amounted to eight thousand, and the troops of the allies made up the remainder. In the right wing of this army the Spartans were placed, commanded by Cleombrotus; in the left wing the Athenians, with Aristides at their head. In this order they followed Mardonius into Boeotia, determined on trying the fate of a battle, and encamped at no great distance from them at the foot of Mount Cythæron. Here they continued for some time, awaiting in

dreadful suspense a battle that was to determine the fate of Greece. Some skirmishing between the Persian cavalry and the wing of the Grecian army, in which the latter were successful, seemed to give a presage of future victory, which, however, for ten days, neither side seemed willing to strike for.

While the two armies were thus opposed, waiting the most favourable opportunity of engaging, the Greeks, by their mutual dissensions, were on the point of losing their freedom in satisfying their mutual jealousy. The first dispute that arose in the army was begun by the Tegeans, who contended with the Athenians upon the point of precedence. They willingly allowed the Spartans the command of the right wing, as they constantly had it; but they insisted on having the left, alleging, that they had earned it by former acts of valour and well-known success. The dispute ran high, a mutinous disposition began to prevail in all parts of the army, and the enemy were likely to become victorious without a blow. In this general spirit of dissension, Aristides only appeared unmoved. Long noted for his impartiality and justice, all parties fixed their eyes upon him, as the only person from whom they could expect a pacification. Wherefore, turning himself to the Spartans, and some of the rest of the confederates, he addressed them in the following manner: "It is not now a time, my friends, to dispute of the merit of past services, for all boasting is vain in the day of danger. Let it be the brave man's pride to own, that it is not the post or station which gives courage or which can take it away. I head the Athenians: whatever post you shall assign us, we will maintain it, and will endeavour to make our station, wherever we are placed, the post of true honour and military glory. We are come hither, not to contend with our friends, but to fight with our enemies: not to boast of our ancestors, but to imitate them. This battle will distinguish the merit of each city, each commander; and the lowest sentinel will share the honour of the day." This speech determined the council of war in favour of the Athenians, who, thereupon, were allowed to maintain their former station.

A fatal conspiracy, in the midst of the Athenians, threatened consequences still more dangerous, because they were unseen.

Some of the best and richest families, who had wasted their fortunes in the war, and lost their credit in the city, entered into a conspiracy to deliver up Greece into the hands of the Persians. Aristides, however, still watchful in the service of the state, was early informed of their machinations, and instantly laid their schemes before the general council. Notwithstanding, he was contented with having eight of the conspirators arrested, and of these, two only were reserved for trial. Yet his lenity, or, to call it by a truer name, his prudence, would not permit him to act rigorously even against these: as he knew that severity, in times of general danger, would but depress the ardour of the army, he permitted them to escape, and thus sacrificed public justice to public security.

Both armies had now continued for ten days in sight of each other, in anxious expectation of an engagement, both willing to begin, yet both afraid to strike, as the aggressor was to engage at a disadvantage. But Mardonius, being naturally of an impatient, fiery disposition, grew very uneasy at so long a delay. Besides, he had only a few provisions left for his army, and the Grecians grew every day stronger by the addition of fresh supplies. He therefore called a council of war, to deliberate whether he should give battle. Artabarnas, a person of singular merit and great experience, was of opinion, that they should not hazard a battle, but that they should retire under the walls of Thebes; while the enemy, formed of various troops, and subject to different leaders, would destroy each other by their various dissensions; or might be partly corrupted to give up the common cause. This opinion was the most reasonable: but Mardonius, spurred on by his natural impetuosity, and wearied with a protracted war, resolved to engage, nor had the rest courage to contradict his resolution. The result, therefore, was, that they should give battle the next day.

This being resolved on the side of Persia, the Greeks were not less prepared for the engagement; for they had been secretly apprized the night before, by Alexander, king of Macedon, of the result of the Persian councils. Pausanias, therefore, the commander in chief, gave orders to his army to prepare themselves for battle; and, drawing up his forces, placed

the Athenians on the right, as being better acquainted with the Persian manner of fighting, and flushed with former success. Whether it was fear or prudence that suggested this change to the general, the Athenians took the post of honour with exultation; nothing was heard among them but mutual exhortations to bravery, and a steady resolution to conquer or fall. But Mardonius, hearing of this alteration in the disposition of the Grecian army, made an alteration also in his own. This also once more produced a change in the disposition of the Greeks; by this changing and rechanging the order of battle, nothing farther was done for that day.

At night the Greeks held a council of war, in which it was resolved, that they should decamp from their present situation, and march to another more conveniently situated for water. As their removal was performed in the night, much disorder ensued; and in the morning, Mardonius, perceiving them scattered over the plain, supposed that they were flying, rather than retreating; he therefore resolved to pursue with his whole army. The Greeks, perceiving his design, soon collected their scattered forces, which the darkness had dispersed but not intimidated, and halting near the little city of Platæa, there determined to wait the shock of their pursuers. The barbarian forces soon came up to the engagement, with their accustomed howling, expecting rather to plunder than to fight. The Lacedæmonians, who closed up the rear of the Grecian army, were the first who supported the shock of the assailants. They were, in some measure, separated from the rest of the army by the obstinacy of one of their own regiments, who considered their retreat as contrary to the idea of Spartan discipline; but, still consisting of a formidable body of men, they were in a capacity of making head against the invaders. Collecting themselves, therefore, into a phalanx, they stood impenetrable and immoveable to all the assaults of the enemy.

In the mean time, the Athenian troops, who were apprized of the attack, quickly turned back, in order to assist their allies; but the Greeks, who were in Persian pay, to the number of five thousand, intercepted their return. Thus the battle was divided into two, and fought with great ardour in various parts of the field. But nothing could resist the weight

of the Spartan phalanx, who, after some time, broke in upon the Persian forces, and put them into disorder. In this tumult, Mardonius, attempting to destroy the order of battle, and rushing into the midst of the carnage, was killed by Aimonestus, a Spartan, and soon after all his army betook themselves to flight. The other Greek troops soon followed the brave example set them by Sparta, and the rout became general. Artabazus, who commanded a body of forty thousand Persians, fled with them towards the Hellespont, while the rest fortified themselves in their camp with wooden ramparts. There they were attacked by the Spartans, who were not well skilled in that part of war; but the Athenians soon came up to their assistance, and easily effected a breach in this hasty rampart. It was then that the slaughter of the enemy was indiscriminate and terrible. Of all the Persian army that had taken refuge there, not four thousand men escaped. Above an hundred thousand men were put to the sword; and the conquerors, willing to rid their country at once of their terrible invaders, refused to give quarter. Thus ended the Persian invasions of Greece, nor ever after was the Persian army seen to cross the Hellespont.

The carnage being at last over, the Greeks buried their dead, which at most did not amount to ten thousand men; and soon after, as a testimony of their gratitude to Heaven, they caused a statue of Jupiter to be made at the general expense, which they placed in his temple at Olympia. It was now that the first funeral games and funeral orations were invented. They were meant to serve, not only as monuments of honour to the dead, but as incitements to glory to the living. The names of the several nations of Greece, that were present in the engagement, were engraven on the right side of the pedestal of the statue that was dedicated to Jupiter; the Spartans first, the Athenians next, and all the rest in order.

While success attended the Grecian arms by land, they were not less fortunate at sea. The greatest part of the Persian fleet, after the defeat at Salamis, wintered at Cumæ, and in the spring moved to Samos, both to guard and awe the coasts of Asia. The Grecians, in the mean while, were refitting their ships at Ægina; and, being importuned by the Samians, they put to sea, under the conduct of Leotychides

the Spartan and Xanthippus the Athenian. The Persians, apprized of their approach, and having long experienced their own inferiority, would not venture to oppose them at sea, but drew up their ships upon land at Mycale, a promontory of Ionia, where they fortified them with a wall and a deep trench, while they were also protected by an army of sixty thousand foot, under the command of Tigranes. This, however, did not deter the Greeks from venturing to attack them. Leotychides, having endeavoured to make the Ionians revolt, landed his forces, and the next day prepared for the assault. He drew up his army in two bodies; the one, consisting chiefly of Athenians and Corinthians, kept the plain, whilst the other, of Lacedæmonians, marched over the hills and precipices to gain the highest ground. The battle being joined, great courage and resolution was shown on both sides, and the fortune of the day continued for a long time in suspense. The defection of the Greek auxiliaries in the Persian army turned the fate of the battle; the Persians were soon routed, and pursued with great slaughter to their very tents. The Athenians had made themselves masters of the field before the Lacedæmonians could come up to their assistance; so that all the share these had in the action was to disperse some Persian troops, which were attempting to make a regular retreat, soon after their ramparts were forced, and all their vessels burnt: so that nothing could be more complete than the victory at Mycale. Tigranes, the Persian general, and forty thousand men of his army, lay dead on the field of battle; the fleet was destroyed; and of the great army brought into Europe by Xerxes, scarcely one man remained to carry back the tidings.

The battle of Plataea was fought in the morning, and that of Mycale in the evening of the same day. But what is very extraordinary, it is universally affirmed, that the victory of Plataea was known at Mycale before the battle began, though it is a passage of several days from one place to the other. It is most probable, that Leotychides framed the report to encourage his army, and incite them to emulate their associates in the cause of freedom.

During these misfortunes, Xerxes, who had been the cause of all, lay at Sardis, expecting the event of his expedition.

But messengers coming every hour, loaded with the news of some fatal disaster, and finding himself unable to retrieve his affairs, he retired farther into the country, and endeavoured to drown in luxury and riot the uneasy reflections of his successless ambition. To the want of success abroad was added the contempt of his subjects at home; and this brought on a train of treasons, insurrections, sacrilege, murder, incest, and cruelty; so that the latter part of his reign was as scandalous as the first part of it had been unfortunate.

The Grecian fleet, after the battle of Mycale, set sail towards the Hellespont, in order to possess themselves of the bridges which Xerxes had built over that strait; but finding them already destroyed by the tempestuous weather, they returned home. From this time all the cities of Ionia revolted from the Persians, and having entered into the general confederacy, most of them preserved their liberty during the time that empire subsisted.

The treasures which the Persians had brought into Greece were very great, and, in consequence of their defeat, became a prey to the conquerors. From this period the Greeks began to lose their spirit of hardy and laborious virtue, and to adopt the refined indolence and captious petulance, and the boundless love of pleasure, which extreme wealth is ever known to produce. The former equality of the people now began to be broken, and while one part of the inhabitants rioted in opulence and luxury, another was seen pining in want and despair. It was in vain that philosophy reared its head to stop these calamities; its voice reaches but to a few; the great and the little vulgar are equally deaf to its dictates. From this time we are to view a different picture; and, instead of a brave and refined people, confederating against tyranny, we are to behold an enervated and factious populace, a corrupt administration, and wealth alone making distinction.

CHAPTER VIII.

FROM THE VICTORY AT MYCALE TO THE BEGINNING OF THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR.

No sooner were the Greeks freed from the apprehensions of a foreign invasion, than they began A.M. 3526. to entertain jealousies of each other. Indeed, these petty animosities had all along subsisted among them, but they were kept under by the sense of general danger. As this collection of republics was composed of states entirely dissimilar in manners, interests, and inclinations, it was no way surprising to find its parts ever at variance with each other. The first marks of jealousy, upon the destruction of the Persian army, exhibited themselves between the Athenians and Spartans. The one a refined, ambitious state, unwilling to admit a superior in the general confederacy: the other a hardy, unpolished race, which could never think of admitting a feeble state as an equal. The Athenians, with their families, being returned to their own country, began to think of rebuilding the city, which had been almost destroyed during the Persian war. As every new foundation aims at improving the old, they laid a plan of strengthening and extending their walls, and giving their city at once more magnificence and security. This was but natural. However, the Lacedæmonians conceived a jealousy at this undertaking, and began to think, that Athens, from being mistress of the seas, would soon attempt usurping all authority upon land. They therefore sent an embassy to the Athenians, to dissuade them from this undertaking; giving as an ostensible reason, the danger such fortifications would be of to the general confederacy, if they should ever fall into the hands of the Persians. This message at first appeared reasonable, and the Athenians put an immediate stop to their undertaking; but Themistocles, who, since the battle of Salamis, continued

to guide in the assemblies of Athens, easily saw through the pretext, and advised the council to meet their dissimulation with similar address. He therefore answered the Spartan ambassadors, that the Athenians would soon send an embassy to Lacedæmon, in which they would fully satisfy all their scruples. Having thus gained time, he procured himself to be elected for that important negociation, and took care to draw out the treaty by studied delays. He had previously desired that his colleagues should follow one after another, and still he alleged at Lacedæmon, that he only waited for their arrival to determine the affair at a single audience. During all this time the work was carried on at Athens with the utmost vigour and industry: the women and children, strangers and slaves, were all employed in it, nor was it interrupted for a single day. It was in vain that the Spartans complained of this procedure; it was in vain that they urged Themistocles to hasten his business; he stedfastly denied the fact, and entreated them not to give any credit to loose and idle reports. He desired they would send again, and inquire into the truth of the matter; and at the same time advised the Athenians to detain the Spartan envoys until he and his colleagues should return. At last, finding all his pretences for delay exhausted, he boldly demanded an audience, and knowing that the work was finished, he no longer kept on the mask. He then informed the Spartans, in full council, that Athens was now in a condition to keep out an enemy, whether foreign or domestic. That what his countrymen had done was conformable both to the law of nations, and the common interest of Greece. Every city had a right to consult for its own safety, without submitting to the advice or control of its neighbours. That what had been done was entirely in consequence of his advice: and, in short, that whatever injury they offered him, they must expect it would be returned upon their own ambassadors, who were still detained at Athens. These declarations extremely displeased the Lacedæmonians; but, either sensible of their truth, or unwilling to come to an open rupture, they dissembled their resentment; and the ambassadors on both sides, having all suitable honours paid them, returned to their respective cities. Themistocles was received with as much joy by his fellow citizens as if he had returned from triumph;

and he was of a disposition to feel these honours with the highest delight.

Having thus taken proper precautions for securing the city, his next care was to strengthen the port, and form an harbour at once spacious and secure. He likewise obtained a decree, that every year they should build twenty vessels, to continue and augment their force by sea; and, in order to engage the greater number of workmen and sailors to resort to Athens, he caused particular privileges and immunities to be granted to them. His design was to render Athens a maritime city; in which he followed a very different system of politics from their former governors, who bent all their efforts to alienate the minds of the people from commerce and naval affairs.

But as success in one part is apt to lead on to designs still more extensive, Themistocles was willing to outstep the bounds of justice in the prosecution of his darling objects. He even formed a plan of supplanting Sparta, and making Athens the unrivalled mistress of Greece. On a certain day, therefore, he declared, in a full assembly of the people, that he had a very important design to propose, but which could not be communicated to the public, as the execution required secrecy and dispatch. He therefore desired they would appoint a person to whom he might explain himself, one whose judgment might direct, and whose authority might confirm him in his design. It was not easy to miss the wisest and the best man of the state, and Aristides was unanimously chosen by the whole assembly, as the properest person to weigh the justice as well as the utility of the proposal. Themistocles, therefore, taking him aside, told him, that the design he had conceived was to burn the fleet belonging to the rest of the Grecian states, which then lay in a neighbouring port, and thus procure Athens an undisputed sovereignty of the sea. Aristides, inwardly displeased at the proposal, made no answer, but returning to the assembly informed them, that nothing could be more advantageous to Athens than what Themistocles proposed, but that nothing could be more unjust. The people, still possessed of a share of remaining virtue, unanimously declined the proposal, without knowing its contents, and conferred the surname of "Just" upon

Aristides; a title still the more flattering, as he had so well deserved it.

Thus Athens, being restored to peace and security, once more began to apply to those arts that adorn life and secure freedom. The people began to assume a greater share in the government of the state than they had hitherto aspired at, and steps were every day taken to render the constitution entirely popular. Aristides perceived this, and justly dreaded the consequences of a democratic government: he therefore procured a decree, that the archons, who were the chief magistrates of the state, should be chosen indiscriminately from all ranks of the Athenians without distinction. Thus, by indulging the citizens in a part of their wishes, he secured a legal subordination among the whole.

In the mean time the Grecians, encouraged by their former victories, resolved to send a fleet to deliver their confederates, who still groaned beneath the Persian yoke. Pausanias commanded the Spartan fleet, while Aristides, and Cimon, the son of Miltiades, were appointed to conduct the fleets of Athens. This was the first time the latter, who was yet very young, was placed in a sphere for the exhibition of his virtues. He had formerly suffered himself to be imprisoned till he could pay his father's fine; and his piety upon that occasion gave the most favourable presage of his future greatness. When set at liberty, his services in war soon became conspicuous; and it was seen that he acted with the courage of his father, the judgment of Themistocles, and with more sincerity than either. The ingenuous openness of his temper being easily seen, he was opposed in the state as a counterpoise to the craft and subtlety of Themistocles, and thus advanced to the highest employments, both at home and abroad. Under these commanders the allied fleet first directed their course to the isle of Cyprus, where they restored all the cities to their liberty; then, steering towards the Hellespont, they attacked the city of Byzantium, of which they made themselves masters, and took a vast number of prisoners, many of whom were of the richest and most considerable families of Persia.

The success of this expedition was not more flattering to the Greeks than in the end prejudicial to them. A deluge of wealth pouring in, corrupted the simplicity, and tainted the

manners of every rank of people. The Athenians, already skilled in the arts of politeness and effeminacy, concealed their change for a time; but it soon broke out among the Spartans, and Pausanias himself, their commander, was the first who was infected with the contagion. Being naturally of an haughty and imperious temper, and still more impressed with the gloomy austerity of Sparta, he set no bounds to his ambition; he treated his officers, and even the confederate generals, with severity, arrogance, and disdain; and so much alienated the minds of the soldiers, that he was forsaken by all the confederates, who put themselves under the command and protection of Aristides and Cimon. This haughty and impolitic conduct was the means of transferring the sovereignty of the sea from the Lacedæmonians to the Athenians; it gave a bias to the scale of the Athenian power, which no subsequent effort of the Spartans could possibly counteract. Aristides and Cimon had ever preserved an evenness of conduct; affable, courteous, and obliging, they tempered their authority with mildness, and won, by their gentle manners, such as they could not engage by their benefits. An opposition so mortifying could not but be displeasing to Pausanias. It was in vain that he attempted to keep up his authority by pride and ostentation; his importance sunk with his unpopularity; and he became contemptible, even to those that still acknowledged his command.

Perhaps it was from these motives that he resolved to sacrifice his country to his ambition, and give up to the Persians a state, where he could no longer expect to dictate. Be this as it will, he made overtures for gaining the favour of Xerxes; and, in order to ingratiate himself at the court of that monarch, he suffered some of his more exalted prisoners to make their escape by night. These prisoners were commissioned with letters to Xerxes, wherein he offered to deliver up Sparta and all Greece, on condition that he would give him his daughter in marriage. Xerxes readily hearkened to the proposal, and referred him to Artabazus, his governor, to concert measures with him for putting it in execution. He also furnished him with a large sum of money, to be distributed among such of the Grecian states as would join in the conspiracy.

How long this treaty continued secret, we are not told, but it was discovered at Sparta before it could be put in execution, and Pausanias was ordered home to take his trial for the offence. The proofs, however, against him, were not sufficient for conviction, as the Ephori had made it a rule never to convict a man but upon the plainest evidence. But his command was taken from him, and he retired, still meditating revenge, and the destruction of his country. It was not long, however, before he received a second summons to appear before the Ephori, for fresh crimes; and a number of his own slaves were found to depose against him. Still, however, he had the fortune to come off; the mildness of the Spartan laws, and the authority of his regal office, which he still possessed, conspiring to protect him.

Pausanias, having in this manner twice escaped the justice of his country, would not, however, abandon his base projects, or sacrifice his resentment to his safety. Immediately upon his being acquitted, he returned to the sea coasts, without any authority from the state, and still continued to carry on his correspondence with Artabazus. He now acted with such little reserve, that his conduct was known to the Ephori, and they only wanted information to convict him. While they were thus perplexed for want of evidence, a certain slave, who was called the Argilian, cleared their doubts, and came with proofs which could not be resisted. This man had been employed by Pausanias to carry a letter to Artabazus, and he accordingly prepared himself for the expedition; but, reflecting that many of his fellow slaves had been sent on similar messages, and seeing none of them return, he was induced to open the packet of which he was the bearer, and there he discovered the mystery, and his own danger. It seems that Pausanias and the Persian governor had agreed to put to death all the messengers they mutually sent to each other as soon as their letters were delivered, that there might be no possibility left of tracing out or discovering the correspondence. This letter he delivered to the Ephori, who were now convinced that Pausanias was guilty; but, for a more thorough confirmation, they were willing to have it from himself. For this purpose, they contrived that the slave should take sanctuary in the temple of Neptune, as for safety and protection, and un-

der a pretence of supplicating the deity for the infidelity he had committed. The instant Pausanias was informed of his slave's behaviour, he hastened to the temple to inquire the reason; where the slave informed him, that, having opened this letter, he found the contents fatal to himself, and therefore took this method of averting the danger. Pausanias, instead of denying the fact, endeavoured rather to pacify the slave, and promised him a large reward to bribe his future secrecy. But during this interview, the Ephori had privately posted persons to overhear the conversation, and they soon divalged his guilt. The moment, therefore, he was returned to the city, the Ephori resolved to seize him, and from the aspect of one of these magistrates he plainly perceived his danger: he therefore flew to take sanctuary in the temple of Minerva, and got thither before his pursuers could overtake him. As the religion of the state would not permit his being taken forcibly from thence, the people stopped up the entrance with great stones, and, tearing off the roof, left him exposed to the inclemency of the weather. After a short stay, he was starved to death: and in this miserable manner died the general, who had led on the victorious troops to the field of Plataea.

The fate of Pausanias soon after involved that of Themistocles, who had some time before been banished, and lived in great esteem at Argos. A passionate thirst of glory, and a strong desire to command arbitrarily over the citizens, had made him very odious at Athens. He had built near his house a temple in honour of Diana, under this title, "To Diana, the Goddess of Good Counsel;" as hinting his own counsels upon several important occasions, and thus tacitly reproaching his fellow citizens of having forgotten them. This, though a small offence, was sufficient to expel him from so fluctuating and jealous a state as that of Athens; but he was now accused of having participated in, and having been privy to, the designs of Pausanias. In fact Pausanias had communicated to him all his designs, but Themistocles had rejected his proposals with the utmost indignation. But then he concealed his enterprizes, either thinking it base to betray the secrets trusted to his confidence, or imagining it impossible for such dangerous and ill-concerted schemes to take effect. Be this as it will, upon the downfall of Pausanias, it appeared that a correspondence had

been carried on between them, and the Lacedæmonians declared themselves his accusers before the assembly of the people of Athens. Such of the citizens as had long either envied or feared Themistocles, now joined in the general accusation, and urged his death with great acrimony. Aristides alone, who had long been his open opposer, refused to join them in this base confederacy against him, and rejected so mean an opportunity of revenge, being as little inclined to delight in the misfortunes of his adversary, as he had before been to envy his successes. It was in vain that Themistocles answered by letters to the calumnies laid against him ; it was in vain that he alleged, that a mind like his, disdaining slavery at home, could think of wishing for it in exile ; the people, too strongly wrought upon by his accusers, sent persons to seize and bring him before the council of Greece. Fortunately, however, he had timely notice of their design, and went to take refuge in the island of Corcyra ; to the inhabitants of which he had formerly done signal services. From thence he fled to Epirus, and finding himself still pursued by the Athenians, grown at length desperate, he fled to Admetus, king of the Molossians, for refuge. There he first practised all the abject arts of a man obliged to sue to a tyrant for succour. He had, upon a former occasion, been instrumental in preventing the Athenians from granting aid to this monarch, and this was now severely remembered against him. Admetus was from home at the time Themistocles came to implore protection ; and, upon his return, he was surprised to find his old adversary, who had come to put himself under his protection. As soon as the king appeared, Themistocles took that monarch's young son in his arms, and, seating himself amidst the household gods, informed him of the cause of his arrival, and implored his clemency and protection. Admetus, surprised and moved with compassion at seeing the greatest man of Greece an humble suppliant at his feet, raised him immediately from the ground, and promised him protection. Accordingly, when the Athenians and Lacedæmonians came to demand him, he refused absolutely to deliver up a person who had made his palace an asylum, in the firm persuasion that it would afford him safety and protection. Thus continuing to spend the close of life in indolence and retirement, having learned to pardon and despise the ingratitude of his country, he expected at least

their forgiveness. But the Athenians and Lacedæmonians would not suffer him to live in peace, and still insisted on having him delivered up. In this exigence, as the king found himself unable to protect his illustrious guest, he resolved to promote his escape. He was therefore put on board a merchant ship, which was sailing to Ionia, and his quality concealed with the utmost precaution. A storm having carried the ship near the island of Naxos, then besieged by the Athenians, the imminent danger he was in of falling into their hands compelled him to discover himself to the pilot, and prevailed upon him to steer for Asia; where, arriving at Cumæ, a city of Æolia, in Asia Minor, he was from thence sent under a strong guard, and in one of those covered chariots in which the Persians were accustomed to convey their wives, to the court of Sardis. C

When the unfortunate exile was arrived at the palace of the voluptuous monarch of the country, he waited on the captain of the guard, requesting as a Grecian stranger to have permission to speak with the king. The officer informed him of a ceremony, which he knew was insupportable to some Greeks, but without which none were allowed that honour: this was to fall prostrate before the Persian monarch, and to worship him as the living image of the gods on earth. Themistocles, who was never scrupulous of the means of obtaining what he sought, promised to comply, and falling on his face before the king, in the Persian manner, declared his name, his country, and misfortunes. "I have done," cried he, "my ungrateful country services more than once, and I am now come to offer those services to you. My life is in your hands: you may now exert your clemency, or display your vengeance: by the former you will preserve a faithful suppliant; by the latter you will destroy the greatest enemy to Greece." The king made him no answer at this audience, though he was struck with admiration at his eloquence and intrepidity; but he soon gave a loose to his joy for the event. He told his courtiers, that he considered the arrival of Themistocles as a very happy incident, and wished that his enemies would for ever pursue the same destructive methods of banishing from among them the good and wise. His joys were even continued in a dream. At night he was seen to start from his sleep, and three times to cry out, "I have got Themistocles, the Athenian." He even

gave him three cities for his support, and had him maintained in the utmost affluence and splendour. It is said, that such was his favour at the Persian court, and so great was the consideration in which he was held by all ranks of mankind, that, one day at table, he was heard to cry out to his wife and children that were placed there, "Children, we should have been certainly ruined, if we had not been formerly undone."

In this manner he lived in affluence and contented slavery, until the king began to think of employing his talents in sending him at the head of an army against Athens. Although Themistocles professed himself an open enemy to that state, yet he still harboured a latent affection for it, which no resentment could remove. The consciousness that he should be instrumental in overturning a city which had been made to flourish by his counsels, gave him inexpressible pain. He found himself at last unable to sustain the conflict between his gratitude to the king and his love to his country; and, therefore, resolved upon dying, as the only means of escaping from his perplexity. He therefore prepared a solemn sacrifice, to which he invited all his friends, when, after embracing them all, and taking a last farewell, he swallowed poison, which soon put an end to his life. He died at Magnesia, aged threescore and five years, the greatest part of which he had spent in the intrigues and bustles of active employment. Themistocles seemed to unite in himself all the prominent features of the Greek character; sagacious, eloquent, and brave, yet unprincipled, artful, and mercenary, with too many virtues ever to be mentioned as a despicable character, and too many defects ever to be considered as a good one.

In the mean time, while Themistocles was thus become the sport of fortune, the just Aristides attempted a nobler path to glory. It has already been observed, that the command of Greece had passed from Sparta to the Athenians; and it was agreed among the body of the states, that their common treasure, for carrying on the expenses of the war should be lodged in the island of Delos, under the custody of a man of a clear head and an uncorrupt heart. The great question, therefore, was, where to find a man to be trusted with so important a charge, and stedfastly known to prefer the public interest to his own. In this general disquisition, all parties at last cast their eyes on Aristides, of whom Themistocles used jestingly

to say, that he had no other merit than that of a strong box, in keeping safely what was committed to his charge.

The conduct of Aristides in his discharge of this duty, only served to confirm the great opinion mankind had formed of his integrity. He presided over the treasury with the care of a father over his family, and the caution of a miser over what he holds dearer than life. No man complained of his administration, and no part of the public money was exhausted in vain. He, who thus contributed to make government rich, was himself very poor; and so far was he from being ashamed of poverty, that he considered it as glorious to him as all the victories he had won. It happened, upon a certain occasion, that Callias, an intimate friend and relation of Aristides, was summoned before the judges for some offence; and one of the chief objections alleged against him was, that, while he rolled in affluence and luxury, he suffered his friend and relation, Aristides, to remain in poverty and want. Upon this occasion Aristides was called upon, when it appeared that Callias had often offered to share his fortune with him, but that he declined the benefit; asserting, that he only might be said to want, who permitted his appetites to transgress the bounds of his income; and that he, who could dispense with a few things, thus rendered himself more like the gods, that want for nothing.

In this manner he lived, just in his public, and independent in his private capacity. His house was a public school for virtue, and was open to all young Athenians, who sought wisdom, or were ambitious of power. He gave them the kindest reception, heard them with patience, instructed them with familiarity, and endeavoured, above all things, to give them a just value for themselves. Among the rest of his disciples, Cimon, who afterwards made such a distinguished figure in the state, was one of the foremost.

History does not mention the exact time or place of his death; but it pays the most glorious testimony to his disinterested character, in telling us, that he, who had the absolute disposal of all the public treasures, died poor. It is even asserted, that he did not leave money enough behind him to pay the expenses of his funeral, but that the government was obliged to bear the charge of it, and to maintain his family. His daughters were married, and his son subsisted at the ex-

pense of the public : and some of his grandchildren were supported by a pension, equal to that which such received as had been victorious at the Olympic games. But the greatest honour which his countrymen paid to his memory was in giving him the title of Just, a character far superior to all the empty titles of wisdom or conquest ; since fortune or accident may confer wisdom or valour, but the virtues of morality are solely of our own making.

Athens being in this manner deprived of the counsels and integrity of her two greatest magistrates, room was now made for younger ambition to step forward ; and Cimon, the son of Miltiades, promised to act his part with dignity and honour. Cimon had spent his youth in excesses, from the bad effect of which it was thought no effort could extricate him. When he first offered to gain public favour, he was so ill received by the people, prejudiced against him for his former follies, that he suffered the most cruel neglect. But, though he was possessed of courage and abilities, he began to lay aside all thoughts of public respect, being contented with humbler satisfactions. But Aristides perceiving that the dissolute turn of mind was united with many great qualifications, he inspired him with fresh hopes, and persuaded him once more to renew the onset. He now, therefore, entirely changed his conduct, and, laying aside his juvenile follies, aimed at nothing but what was great and noble. Thus he became not inferior to Miltiades in courage, or to Themistocles in prudence, and was not far surpassed by Aristides in integrity.

The first expedition of any note, to the command of which Cimon was appointed, was of the fleet destined to scour the Asiatic seas. When he was arrived at Caria, all the Grecian cities upon the sea-coast immediately came over to him ; and the rest, which were garrisoned by the Persians, were taken by storm. Thus, by his conduct, as well as by his intelligence, the whole country from Ionia to Pamphylia declared against the power of Persia, and joined in the association with Greece.

The capture of the city of Eion is too remarkable to be passed over in silence. Boges was governor, who held it for his master, the king of Persia, with a firm resolution to save it, or perish in its fall. It was in his power to have capitulated with the besiegers, and Cimon had often offered him

very advantageous terms ; but, preferring his honour to his safety, he declined all treaty, and defended his station with incredible fury, till he found it no longer possible to continue his defence. Being at last in the utmost want of provisions, he threw all his treasures from the walls into the river Strymon, after which, killing his wife and children, he laid them upon a pile, which he had erected for that purpose, and then setting fire to the whole, rushed and expired in the midst of the flames.

From thence Cimon repaired to Scyrus, an island inhabited by a set of piratical Pelasgi and Dolopians. Having attacked and dispersed these banditti, he planted some Athenian colonies along the shores of the *Ægean* sea ; the trade of which was now laid open to the Greeks. He next carried the arms of Greece into Euboea, where he procured the alliance of the Carystians, on terms of his own proposing. He now reduced Naxos to obedience ; but, having found the inhabitants very obstinate and refractory, he judged it proper to deprive them of their freedom. This is the first instance in which any dependent city was enslaved, without the concurrence of the confederacy. But such stretches of power soon became common to all the leading states in Greece. The Athenians had imposed taxes on many of the colonies, and of the cities and islands that had been conquered. These taxes the people submitted to with much reluctance ; and, whenever they saw a promising opportunity, they were sure to revolt. Hence was afforded a plea, for the first Grecian general that might overcome such a people, to rob them of their liberty.

Cimon, thus proceeding from one conquest to another, was at last informed, that the whole Persian fleet was anchored at the mouth of the river Eurymidon, where they expected a reinforcement of ships from Phœnicia, and therefore deferred an engagement till then. The Athenian general, however, resolved, if possible, to prevent this junction, and ranged his galleys in such a posture as to prevent it, and yet compel the enemy to an engagement. It was in vain that the Persian fleet retired farther up the mouth of the river, the Athenians still pursued them up the stream, until they were obliged to prepare for battle. The Persians, having the superiority of a hundred sail, maintained the conflict for some time with great intrepidity ; but, being at last forced on shore, they who came

first threw themselves upon land, leaving their empty vessels to the enemy. Thus, besides what were sunk, the Athenians took above two hundred ships; and, following their blow upon land, the Greek soldiers, jumping from their ships, and setting up a shout, ran furiously upon the enemy, who sustained the first shock with great resolution. But, at length, the Grecian valour surmounted the enemy's desperation; a total rout of the Persians ensued, numbers were made prisoners, and a great quantity of plunder seized, which was found in their tents. Thus the Greeks obtained a double victory by sea and land upon the same occasion.

Cimon, having returned successful from this expedition, resolved to expend those treasures, which he had taken in war, in beautifying and adorning his native city. A taste for architecture had for some time been gaining ground in Greece, and the Athenians gave the world examples in this art, that surpass all others to this very day. Victories so very humiliating to the pride of Persia, induced that empire at last to think of peace; and, after some time, a treaty was concluded, in which the terms were very honourable on the side of Greece. It was stipulated, that the Grecian cities in Asia should be left in quiet enjoyment of their liberty, and that both the land and sea forces of the Persians should be kept at such a distance from the Grecian seas, as not to create the smallest suspicion. Thus entirely ended the Persian war, which had kept the Grecian states united, and called all their abilities into exertion; from that time forward, those enmities, which were dissipated upon the common foe, began to be turned upon each other: the Greeks lost all warlike spirit in petty jealousies, and, entirely softened by the refinements and luxuries of peace, prepared themselves for submission to the first invader of their freedom.

About this time the study of philosophy was carried from Ionia to Athens, by Athenagoras the Clazomenian. Poetry was, at the same time, cultivated by Simonides, of the island of Ceos, who sung the exploits of his country in a style becoming their valour. His writings, however, have not had merit enough to preserve them from oblivion; and it may be asserted, that mankind never suffer any work to be lost, which tends to make them more wise or happy.

CHAPTER IX.

FROM THE PEACE WITH PERSIA TO THE PEACE OF NICIAS.

THE state of Athens, being thus, in a great measure, freed from its fears of a foreign enemy, began to cherish intestine animosities, and its citizens laboured with every art to supplant each other in aiming at places of trust and authority. Besides Cimon, who, by general consent, had been appointed to conduct the fleet and army, others endeavoured to take the lead at home, and to govern with less hazard the operations of the state. The foremost in this attempt was Pericles, who was much younger than Cimon, and of a quite different character. Pericles was descended from the greatest and most illustrious families of Athens: his father, Xantippus, defeated the Persians at Mycale; and his mother, Agarista, was niece to Callisthenes, who expelled the tyrants, and established a popular government in Athens. He had early thoughts of rising in the state, and took lessons from Anaxagoras, in the philosophy of nature. He studied politics with great assiduity, but particularly devoted himself to eloquence, which, in a popular state, he considered as the fountain of all promotion. His studies were crowned with success; the poets, his contemporaries, affirm that his eloquence was so powerful, that, like thunder, he shook and astonished all Greece. He had the art of uniting force and beauty; there was no resisting the strength of his arguments, or the sweetness of his delivery. Thucydides, his great opponent, was often heard to say, that, though he had often overthrown him, the power of his persuasion was such, that the audience could never perceive him fallen.

To this eloquence he added also a thorough insight into human nature, as well as a perfect acquaintance with the disposition of his auditors. It was a constant saying with him to

himself, "Remember, Pericles, thou art going to speak to men born in the arms of liberty, and do thou take care to flatter them in their ruling passion." He resembled the tyrant Pisistratus, not only in the sweetness of his voice, but the features of his face, and his whole air and manner. To these natural and acquired graces he added those of fortune; he was very rich, and had an extensive alliance with all the most powerful families of the state.

The death of Aristides, the banishment of Themistocles, and the absence of Cimon, gave opportunities to his growing ambition. Yet he at first concealed his designs with the most cautious reserve, till, finding the people growing more and more in his interest, he set himself at their head, and opposed the principal men of the state with great appearance of disinterested virtue. The chief obstacle to his rise was Cimon, whose candour and liberality had gained him a numerous party of all ranks and denominations. In opposition to him, Pericles called in popular assistance; and, by expending the public money in bribes, largesses, and other distributions, he easily gained the multitude to espouse his interests.

Thus having laid a secure foundation in popularity, he next struck at the council of the Areopagus, composed of the most respectable persons of all Athens; and, by the assistance of one Ephialtes, another popular champion, he drew away most causes from the cognizance of that court, and brought the whole order into contempt. In this manner, while Cimon was permitted to conduct the war abroad, he managed all the supplies at home; and, as it was his interest to keep Cimon at a distance, he took care to provide him with a sufficiency of foreign employment.

In this state of parties at Athens, an insurrection of the Helotæ, or Lacedæmonian slaves, gave an opportunity of trying the strength of either. These men, who had, for several centuries, groaned under the yoke of oppression, and had been excluded from all hopes of rising, merely by the influence of an unjust prejudice, at last took up arms against their masters, and threatened no less than the destruction of the Spartan state. In this extremity the Lacedæmonians sent to Athens to implore succour; but this was opposed by Ephialtes, who declared, that it would be no way advisable to as-

sist them, or to make a rival city powerful by their assistance. On the other hand, Cimon espoused the cause of Sparta, declaring, that it was weak and inconsistent to maim the Grecian confederacy, by suffering one of its members to be tamely lopped away. His opinion for this time prevailed: he was permitted to march forth, at the head of a numerous body, to their relief, and the insurrection was quelled at their approach. But, shortly after, the mischief broke out afresh. The Helots possessed themselves of the strong fortress of Ithome, and the Spartans again petitioned for Athenian assistance. It was now that the party of Pericles was found to prevail, and the Lacedæmonians were refused a compliance with their demands. Thus left to finish the war with their insurgent slaves in the best manner they could, after besieging Ithome, which held out for ten years, they at last became masters of it, sparing the lives of those who defended it, upon condition of leaving Peloponnesus ever after.

In the mean time, the refusal on the side of Athens, and some indignities said to have been received from the Lacedæmonians, revived a jealousy that had long subsisted between these rival states, which continued thenceforward to operate with greater or more diminished influence, until both were utterly unable to withstand the smallest efforts of foreign invasion.

The first instance the Athenians gave of their resentment was to banish Cimon, who had been a favourer of the Spartan cause, for ten years, from the city. They next dissolved their alliance with Sparta, and entered into a treaty with the Argives, the professed enemies of the former. The slaves of Ithome were also taken under Athenian protection, and settled with their families at Naupactus. All the privileges of Spartan subjects were demanded in behalf of the Athenians residing in Lacedæmon; and all the benefits of the Spartan laws, in behalf of their own dependent cities. But what contributed to widen the breach still more, the city of Megara, revolting from its alliance with Sparta, was protected and garrisoned by the Athenians: thus was laid the foundation of an inveterate hatred, which ended in the mutual destruction of both states.

The chief motive to this insolent and treacherous conduct

of the Athenians was the high tone of superiority which they had assumed ever since the victory of Plataea. That victory had raised them to the same national eminence with the Lacedæmonians. Their ideas of grandeur and rank had, from that period, been fostering. It was not, in their opinion, sufficient that they were accounted equal to the Spartans; they must needs be looked upon as their superiors. They therefore call themselves the "Protectors of Greece:" they desire that the convention of the state shall be held at Athens; and determine to avenge the slightest affront by the edge of the sword.

As in all beginning enmities, several treaties were entered into, and several leagues concluded on both sides, till at last they came to a formal rupture. Two pitched battles between the Athenians and Corinthians, in which either side was alternately victorious, sounded the alarm. Another followed between the Athenians and Spartans at Tanagra, in which Cimon, forgetting the injury he had sustained from his country, came to its assistance; but the Athenians suffered a defeat. A month or two after, another engagement happened, and the Athenians were in their turn victorious. The conduct of Cimon again restored him to public favour; he was recalled from banishment, in which he had spent five years; and it was Pericles, his rival, who first proposed the decree.

The first use Cimon made of his return was to reconcile the two rival states to each other; and this was so far effected outwardly, that a truce for five years was concluded between them. This led the way to exerting the power of the state upon a more distant enemy. By his advice, a fleet of two hundred sail was manned, and destined, under his command, to conquer the island of Cyprus. He quickly sailed, overran the island, and laid siege to Citium. Here, being either wounded by the defendants, or wasted by sickness, he began to perceive the approaches of dissolution; but, still mindful of his duty, he ordered his attendants to conceal his death, until their schemes were crowned with success. They obeyed with secrecy and success. Thirty days after he was dead, the army, which still supposed itself under his command, gained a signal victory; thus he died not only in the arms of conquest, but gained battles merely by the efficacy of his name. With Ci-

mon, in a great measure, expired the spirit of glory in Athens. As he was the last, so he was the most successful of the Grecian heroes. Such was the terror of the Persians at his name, that they universally deserted the sea coasts, and would not come within four hundred furlongs of the place where he could possibly be expected.

Pericles being now, by the death of Cimon, freed from a potent rival, set himself to complete the work of ambition which he had begun; and, by dividing the conquered lands, amusing the people with shows, and adorning the city with public buildings, he gained such an ascendant over the minds of the people, that he might be said to have attained a monarchical power in Athens. He found means to maintain, for eight months in the year, a great number of poor citizens, by putting them on board the fleet, consisting of threescore ships, which he fitted out every year. He planted several colonies in the many places which had lately submitted to Athens. By this he cleared the city of a great number of idle persons, who were ever ready to disturb the government, and were, at the same time, unable to subsist. But the public buildings, which he raised, the ruins of some of which subsist to this day, are sufficient to endear his name to posterity. It is surprising, that in a city not noted for the number of its inhabitants, and in so short a space of time as that of his administration, such laborious, expensive, and magnificent works could be performed. All the arts of architecture, sculpture, and painting, were exhausted in his designs; and what still remain, continue to this hour as inimitable models of perfection. To effect these great works, he, in some measure, had recourse to injustice, and availed himself of those treasures which had been supplied by Greece for carrying on the war with Persia, and which, having been lodged at Delos, he had address enough to get transported to Athens, where he expended them in securing his own power by all the arts of popularity. By these means Athens became so much admired and envied by her neighbours, that it went by the name of the "Ornament;" and when it was urged, that the common treasure was squandered away in these works of show, Pericles answered, that the people of Athens were not accountable to any for their conduct; for they had the best right to the treasures of the confederated

states, who took the greatest care to defend them. He added, that it was fit that ingenious artisans should have their share of the public money, since there was still enough left for carrying on the war.

These were rather the arguments of power than persuasion, of a man already in possession, than willing, upon just grounds, to relinquish what he claimed. It was seen, not only by the wiser citizens, but by all the states of Greece, that he was daily striding into power, and that he would, as Pisistratus had done before, make the people the fabricators of their own chains. For remedying this growing evil, the heads of the city opposed Thucydides to his growing power, and attempted to restrain his career by opposing eloquence to popularity.

Thucydides was brother-in-law to Cimon, and had displayed his wisdom on numberless occasions. He was not possessed of the military talents of his rival, but his eloquence gave him a very powerful influence over the people. As he never left the city, he still combated Pericles in all his measures, and for a while brought down the ambition of his rival to the standard of reason.

But his efforts could not long avail against the persuasive power and corrupt influence of his opponent. Pericles every day gained new ground, till he at last found himself possessed of the whole authority of the state. It was then that he began to change his behaviour, and, from acting the fawning and humble suppliant, he assumed the haughty airs of royalty. He now no longer submitted himself to the caprice of the people, but changed the democratic state of Athens into a kind of monarchy, without departing, however, from the public good. He would sometimes indeed win his fellow citizens over to his will; but, at other times, when he found them obstinate, he would in a manner compel them to consult their own interests. Thus, between power and persuasion, public profusion and private economy, political falsehood and private integrity, Pericles became the principal ruler at Athens, and all such as were his enemies became the enemies of the state.

It is not to be wondered, that this prosperous and magnificent state of Athens was not a little displeasing to the rival states of Greece, especially as its state of splendour was, in

some measure, formed from their contributions. The Spartans, particularly, still continued to regard this growing city with envy, and soon showed their displeasure, by refusing to send deputies to Athens, to consult about repairing the temple that had been burnt down during the wars with Persia. The successes of Pericles, against the enemy in Thrace, still more increased their uneasiness; and particularly when sailing round Peloponnesus with an hundred ships, he protected the allies of Greece, and granted their cities all they thought fit to ask him. These successes raised the indignation of Sparta, while they intoxicated Athens with ideas of ambition, and opened new inlets for meditating conquest. The citizens now began to talk of attempts upon Egypt, of attacking the maritime provinces of Persia, of carrying their arms into Sicily, and of extending their conquests from Italy to Carthage. These were views beyond their power, and that rather marked their pride, than their ability or wisdom.

An expedition against Samos, in favour of the Milesians, who had craved their assistance, was the beginning of this rupture, which never after was closed up. It is pretended, that Pericles fomented this war to please a famous courtesan named Aspasia, of whom he was particularly enamoured. After several events and battles, not worth the regard of history, Pericles besieged the capital of Samos with tortoises and battering rams, which was the first time these military engines had been employed in sieges. The Samians, after sustaining a nine months' siege, surrendered. Pericles razed their walls, dispossessed them of their ships, and demanded immense sums to defray the expenses of the war. Flushed with this success, he returned to Athens, buried all those who had lost their lives in the siege in the most splendid manner, and pronounced their funeral oration.

A rupture now between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians seemed inevitable. Pericles, A.M. 3672. therefore to anticipate the designs of the rival state, advised that aid should be sent to the people of Corcyra, whom the Corinthians, assisted by the Lacedæmonians, had invaded.

As the quarrel between the Corcyreans and Corinthians gave rise to the great Peloponnesian war, which soon after involved all Greece, it will be necessary to give a slight ac-

count of its original. Epidamnus was a colony of the Corcyreans, which, growing first rich, and soon after factious, banished the chief of her citizens. The exiles joining with the Illyrians, brought the Epidamnians so low, that they were obliged to send to Corcyra, their parent city, for assistance. The Corcyreans rejecting their request, they had recourse to Corinth; and giving themselves up to that state, were taken under its protection. This, however, the Corcyreans began to resent, and, having been remiss in affording assistance themselves, resolved to punish such as should offer any. A rupture took place between the Corinthians and Corcyreans, some naval engagements ensued, in which the Corcyreans, being worsted, had recourse, as has been already observed, to the Athenians for support, who sent some naval succours, which, however, proved of no great efficacy in their defence.

From this war arose another; for Potidæa, a city belonging to Athens, declaring for Corinth, these two states, from being accessaries, became principals, and drew their forces into the field near Potidæa, where a battle ensued, in which the Athenians had the victory. It was in this battle that Socrates saved the life of Alcibiades, his pupil; and, after the battle was over, procured him the prize of valour, which he himself had more justly earned. The city of Potidæa was soon after besieged, in consequence of this victory, and the Corinthians complained to the states of Greece against the Athenians, as having infringed the article of peace. The Lacedæmonians, in particular, admitted them to an audience, where the deputies of Corinth endeavoured to rouse them into a sense of their danger from the ambitious designs of Athens; and threatened, if left unprotected, to put themselves under the command of a power strong enough to grant them protection and safety. After hearing what the Athenians had to reply, the Spartans came to a close debate among themselves, wherein it was universally agreed that the Athenians were the aggressors, and that they should be reduced to a just sense of their duty. But the dispute was, whether war should be immediately declared against them, or remonstrances made to bring them to reason. Archidamus, one of their kings, a man of prudence and temper, was of opinion, that they were not at this time a match for Athens, and endeavoured to dissuade them from

rushing into a thoughtless and improvident war. But Sthenelaidas, one of the Ephori, urged the contrary, alleging, that when once they had received an injury, they ought not to deliberate, but that revenge should follow insult. Accordingly a war was declared, and all the confederates were made acquainted with the resolution.

War being thus resolved upon, in order to give a colour of justice to their designs, the Lacedæmonians began by sending ambassadors to Athens; and, while they made preparations for acting with vigour, still kept up a show of seeking redress by treaty. They required of the Athenians the expulsion of some who had profaned the temple of Minerva at Cylon from their city; they demanded that the siege of Potidæa should be raised, and that the Athenians should cease to infringe upon the liberties of Greece.

Pericles now saw, that, as he had led the Athenians into a war, it was incumbent upon him to inspire them with courage to prosecute it with vigour. He showed his countrymen, that even trifles, extorted from them with an air of command, were in themselves a sufficient ground for war; that they might promise themselves a considerable share of success from the division in the confederated councils of their opponents; that they had shipping to invade their enemy's coasts, and their city, being well fortified, could not easily be taken by land. He concluded with telling them the absolute necessity there was for war; and that the more cheerfully they undertook it, the easier it would be to bring it to a happy conclusion. That the greatest honours had generally recurred to their state from the greatest extremities; that this should serve to animate them in its defence, so as to transmit it with undiminished honour to posterity. The people, giddy, fond of change, and unterrified by distant dangers, readily came into his opinion; and, to give some colour to their proceedings, returned evasive answers to the Spartan demand; and concluded with asserting, that they desired to adjust all differences by treaty, as unwilling to begin a war; but, in case of danger, they would defend themselves with desperate resolution.

Thus the people, from their love of change, entered hastily into the war, but Pericles was personally interested in its declaration. He was deeply indebted to the state, and knew

that a time of peace was the only opportunity in which he could be called upon to settle his accounts. It is said that Alcibiades, his nephew, seeing him one day very pensive, and demanding the reason, was answered, that he was considering how to make up his accounts. "You had better," said he, "consider how to avoid being accountable." Beside this, Pericles, finding no happiness in domestic society, gave himself up to the allurements of his mistress Aspasia, whose wit and vivacity had captivated all the poets and philosophers of the age, Socrates himself not excepted. She was inclined to oppose the Spartan state; and he, in some measure, is thought to have acquiesced in her advice.

War being thus resolved on, on every side, the first dawn of success seemed to offer in favour of Athens; the city of Plataea, that had lately declared for them, was surprised by three hundred Thebans, who were let in by a party of the town that joined in the conspiracy. But a part of the citizens, that had espoused the opposite interests, falling upon them in the night, killed a part, and took two hundred prisoners, who, a little time after, were put to death. The Athenians, as soon as the news was brought of this action, sent succours and provisions thither, and cleared the city of all persons who were incapable of bearing arms. From this time all Greece appeared in motion; every part of it took a side in the common quarrel, except a few states, who continued neuter till they should see the event of the war. The majority were for the Lacedæmonians, as being the deliverers of Greece, and espoused their interests with ardour. On their side were ranged the Achæians; the inhabitants of Pellene excepted, the people of Megara, Locris, Boeotia, Phocis, Ambracia, Leucadia, and Anactorium. On the side of Athens were the people of Chios, Lesbos, Plataea, many of the islands and several tributary maritime states, including those of Thrace, Potidea excepted:

The Lacedæmonians; immediately after their attempt upon Plataea, assembled a body of men, making up, with their confederates, sixty thousand in number. Archidamus, who commanded the army, harangued them in an animated speech. He told them, that the eyes of all Greece were upon them; that they were superior in numbers; and were to oppose an

enemy, not only inferior in number, but oppressed with the consciousness of their own violence and injustice. He exhorted them to march boldly into the country they were about to enter, with that courage for which they had been long famous, and with that caution which was requisite against so insidious an adversary. The whole army answered with an acclamation of joy; and thus that war, which was to be the destruction of Greece, was commenced in a phrenzy of transport by its shortsighted inhabitants, who hurried on to mutual ruin.

Pericles, on the other hand, prepared his scanty body of Athenians to meet the threatened blow. He declared to the Athenians, that should Archidamus, when he was laying waste the Athenian territories, spare any part of those lands that belonged to Pericles himself, he would only consider it as a trick to impose upon Athenian credulity; he, therefore, gave up all his property in those lands, and resigned them back to the state, from which his ancestors had originally received them. He declared to the people, that it was their interest to protract the war, and to let the enemy be ruined by delay. He advised them to remove all their effects from their country, and to shut themselves up in Athens without ever hazarding a battle. Their troops indeed were but very scanty, compared to those they were to oppose; they amounted but to thirteen thousand heavy armed soldiers, sixteen thousand inhabitants, and twelve hundred horse, with a body of archers about double that number. This was the whole army of the Athenians; but their chief strength consisted in a fleet of three hundred galleys, which, by continually infesting and plundering the enemy's coast, raised contributions sufficient to defray the expense of the war.

Impressed with the exhortation of Pericles, the Athenians, with a mixture of grief and resolution, forsook the culture of their fields, and carried all their possessions that could be conveyed away with them into Athens. They had now enjoyed the sweets of peace for near fifty years, and their lands bore an appearance of wealth and industry; but, from the fate of war, they were once more obliged to forsake culture for encampment, the sweets of rural life for the shocks of battle.

In the mean time the Lacedæmonians entered the country

at Oenoe, a frontier fortress, and, leaving it behind them, marched forward to Acharae, an unwall'd town, within seven miles of Athens. The Athenians, terrified at their approach, now began to convert their fury against the enemy into reproaches against their former leader. They abused him for bringing them into a war, in which he had neither strength to oppose, nor courage to protect them; they loudly desired, notwithstanding the inferiority of their number, to be led into the field of battle. Pericles, however, chose the more moderate part. He shut up the city gates, placed sufficient guards at all the posts around, sent out parties of horse to keep the enemy employed; and, at the same time, ordered out one hundred galleys to infest the coast of Peloponnesus. These precautions at last succeeded; after the Lacedæmonians had laid waste the whole country round Athens, and insulted the defenders of the city by their numbers and their reproaches, finding the place impregnable, they abandoned the siege, and the inhabitants once more issued from their walls in joy and security.

The Athenians, after this severe mortification, resolved to retaliate; being left at liberty to act offensively, as well by land as sea, they invaded the enemy's territory with their whole force in turn, and took Nisæ, a strong haven, with walls reaching into the city of Nigara.

Proud of the first dawn of success, the first campaign being elapsed, during the winter they expressed their triumph by public games at the funerals of those that were slain in battle. They placed their bodies in tents three days before the funeral; upon the fourth day coffins of cypress were sent from the tribes, to convey the bones of their relations; the procession marched with solemn pomp, attended by the inhabitants and strangers who visited the city; the relations and children of the soldiers who were killed stood weeping at the sepulchre; those who fell at the battle of Marathon indeed were buried on the field, but the rest received one common interment in a place called Ceramicus. Pericles, who had contributed to the saving of his country, contributed also to its honour, and pronounced a funeral oration over them, which remains to this day, at once a mark of his eloquence and his gratitude. But the joy of the public was not confined to

empty praises, ceremonies, and tears; a stipend was set apart for maintaining the widows and the orphans of those who fell in the service of their country. And thus ended the first year of the Peloponnesian war.

In the beginning of the ensuing summer, the Lacedæmonians renewed their hostilities, and invaded the territories of Athens with the same number of men as before. In this manner these capricious states went on to harass and depopulate each other: but a more terrible punishment now began to threaten them from nature. A plague broke out in the city of Athens, a more terrible than which is scarcely recorded in the annals of history. It is related, that it began in Ethiopia, whence it descended into Egypt, from thence travelled into Libya and Persia, and at last broke like a flood upon Athens. This pestilence baffled the utmost efforts of art; the most robust constitutions were unable to withstand its attacks; no skill could obviate, nor no remedy dispel, the terrible infection. The instant a person was seized, he was struck with despair, which quite disabled him from attempting a cure. The humanity of friends was as fatal to themselves, as it was ineffectual to the unhappy sufferers. The prodigious quantity of baggage, which had been removed out of the country into the city, increased the calamity. Most of the inhabitants, for want of lodging, lived in little cottages, in which they could scarcely breathe, while the burning heat of the summer increased the pestilential malignity. They were seen confusedly huddled together, the dead as well as the dying, some crawling through the streets, some laying along by the sides of fountains, whither they had endeavoured to repair, to quench the raging thirst which consumed them. Their very temples were filled with dead bodies, and every part of the city exhibited a dreadful scene of mortality, without the least remedy for the present, or the least hopes with regard to futurity. It seized the people with such violence, that they fell one upon another as they passed along the streets. It was also attended with such uncommon pestilential vapours, that the very beasts and birds of prey, though famishing round the walls of the city, would not touch the bodies of those who died of it. Even in those who recovered, it left such a tincture of its malignity, that it struck upon their senses. It ef-

faced the memory of all the passages of their former lives; and they knew neither themselves nor their nearest relations. The circumstances of this disease are described at large by Thucydides, who was sick of it himself; and he observes, among other effects of it, that it introduced into the city a more licentious way of living. For the people at first had recourse to their gods to avert that judgment; but, finding they were all alike infected, whether they worshipped them or not, and that it was generally mortal, they abandoned themselves at once to despair and riot; for, since they held their lives but as it were by the day, they were resolved to make the most of their time and money. The cause of it was generally imputed to Pericles, who, by drawing such numbers into the city, was thought to have corrupted the very air. Yet, though this was raging within, and the enemy wasting the country without, he was still in the same mind as before, that they ought not to rest all their hopes on the issue of a battle. In the mean time the enemy, advancing towards the coast, laid waste the whole country, and returned, after having insulted the wretched Athenians, already thinned by pestilence and famine.

Fickleness and inconstancy were the prevailing characters of the Athenians; and as these carried them on a sudden to their greatest excesses, they soon brought them back within the bounds of moderation and respect. Pericles had been long a favourite: the calamities of the state at last began to render him obnoxious; they had deposed him from the command of his army, but now repented their rashness, and reinstated him a short time after, with more than former authority. By dint of suffering, they began to bear patiently their domestic misfortunes; and, impressed with a love of their country, to ask pardon for their former ingratitude. But he did not live long to enjoy his honours. He was seized with the plague, which, like a malignant enemy, struck its severest blow at parting. Being extremely ill, and ready to breathe his last, the principal citizens, and such of his friends that had not forsaken him, discoursing in his bed-chamber concerning the loss they were about to sustain, ran over his exploits, and computed the number of his victories. They did not imagine that Pericles attended to what they said, as he seemed insen-

sible; but it was far otherwise, for not a single word of their discourse had escaped him. "Alas!" cried he, "why will you extol a series of actions, in which fortune had the greatest part; there is one circumstance which I would not have forgotten, yet which you have passed over; I could wish to have it remembered, as the most glorious circumstance of life—that I never yet caused a single citizen to put on mourning."

Thus died Pericles, in whom were united a number of excellent qualities without impairing each other. As well skilled in naval affairs as in the conduct of armies; as well skilled in the arts of raising money as of employing it; eloquent in public and pleasing in private; he was a patron of artists, at once informing them by his taste and example.

The most memorable transaction of the following years was the siege of Plataea by the Lacedæmonians. This was one of the most famous sieges in antiquity, on account of the vigorous efforts of both parties, but especially for the glorious resistance made by the besieged, and the stratagems to escape the fury of the assailants.

The Lacedæmonians besieged this place in the beginning of the third campaign. As soon as they had fixed their camp round the city, in order to lay waste the places adjacent, the Plataeans sent deputies to the Lacedæmonian general, declaring the injustice of injuring them, who had received their liberties on a former occasion from the Lacedæmonians themselves. The Lacedæmonians replied, that there was but one method to ensure their safety; which was, to renew that alliance by which they had originally procured their freedom; to disclaim their Athenian supporters, and to unite with the Lacedæmonians, who had power and will to protect them. The deputies replied, they could not possibly come to any agreement without first sending to Athens, whither their wives and children were retired. The Lacedæmonians permitted them to send thither; and the Athenians solemnly promising to succour them to the utmost of their power, the Plataeans resolved to suffer the last extremities rather than surrender, and prepared for a vigorous defence, with a steady resolution to succeed or fall.

Archidamus, the Lacedæmonian general, after calling upon the gods to witness that he did not first infringe the alliance,

prepared for the siege with equal perseverance. He surrounded the city with a circumvallation of trees, which were laid very close together, their branches turned towards the city. He then raised batteries upon them, and formed a terrace sufficient to support his warlike machines. His army worked night and day, without intermission, for seventy days, one half of the soldiers reposing themselves while the others were at work.

The besieged, observing the works begin to rise round them, threw up a wooden wall upon the walls of the city opposite the platform, in order that they might always out-top the besiegers. This wall was covered on the outside with hides, both raw and dry, in order to shelter it from the besieger's fires. Thus both walls seemed to vie with each other for superiority, till at last the besieged, without amusing themselves at this work any longer, built another within, in the form of a half moon, behind which they might retire, in case their outer works were forced.

In the mean time the besiegers, having mounted their engines of war, shook the city wall in a very terrible manner; which, though it alarmed the citizens, did not, however, discourage them: they employed every art that fortification could suggest against the enemy's batteries. They caught with ropes the heads of the battering rams that were urged against them, and deadened their force with levers. The besiegers, finding their attack did not go on successfully, and that a new wall was raised against their platform, despaired of being able to storm the place; and therefore changed the siege into a blockade, after having vainly attempted to set fire to the city, which was suddenly quenched by a shower. The city was now surrounded by a brick wall, suddenly erected, strengthened on each side by a deep ditch. The whole army was engaged successively upon this wall, and when it was finished they left a guard over half of it; the Boeotians offering to guard the other half, while the rest of the army returned to Sparta.

In this manner the wretched Plateans were cooped up by a strong wall, without any hopes of redress, and only awaited the mercy of the conqueror. There were now in Plataea but four hundred inhabitants and fourscore Athenians, with an

hundred and ten women to dress their victuals, and no other person, whether freeman or slave, all the rest having been sent to Athens before the siege. At last, the inhabitants of Platæa, having lost all hopes of succour, and being in the utmost want of provisions, formed a resolution to cut their way through the enemy. But half of them, struck with the greatness of the danger, and the boldness of the enterprize, entirely lost courage when they came to the execution; but the rest (who were about two hundred and twenty soldiers) persisted in their resolution, and escaped in the following manner.

The besieged first took the height of the wall, by counting the rows of bricks which composed it; and this they did at different times, and employed several men for that purpose, in order that they might not mistake in the calculation. This was the easier, because, as the wall stood but at a small distance, every part of it was very visible. They then made ladders of a proper length. All things being now ready for executing the design, the besieged left the city one night, when there was no moon, in the midst of a storm of wind and rain. After crossing the first ditch, they drew near the wall undiscovered, through the darkness of the night, not to mention that the noise made by the rain and wind prevented their being heard. They marched at some distance from one another, to prevent the clashing of their arms, which were light, in order that those who carried them might be the more active; and one of their legs was naked, to keep them from sliding so easily in the mire. Those who carried the ladders laid them in the space between the towers, where they knew no guard was posted, because it rained. That instant twelve men mounted the ladders, armed with only a coat of mail and a dagger, and marched directly to the towers, six on each side. They were followed by soldiers armed only with javelins, that they might mount the easier, and their shields were carried after them to be used in the charge. When most of those were got to the top of the wall, they were discovered by the falling of a tile, which one of their comrades, in taking hold of the parapet, had thrown down. The alarm was immediately given from the towers, and the whole army approached the wall, without discovering the occasion of the outcry, from the

gloom of the night and the violence of the storm. Besides which, those who had staid behind, in the city, beat an alarm at the same time in another quarter, to make a diversion: so that the enemy did not know which way to turn themselves, and were afraid to quit their posts. But a corps de reserve of three hundred men, who were kept for any unforeseen accident that might happen, quitted the contravallation, and ran to that part where they heard the noise, and torches were held up towards Thebes, to show that they must run that way. But those in the city, to render the signal of no use, made others at the same time in different quarters, having prepared them on the walls for that purpose. In the mean time, those who had mounted first having possessed themselves of the two towers which flanked the interval where the ladders were set, and having killed those who guarded them, posted themselves there to defend the passage, and keep off the besiegers. Then setting ladders on the top of the wall, betwixt the two towers, they caused a good number of their comrades to mount, in order to keep off, by the discharge of their arrows, as well those who were advancing to the foot of the wall, as the others who were hastening to the neighbouring towers. Whilst this was doing, they had time to set up several ladders, and to throw down the parapet, that the rest might come up with greater ease. As fast as they came up, they went down on the other side, and drew up near the fosse, on the outside, to shoot at those who appeared. After they were passed over, the men who were in the towers came down last, and made to the fosse, to follow after the rest. That instant the guard, with three hundred torches, came up. However, as the Plataeans saw their enemies by this light better than they were seen by them, they therefore took a surer aim, by which means the last crossed the ditch, without being attacked in their passage. However, this was not done without much difficulty, because the ditch was frozen over, and the ice could not bear, on account of a thaw and heavy rains. The violence of the storm was of great advantage to them. After all were passed, they took the road towards Thebes, the better to conceal their retreat, because it was not likely they had fled towards a city of the enemy's. Immediately they perceived the besiegers, with torches in their hands, pursuing them in

the road that led to Athens. After keeping that of Thebes about six or seven stadia, they turned short towards the mountain, and resumed the route of Athens, whither two hundred and twelve arrived out of two hundred and twenty, who had quitted the place, the rest having returned back to it through fear, one archer excepted, who was taken on the side of the fosse of contravallation. The besiegers, after having pursued them to no purpose, returned to their camp.

In the mean time the Plateans, who remained in the city, supposing that all their companions had been killed (because they who were returned, to justify themselves, affirmed they were), sent a herald to demand their dead bodies; but being told the true state of the affair, he withdrew.

At the end of the following campaign the Plateans, being in absolute want of provisions, and unable to make the least defence, surrendered, upon condition that they should not be punished till they had been tried and adjudged in form of justice. Five commissioners came for this purpose from Lacedæmon, and these, without charging them with any crime, barely asked them, whether they had done any service to the Lacedæmonians and the allies in this war? The Plateans were much surprised, as well as puzzled, at this question, and were sensible, that it had been suggested by the Thebans, their professed enemies, who had vowed their destruction. They therefore put the Lacedæmonians in mind of the services they had done to Greece in general, both at the battle of Artemisium and that of Plateæ, and particularly in Lacedæmonia at the time of the earthquake, which was followed by the revolt of their slaves. The only reason they offered, for their having joined the Athenians afterwards, was, to defend themselves from the hostilities of the Thebans, against whom they had implored the assistance of the Lacedæmonians to no purpose. That if that was imputed to them as a crime, which was only their misfortune, it ought not, however, entirely to obliterate the remembrance of their former services. "Cast your eyes," said they, "on the monuments of your ancestors, which you see here, to whom we annually pay all the honours which can be rendered to the manes of the dead. You thought fit to entrust their bodies with us, as we were eye-witnesses of their bravery: and yet you will now give up their

ashes to their murderers in abandoning us to the Thebans, who fought against them at the battle of Plataea. Will you enslave a province where Greece recovered its liberty? Will you destroy the temples of those gods to whom you owed the victory? Will you abolish the memory of their founders, who contributed so greatly to your safety? On this occasion we may venture to say, our interest is inseparable from your glory, and you cannot deliver up your ancient friends and benefactors to the unjust hatred of the Thebans, without eternal infamy to yourselves." One would conclude, that these just remonstrances must have made some impression on the Lacedæmonians; but they were biassed more by the answer the Thebans made, and which was expressed in the most haughty and bitter terms against the Plateans; and besides, they had brought their instructions from Lacedæmon. They stood, therefore, to their first question, whether the Plateans had done them any service since the war? and making them pass one after another, as they severally answered "No," each was immediately butchered, and not one escaped. About two hundred were killed in this manner, and twenty-five Athenians, who were among them, met with the same unhappy fate. Their wives, who had been taken prisoners, were made slaves. The Thebans afterwards peopled their city with exiles from Megara and Thebes, but the year after they demolished it entirely. It was in this manner the Lacedæmonians, in the hopes of reaping great advantages from the Thebans, sacrificed the Plateans to their animosity ninety-three years after their first alliance with the Athenians.

Much about this time was set on foot the expedition for the relief of Lesbos. But the Peloponnesians hearing in their voyage of a violent insurrection in Corcyra, resolved to sail thither, hoping that the disaffected state of that island would make it fall an easy prey to their army. They were, however, disappointed in their expectation; for the Corcyreans had become so exasperated and so desperate as to deter the most daring enemy from approaching their city. It was about the same time also, that Sicily began to be agitated by a quarrel, that took place between the inhabitants of Syracuse and those of Leontium. Their dissensions ran high; but the detail of them, and of the operations at Corcyra, and other places, I

am inclined to pass over in silence, as they were incidents in which the Grecian states mutually destroyed each other, without promoting general happiness, or establishing any common form of government.

The fluctuations of success were various. The Athenians took the city of Pylus from the Lacedæmonians; and they, on the other hand, made annual incursions into Attica. More than one overture for a peace was made by the Lacedæmonian ambassadors without effect; for Cleon, who had a great ascendant among the Athenians, boasted that he would take all the Spartans prisoners in the island of Sphacteria within twenty days. The war was therefore renewed, with all its former animosities.

This island, which was situate near Pylus, became the scene of mutual contention. Demosthenes, the Athenian admiral (whose valour and conduct his eloquent descendant of the same name afterwards extolled), being joined in commission with Cleon, landed on the island, in order to dispossess the Lacedæmonians, who still remained there. They attacked the enemy with great vigour, drove them from post to post, and, gaining ground perpetually, at last forced them to the extremity of the island. The Lacedæmonians had stormed a fort that was thought inaccessible. There they drew up in order of battle, faced about to that side only where they could be attacked, and defended themselves like so many lions. As the engagement had lasted the greatest part of the day, and the soldiers were oppressed with heat and weariness, and parched with thirst, the general of the Messenians, directing himself to Cleon, and Demosthenes, the general who was joined in commission with him, said that all their efforts would be to no purpose unless they charged their enemy's rear; and he promised, if they would give him but some troops, armed with missive weapons, that he would endeavour to find a passage. Accordingly he and his followers climbed up certain steep and craggy places, which were not guarded; then coming down unperceived into the fort, he appeared on a sudden at the backs of the Lacedæmonians, which entirely damped their courage, and afterwards completed their overthrow. They now made but a very feeble resistance, and, being oppressed with numbers, attacked on all sides, and dejected

through fatigue and despair, they began to give way; but the Athenians seized on all the passes, and cut off their retreat. Cleon and Demosthenes finding, that, should the battle continue, not a man of them would escape, and being desirous of carrying them alive to Athens, commanded their soldiers to desist, and caused proclamation to be made to them by herald to lay down their arms and surrender at discretion. At these words the greatest part lowered their shields, and clapped their hands in token of approbation. A kind of suspension of arms was agreed upon, and their commander desired that leave might be granted him to dispatch a messenger to the camp, to know the resolution of the generals. This was not allowed, but they called heralds from the coast, and, after several messages, a Lacedæmonian advanced forward, and cried aloud, that they were permitted to treat with the enemy, provided they did not submit to dishonourable terms. Upon this they held a conference, after which they surrendered at discretion, and were kept till the next day. The Athenians then raising a trophy, and restoring the Lacedæmonians their dead, embarked for their own country, after distributing the prisoners among the several ships, and committing the guard of them to the captains of the galleys. In this battle one hundred and twenty-eight Lacedæmonians fell out of four hundred and twenty, which was their number at first; so that there survived not quite three hundred, an hundred and twenty of whom were inhabitants of the city of Sparta. The siege of the island, to compute from the beginning of it, including the time employed in the truce, had lasted threescore and twelve days. They all now left Pylos, and Cleon's promise, though deemed so vain and rash, was found literally true. But the most surprising circumstance was the capitulation that had been made; for it was believed, that the Lacedæmonians, so far from surrendering their arms, would die sword in hand. Being come to Athens, they were ordered to remain prisoners till a peace should be concluded, provided the Lacedæmonians did not make any incursions into their country, for that then they should all be put to death. They left a garrison in Pylos. The Messenians of Naupactus, who had formerly possessed it, sent thither the flower of their youth, who very much infested the Lacedæmonians by their incursions; and as these

Messenians spoke the language of the country, they prevailed with a great number of slaves to join them. The Lacedæmonians, dreading a greater evil, sent several deputations to Athens, but to no purpose; the Athenians being too much elated with their prosperity, and especially their late success, to listen to any terms. For two or three years successively hostilities were carried on with alternate success, and nothing but the humbling of the one or other of the two rival states could decide the quarrel. The Athenians made themselves masters of the island of Cythera; but, on the other hand, were defeated by the Lacedæmonians at Dellion. At length the two nations began to grow weary of a war which put them to great expense, and did not procure them any real advantage. A truce for a year was, therefore, concluded between them, which served to pave the way for a more lasting reconciliation. The death of the two generals, that commanded the contending armies, served not a little to hasten this event. Brasidas, the Lacedæmonian, was killed as he was conducting a sally, when besieged in Amphipolis; and Cleon, the Athenian, despising an enemy to which he knew himself superior, was set upon unawares, and, flying for safety, was killed by a soldier who happened to meet him. Thus these two men, who had long opposed the tranquillity of Greece, and raised their reputations, but in a very different way, fell a sacrifice to their own ambition.

They were, however, men of very opposite characters. Brasidas had courage and conduct, moderation and integrity; and it was he alone who, at this time, kept up the sinking reputation of his country. He was the only Spartan, since Pausanias, who appeared with any established character among the confederates, to whom he behaved so well, that they were again brought under the dependence of Sparta; and several cities came in to him as their common deliverer from the tyranny of Athens. The inhabitants of Amphipolis, besides their joining with the other allies in solemnizing his funeral in a public manner, instituted anniversary games and sacrifices to his memory as a hero; and so far considered him as their founder, that they destroyed all the monuments which had been preserved as marks of their being an Athenian colony. His opposition to the peace was not so much the effect of his obsti-

may, as of a true Spartan zeal for the honour of his country, which he was sensible had been treated by the Athenians with too much insolence and contempt. He had now a fair prospect of bringing them to reason, as he was gaining ground upon them, and every day making fresh conquests; and, however he might be transported with the glory of performing great actions, yet the main end of his ambition seems to have been, the bringing the war to a happy conclusion. I must not here omit the generous answer his mother made to the persons who brought her the news of his death. Upon her asking them whether he died honourably, they naturally fell into encomiums on his great exploits and his personal bravery, and preferred him to all the generals of his time:—"Yes," said she, "my son was a valiant man, but Sparta has still many citizens braver than he."

Cleon was another sort of man; he was rash, arrogant, and obstinate; contentious, envious, and malicious; covetous and corrupt; and yet, with all these bad qualities, he had some little arts of popularity, which raised and supported him. He made it his business to caress the old men; and, as much as he loved money, he often relieved the poor. He had a readiness of wit, with a kind of drollery, that took with many, though with the generality it passed for impudence and buffoonery. He had one very refined way of recommending himself, which was, upon his coming into power, to discard all his old friends, for fear it should be thought he would be biassed by them. At the same time he picked up a set of vile sycophants in their room, and made a servile court to the lowest dregs of the people; and yet even they had so bad an opinion of him, that they often declared against him for Nicias, his professed enemy; who, though he took part with the nobility, still preserved an interest with the commons, and was more generally respected. That which Cleon chiefly depended on was his eloquence: but it was of a boisterous kind, verbose and petulant, and consisted more in the vehemence of his style and utterance, and the distortion of his action and gesture, than in the strength of his reasoning. By this furious manner of haranguing, he introduced among the orators and statesmen a licentiousness and indecency which were not known before, and which gave rise to the many riotous and disorderly

proceedings which took place afterwards in the assemblies, when almost every thing was carried by noise and tumult. In the military part of his service he was as unaccountable as in the rest of his conduct. He was not naturally formed for war, and only made use of it as a cloak for his ill practices, and because he could not carry on his other views without it. His taking Sphacteria was certainly a great action, but it was a rash and desperate one; and it has been shown how he was undesignedly drawn into it by a boast of his own. However, he was so elated with the success of that expedition, that he fancied himself a general, and the people were brought to have the same opinion. But the event soon undeceived them, and convinced them that he knew better how to lead in the assembly than in the field. In reality, he was not a man to be trusted in either; for in the one he was more of a blusterer than of a soldier, and in the other he had more of an incendiary than a patriot.

The Lacedæmonians were no less inclined to peace than the Athenians, and were glad to treat at this time, while they could do it with honour: besides, they had nothing more at heart than the imprisonment of their men taken at Pylus, they being the chief of their city; and among other considerations, it was not the least, that the truce which they had made with Argos, for thirty years, was just upon expiring. This was a strong and flourishing city, and though it was not of itself a match for Sparta, yet they knew it was far from being contemptible; and that it held too good a correspondence with its neighbours not to make itself capable of giving them a great deal of uneasiness. The matter having been canvassed and debated most part of the winter, the Lacedæmonians, to bring the treaty to a conclusion, gave out, that they resolved, as soon as the season would permit, to fortify in Attica. Upon which the Athenians grew more moderate in their demands, and a peace was concluded in the tenth year of the war between the two states and their confederates, for fifty years, the chief articles being, that the garrisons should be evacuated, and the towns and prisoners restored on both sides. This was called the Nician peace, because Nicias, who was just the reverse of his rival Cleon, was the chief instrument in effecting

it. Besides the tender concern he always expressed for his country, he had more particular ends in it, in securing his reputation: for he had been upon many expeditions, and had generally succeeded in them; but yet he was sensible how much he owed to his good fortune and his cautious management, and he did not care to risk what he had already got for the hopes of more.

CHAPTER X.

FROM THE PEACE OF NICIAS TO THE END OF THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR.

EVERY thing now promised a restoration of former tranquillity. The Boeotians and Corinthians were the first who showed signs of discontent, and used their utmost endeavours to excite fresh troubles. To obviate any dangers arising from that quarter, the Athenians and Lacedæmonians united in a league offensive and defensive, which served to render them more formidable to the neighbouring states, and more assured with regard to each other. Yet still the former animosities and jealousies fermented at bottom; and while friendship seemed to gloss over external appearances, fresh discontents were gathering within. The character, indeed, of Nicias, was peaceable, and he did all in his power to persuade the Athenians to seek the general tranquillity. But a new promoter of troubles was now beginning to make his appearance, and from him, those who wished for peace had every thing to fear. This was no other than the celebrated Alcibiades, the disciple of Socrates, a youth equally remarkable for the beauty of his person and the greatness of his mental accomplishments.

The strict intimacy between Alcibiades and Socrates is one of the most remarkable circumstances of his life. This philosopher, observing excellent natural qualities in him, which were greatly heightened by the beauty of his person, bestowed incredible pains in cultivating so valuable a plant, lest, being neglected, it should wither as it grew, and absolutely degenerate: and, indeed, Alcibiades was exposed to numberless dangers: the greatness of his extraction, his vast riches, the authority of his family, the credit of his guardians, his personal talents, his exquisite beauty, and, still more than these, the flattery and complaisance of all who approached him. One would have concluded, says Plutarch, that fortune had surrounded and in-

vested him with all these pretended advantages, as with so many ramparts and bulwarks, to render him inaccessible and invulnerable to all the darts of philosophy, those salutary darts which strike to the very heart, and leave in it the strongest incitements to virtue and solid glory. But those very obstacles redoubled the zeal of Socrates. Notwithstanding the strong endeavours that were used to divert this young Athenian from a correspondence, which alone was capable of securing him from so many snares, he devoted himself entirely to it: he had the most unbounded wit; he was fully sensible of Socrates' extraordinary merit, and could not resist the charms of his sweetly insinuating eloquence, which at that time had a greater ascendant over him than the allurements of pleasure. He was so zealous a disciple of that great master, that he followed him wherever he went; took the utmost delight in his conversation, was extremely well pleased with his principles, received his instructions, and even his reprimands, with wonderful docility, and was so moved with his discourses, as even to shed tears, and abhor himself: so weighty was the force of truth in the mouth of Socrates, and in so odious a light did he show the vices to which Alcibiades had abandoned himself. Alcibiades, in those moments when he listened to Socrates, differed so much from himself, that he appeared quite another man. However, his head-strong, fiery temper, and his natural fondness for pleasure, which was heightened and inflamed by the discourses and advice of young people, soon plunged him into his former irregularities, and tore him as it were from his master, who was obliged to pursue him as a slave who had escaped correction. This vicissitude of flights and returns, of virtuous resolutions and relapses into vice, continued a long time; but still Socrates was not disgusted by his levity, and always flattered himself with hopes of bringing him back to his duty; and hence certainly arose the strong mixture of good and evil that always appeared in his conduct; the instructions which his master had given him sometimes prevailing, and at other times the fire of his passions hurrying him, in a manner against his own will, into things of a quite opposite nature. Among the various passions that were discovered in him, the strongest and most prevailing was a haughty turn of mind, which would force all things to submit

to it, and could not bear a superior, or even an equal. Although his birth and uncommon talents smoothed the way to his attaining the highest employments in the republic, yet it was his wish, that the confidence of the people should be gained by the force of his eloquence, and the persuasive grace of his orations. To this end his intimacy with Socrates might be of great service. Alcibiades, with such a cast of mind as we have described, was not born for repose, and had set every engine at work to reverse the treaty lately concluded between the two states; but, not succeeding in his attempt, he endeavoured to prevent its taking effect. He was disgusted at the Lacedæmonians, because they directed themselves only to Nicias, of whom they had a very high opinion; and, on the contrary, seemed to take no manner of notice of him, though his ancestors had enjoyed the rights of hospitality among them. The first thing he did to infringe the peace was this: having been informed, that the people of Argos only wanted an opportunity to differ with the Spartans, whom they equally hated and feared, he flattered them secretly with the hopes, that the Athenians would succour them, by suggesting to them, that they were ready to break a peace which was no way advantageous to them. Accordingly, he laid hold of this juncture, and improved the pretext the Lacedæmonians had given to exasperate the people both against them and Nicias: which had so good an effect, that every thing seemed disposed for a treaty with Argos, of which the Lacedæmonians being very apprehensive, immediately dispatched their ambassadors to Athens, who at first said what seemed very satisfactory, that they came with full power to concert all matters in difference upon equal terms. The council received their propositions, and the people were to assemble the next day to give them audience. Alcibiades, in the mean while, fearing lest this negotiation should ruin his designs, had a secret conference with the ambassadors, and persuaded them, under a colour of friendship, not to let the people know at first what full powers their commission gave them, but intimate, that they came only to treat and make proposals; for that otherwise they would grow exorbitant in their demands, and extort from them such unreasonable terms as they could not with honour consent to. They were so well satisfied with the prudence and sincerity of

this advice, that he drew them from Nicias to rely entirely upon himself; and the next day, when the people were assembled, and the ambassadors introduced, Alcibiades, with a very obliging air, demanded of them with what powers they were come. They made answer, that they were not come as plenipotentiaries. Upon which he instantly changed his voice and countenance, exclaimed against them as notorious liars, and bid the people take care how they transacted any thing with men on whom they could have so little dependence. The people dismissed the ambassadors in a rage; and Nicias, knowing nothing of the deceit, was confounded and in disgrace. To redeem his credit, he proposed being sent once more to Sparta; but not being able to gain such terms there as the Athenians demanded, they immediately, upon his return, struck up a league with the Argives for an hundred years, including the Eleans and Mantineans; which yet did not in terms cancel that with the Lacedæmonians, though it is plain that the whole intent of it was levelled against them. Upon this new alliance, Alcibiades was declared general; and though his best friends could not commend the method by which he brought about his designs, yet it was looked upon as a great reach in politics, thus to divide and shake almost all Peloponnesus, and to remove the war so far from the Athenian frontier, that even success would profit the enemy but little should they be conquerors; whereas, if they were defeated, Sparta itself would be hardly safe.

The defection of the confederates began to awaken the jealousy of Sparta: they resolved, therefore, to remedy the evil before it spread too far; wherefore, drawing out their whole force, both of citizens and slaves, and being joined by their allies, they encamped almost under the walls of Argos. The Argives having notice of their march, made all possible preparations, and came out with a full resolution to fight them. But, just as they were going to engage, two of their officers went over to Agis, the Spartan king and general, and proposed to him to have the business made up by a reference. He immediately closing with the offer, granted them a truce for four months, and drew off his army; the whole affair being transacted by these three, without any general consent or knowledge on either side. The Peloponnesians, though they

durst not disobey their orders, inveighed grievously against Agis for letting such an advantage slip as they could never promise to themselves again. For they had actually hemmed in the enemy, and that with the best, if not the greatest, army that ever was brought into the field. And the Argives were so little apprehensive of danger on their side, that they were no less incensed against their mediators, one of whom they forced to the altars, to save his life, and confiscated his goods.

Thus every thing seemed to favour the Athenian interest; and their prosperity—for this was the most flourishing period of their duration—blinded them to such a degree, that they were persuaded no power was able to resist them. In this disposition they resolved to take the first opportunity of adding the island of Sicily to their empire; and an occasion soon offered of executing their resolution. Ambassadors were sent from the people of Egesta, who, in quality of their allies, came to implore their aid against the inhabitants of Selinusta, who were assisted by the Syracusans. They represented, among other things, that, should they be abandoned, the Syracusans, after seizing their city, as they had done that of Leontium, would possess themselves of all Sicily, and not fail to aid the Peloponnesians, who were their founders; and that they might put them to as little charge as possible, they offered to pay the troops that should be sent to succour them. The Athenians, who had long waited for an opportunity to declare themselves, sent deputies to Egesta, to inquire into the state of affairs, and to see whether there was money enough in the treasury to defray the expense of so great a war. The inhabitants of that city had been so artful as to borrow from the neighbouring nations a great number of gold and silver vases, worth an immense sum of money, and of these they made a show when the Athenians arrived. The deputies returned with those of Egesta, who carried three-score talents in ingots, as a month's pay for the galleys which they demanded, and a promise of larger sums, which they said were ready both in the public treasury and in the temples. The people, struck with these fair appearances, the truth of which they did not give themselves the leisure to examine, and seduced with the advantageous reports which their depu-

fies made with the view of pleasing them, immediately granted the Egestans their demand, and appointed Alcibiades, Nicias, and Lamachus, to command the fleet, with full power not only to succour Egesta, and restore the inhabitants of Leontium to their city, but also to regulate the affairs of Sicily in such a manner as might best suit the interests of the republic. Nicias was appointed one of the generals, to his very great regret; for, besides other motives, which made him dread that command, he shunned it because Alcibiades was to be his colleague. But the Athenians promised themselves greater success from this war, should they not resign the whole conduct of it to Alcibiades, but temper his ardour and audacity with the coldness and wisdom of Nicias. Nicias not daring to oppose Alcibiades openly, endeavoured to do it indirectly, by starting a great number of difficulties, drawn particularly from the great expense of this expedition. He declared, that since they were resolved upon war, they ought to carry it on in such a manner as might suit the exalted reputation to which Athens had attained. That a fleet was not sufficient to oppose so formidable a power as that of the Syracusans and their allies: that they must raise an army composed of good horse and foot, if they desired to act in a manner worthy of so noble a design; that, besides their fleet, which was to make them masters at sea, they must have a great number of transports to carry provisions perpetually to the army, which otherwise could not possibly subsist in an enemy's country; that they must carry vast sums of money with them, without waiting for that promised them by the citizens of Egesta, who, perhaps, were ready in words only, and very probably might break their promise; that they ought to weigh and examine the disparity there was between themselves and their enemies, with regard to the conveniences and wants of the army, the Syracusans being in their own country, in the midst of powerful allies, disposed by inclination, as well as engaged by interest, to assist them with men, arms, horses, and provisions: whereas the Athenians would carry on the war in a remote country, possessed by their enemies, where, in the winter, news could not be brought them in less than four months' time: a country where all things would oppose the Athenians, and nothing be procured but by force of arms. That it would reflect the

greatest ignominy on the Athenians, should they be forced to abandon their enterprise, and thereby become the scorn and contempt of their enemies, by their neglecting to take all the precautions which so important a design required: that as for himself, he was determined not to go, unless he was provided with all things necessary for the expedition, because the safety of the whole army depended on that circumstance; and that he would not rely on caprice, or the precarious engagements of the allies. Nicias had flattered himself, that this speech would cool the ardour of the people; whereas it only inflamed it the more. Immediately the generals had full powers given them to raise as many troops, and fit out as many galleys as they should judge necessary; and the levies were accordingly carried on in Athens, and other places, with inexpressible activity.

Before we enter upon the narration of the important events that took place in the expedition to Sicily, it will be proper to say a few words respecting Syracuse, the capital of that island. About the year of the world 2920, Corinth had acquired considerable reputation as a maritime power. As the improvement of navigation generally leads to discovery, so it leads to commerce also, and to colonization. It had this effect on the Corinthians. They had not been long acquainted with Sicily, before they projected the scheme of peopling part of it with the natives of Peloponnesus. Archias, therefore, a descendant of Hercules, was sent with a fleet, furnished with every thing necessary for such an enterprise. He built and peopled Syracuse; which, from the peculiar advantages, which it derived from its rich soil and capacious harbours, soon became the most flourishing city in Sicily: in size, indeed, and beauty, it yielded not to any city in Greece. It was long subject to Corinth, and governed by nearly the same laws. But as it increased in power it became proud and insolent, and by degrees renounced its allegiance. To its emancipation are owing the occurrences which we are now to recite.

The levies being now prepared, the fleet set sail, after having appointed Corcyra the rendezvous for most of the allies, and such ships as were to carry the provisions and warlike stores. All the citizens, as well as foreigners in Athens, flocked by day-break to the port of Pyræus. The former at-

tended by their children, relations, friends, and companions, with a joy overcast with a little sorrow, upon their bidding adieu to persons that were as dear to them as life; who were setting out on a distant and very dangerous expedition, from which it was uncertain whether they would ever return, though they flattered themselves with the hopes that it would be successful. The foreigners came thither to feed their eyes with a sight which was highly worthy of their curiosity; for no single city in the world had ever fitted out so gallant a fleet. Those, indeed, which had been sent against Epidaurus and Potidæa, were as considerable with regard to the number of soldiers and ships, but then they were not equipped with so much magnificence, neither was their voyage so long, nor their enterprise so important. Here were seen a land and a naval army provided with the utmost care, and at the expense of particular persons, as well as of the public, with all things necessary on account of the length of the voyage, and the duration of the war. The city furnished an hundred empty galleys, that is, threescore light ones, and forty to transport the soldiers heavily armed. Every mariner received daily a drachma, or ten pence English, for his pay, exclusively of what the captains of ships gave the rowers of the first bench. Add to this, the pomp and magnificence that was displayed universally, every one striving to eclipse the rest, and each endeavouring to make his ship the lightest, and, at the same time, the gayest in the whole fleet. I shall not take notice of the choice of the soldiers or seamen, who were the flower of the Athenians, nor of their emulation with regard to the beauty and neatness of their arms and equipage, any more than of their officers, who had laid out considerable sums purely to distinguish themselves, and to give foreigners an advantageous idea of their persons and circumstances; so that this sight had the idea of a pageant, in which the utmost magnificence was displayed, rather than of a warlike expedition. But the boldness and greatness of the design still exceeded its expense in splendour.

When the ships were loaded, and the troops got on board, the trumpet sounded, and solemn prayers were offered up for the success of the expedition; gold and silver cups were filling everywhere with wine, and the accustomed libations were

poured out ; the people, who lined the shore, shouting, at the same time, and lifting up their hands to heaven to wish their fellow-citizens a good voyage and success. And now the hymn being sung, and the ceremonies ended, the ships sailed one after another out of the harbour, after which they strove to outsail one another, till the whole fleet met at Ægina. From thence it made to Corcyra, where the army of the allies was assembled with the rest of the fleet.

Being now arrived at Sicily, the generals were divided in their opinions as to the place where they should make a descent. Lamachus, one of the generals, was for making directly for Syracuse. He urged, that it was as yet unprovided, and under the greatest consternation ; that an army was always most terrible on its approach, before the enemy had time to recollect and make danger familiar : these reasons, however, were over-ruled. It was agreed to reduce the smaller cities first : when, having detached ten galleys only, to take a view of the situation and harbour of Syracuse, they landed with the rest of their forces, and surprised Catana.

In the mean time, the enemies of Alcibiades had taken occasion, from his absence, to attack him with redoubled vigour. They aggravated his misconduct in neglecting the proper method of attack, and enforced their accusation by alleging, that he had profaned the mysteries of Ceres. This was sufficient to induce the giddy multitude to recal their general ; but, for fear of raising a tumult in the army, they only sent him orders to return to Athens, to pacify the people by his presence. Alcibiades obeyed the orders with seeming submission ; but, reflecting on the inconstancy and caprice of his judges, the instant he was arrived at Thurium, and had got on shore, he disappeared, and eluded the pursuit of those who sought after him : the galley, therefore, returned without him, and the people in a rage condemned him to death for his contumacy. His whole estate was confiscated, and all the orders of religion were commanded to curse him. Some time after, news being brought him that the Athenians had condemned him to death ; “ I hope one day,” said he, “ to make them sensible that I am still alive.”

The Syracusans had, by this time, put themselves in a posture of defence, and finding that Nicias did not advance

towards them, they talked of attacking him in his camp; and some of them asked, in a scoffing way, whether he was come into Sicily to settle at Catana? He was roused by this insult, and resolved to make the best of his way to Syracuse. He durst not attempt it by land, for want of cavalry; and he thought it equally hazardous to make a descent by sea upon an enemy who was so well prepared to receive him: however, he chose the latter way, and succeeded in it by a stratagem. He had gained a citizen of Catana to go as a deserter to the Syracusans, and to inform them, that the Athenians lay every night in the town without their arms; and that, early in the morning, on a certain day appointed, they might surprise them, seize on their camp with all their arms and baggage, burn their fleet in the harbour, and destroy the whole army. The Syracusans gave credit to him, and marched with all their forces towards Catana; which Nicias had no sooner notice of, but he embarked his troops, and, steering away for Syracuse, landed them there the next morning, and fortified himself in the outskirts of the town. The Syracusans were so provoked at this trick being put upon them, that they immediately returned to Syracuse, and presented themselves without the walls in order of battle. Nicias marched out of his trenches to meet them, and a very sharp action ensued, wherein, at length, the Athenians got the better, and forced the enemy back to the city, after having killed two hundred and sixty of them and their confederates, with the loss of fifty of their own men. They were not as yet in a condition to attack the city, and therefore took up their winter quarters at Catana and Naxos.

The year following, greater projects were undertaken; for, having received a supply of horse from Athens, with provisions and other stores of war, Nicias set sail for Syracuse, in order to block it up by sea and land. In this manner did the little state of Athens spread terror among all the neighbouring states, and now, risen to its utmost height, began to aspire at universal empire. Athens had already been the mistress of arts and philosophy; it now, with inverted ambition, aimed at setting mankind an example of the arts of conquest and of war: but they had never considered that a petty state, raised artificially into power, is liable to a thousand accidents in its way to universal conquest. They had now sent out their

whole force into Sicily, and, while they fought to decide the fate of Syracuse, they were, in fact, contending for their own; the existence of Athens and Syracuse depended so much upon the event of the present invasion, that both sides fought with the utmost perseverance, and historians have been minute in the detail.

The siege was now carried on in a more regular and skilful manner than had ever been practised before, and men were taught a new lesson, as well in the arts of attack as of defence. Nicias found it necessary, in the first place, to gain Epipolæ, a high hill which commanded the city, and had a steep, craggy passage up to it. The Syracusans were so sensible of the importance of this post, that they had ordered a detachment of seven hundred men to march upon a signal given to the defence of it. But Nicias had landed his men in a little remote harbour so secretly and so suddenly, that they easily made themselves masters of it. And the seven hundred, running up from the plains in a confused manner to dispossess them; were repulsed with the loss of three hundred of them, and their leader. Nicias built a fort there, as a magazine, and proceeded to invest the town on the land side, so as to prevent any communication with the country. The enemy endeavouring to defeat his works, and render them useless, several skirmishes ensued, wherein the Athenians had generally the better; but, in one of them, Lamachus being pressed hard, and abandoned by his men, was killed. The Syracusans being still intent on the recovery of Epipolæ, ordered up another detachment thither. Nicias was at this time sick in the fort, and in bed, with only his servants about him. But when he found the enemy were forcing his intrenchments, he got up and set fire to the engines, and other wood that lay scattered about the fort: which had so good an effect, that it served as a signal to his own troops to come up to his relief; and so terrified and confounded those of the enemy, that they retreated into the city. From thenceforth Nicias, who was now sole general, conceived great hopes; for several cities of Sicily, which hitherto had not declared for either side, came and joined him; and there arrived from all quarters vessels laden with provisions for his army, all parties being eager to go over to him, because he had acquired the su-

periority, and been exceedingly successful in all his undertakings. The Syracusans, seeing themselves blocked up both by sea and land, and losing all hopes of being able to defend their city any longer, already proposed an accommodation. Gylippus, who was coming from Lacedæmon to their assistance, having heard in his passage the extremity to which they were reduced, and looking upon the whole island as lost, sailed forward nevertheless, not in the view of defending Sicily, but only to preserve to the nations of Italy such cities as were subject to them in that island, if it were not too late, and it could be done; for fame had declared, in all places, that the Athenians had already possessed themselves of the whole island, and were headed by a general, whose wisdom and good fortune rendered him invincible.

The fortifications of the Athenians were now almost completed; they had drawn a double wall, nearly half a league in length, along the plain and the fens towards the great port, and had almost reached it. There now remained on one side only a small part of the wall to be finished, and the Syracusans were upon the brink of ruin; they had no hopes left; they were unable to defend themselves, and they knew not where to look for succours; for this reason they resolved to surrender, and a council was held to settle the articles of capitulation, which were to be presented to Nicias.

It was at that very instant, and in this most distressful juncture, that a messenger arrived at Syracuse from Corinth, with news of speedy relief. The whole body of citizens flocked round the messenger of such welcome information. He gave them to understand, that Gylippus, the Lacedæmonian general, would be with them immediately, and was followed by a great many other galleys which came to his aid. The Syracusans, astonished, or rather stupified as it were with this news, could scarcely believe what they heard. Whilst they were thus fluctuating and in doubt, a courier arrived from Gylippus to inform them of his approach, and ordered them to march over all their troops to meet him. He himself, after taking a fort in his way, marched in order of battle directly for Epipolæ, and ascending by Euryelus, as the Athenians had done, he prepared to attack them from without, whilst the Syracusans should charge them on their side with

the forces of Syracuse. The Athenians, exceedingly surprised by his arrival, drew up hastily, and without order, under the wall. With regard to himself, laying down his arms when he approached, he sent word by a herald, that he would allow the Athenians five days to leave Sicily. Nicias did not condescend to make the least answer to this proposal; and some of his soldiers, bursting out a laughing, asked the herald, whether the presence of a Lacedæmonian privateer, or the trifling wand of a herald, could make any change in the present state of the city? Both sides, therefore, prepared for battle.

Gylippus began by storming the fort of Labdalla, and cutting in pieces all who were found in it. The Athenians, in the mean time, were not idle in forming intrenchments to oppose him, while the besieged were equally assiduous in cutting down and breaking through those walls and circumvallations which were carried round their city. At length both sides drew up their forces in order of battle, between the walls which the Athenians had raised to keep off the enemy. In the first engagement, the cavalry of Gylippus being rendered useless from the narrowness of the place, to re-animate his soldiers, by doing them justice, he had the courage to reproach himself for the ill success they had met with, and to declare publicly, that he, not they, had occasioned the late defeat, because he had made them fight in too narrow a spot of ground. However, he promised soon to give them an opportunity of recovering both their honour and his; and accordingly, the very next day, he led them against the enemy, after having exhorted them in the strongest terms to behave in a manner worthy of their ancient glory. Nicias perceiving, that though it should not be his desire to come to a battle, it would, however, be absolutely necessary for him to prevent the enemy from extending their line beyond the contravallation, to which they were already very near (because otherwise this would be granting them a certain victory), therefore marched boldly against the Syracusans. Gylippus brought up his troops beyond that place where the walls terminated on both sides, in order that he might leave the more room to extend his battle; upon which, charging the enemy's left wing with his horse, he put it to flight, and soon after

defeated their right. We have an instance of what the experience and abilities of a great captain are capable of producing; for Gylippus, with the same men, the same arms, the same horses, and the same ground, by only changing his order of battle, defeated the Athenians, and beat them quite to their camp. The following night the victors carried on their wall beyond the contravallation of the Athenians, and thereby deprived them of all hopes of being ever able to surround the city.

Nicias had, ever since the arrival of Gylippus, been put upon the defensive; and, as he daily lost ground in the country, he retired towards the sea, to keep that open, in case of accidents, and to bring in provisions. For this purpose he possessed himself of Plemmyrium, near the great harbour, where he built three forts, and kept up himself, as it were, in garrison. Gylippus took this opportunity to gain over the inland cities; and, at the same time, the fleet that was expected from Corinth arrived. Nicias, under these circumstances, wrote a very melancholy account of his affairs, to Athens: that the enemy were become so superior to him, that he was not in a condition to force intrenchments; and that, instead of besieging them, he was now besieged himself: that the towns revolted from him; the slaves and the mercenaries deserted: that the troops were employed in guarding the forts and fetching in provisions; and that, in this latter service, many of them were cut off by the enemy's horse: that the fleet was in as bad a condition as the army; and that, in short, without a speedy reinforcement of men, ships, and money, equal to what he had at first set out with, it was in vain to attempt any thing farther. Then, as to his own particular, he complained of his being troubled with sharp nephritic pains, which rendered him incapable of going on with the service; and therefore pressed to be recalled. The Athenians were so affected with this letter, that they named Eurymedon and Demosthenes to go over with fresh supplies; the former immediately with ten galleys, and the other early in the spring with a stronger force. At the same time they appointed Menander and Euthydemus to act as assistants to Nicias, but would not grant his request of coming home. In the mean time Gylippus, who had made the tour of Sicily, returned

with as many men as he could raise in the whole island, and prevailed with the Syracusans to fit out the strongest fleet in their power, and to hazard a battle at sea, upon the presumption that the success would answer the greatness of the enterprise. This advice was strongly enforced by Hermocrates, who exhorted the Syracusans not to abandon to their enemies the empire of the seas. He observed, that the Athenians themselves had not received it from their ancestors, nor been always possessed of it; that the Persian war had in a manner forced them into a knowledge of naval affairs, notwithstanding two great obstacles, their disposition, and the situation of their city, which stood at a considerable distance from the sea; that they had made themselves formidable to other nations, not so much by their real strength as by their courage and intrepidity; that they ought to copy them, and since they had to do with enemies, who were so enterprising, it was fit they should be equally daring.

This advice was approved, and accordingly a large fleet was equipped. Gylippus led out all his land forces in the night time, to attack the forts of Plemmyrium. Thirty-five galleys of Syracuse, which were in the great harbour, and forty-five in the lesser, where was an arsenal for ships, were ordered to advance towards Plemmyrium, to amaze the Athenians, who would find themselves attacked both by sea and land at the same time. The Athenians, at this news, went on board also, and, with twenty-five ships, sailed to fight the thirty-five Syracusan vessels, which were sailing out of the great harbour, and opposed thirty-five more to the forty-five of the enemy which were come out of the little port. A sharp engagement was fought at the mouth of the great harbour, one party endeavouring to force their way into it, and the other to keep them out.

Those who defended the ports of Plemmyrium having flocked to the shore to view the battle, Gylippus attacked the forts unexpectedly by day-break; and, having carried the greatest of them by storm, the soldiers who defended the other two were so terrified, that they abandoned them in a moment. After this advantage, the Syracusans sustained a considerable loss; for such of their vessels as fought at the entrance of the harbour (after having forced the Athenians)

drove furiously one against the other, as they entered it in disorder, and by this means shifted the victory to their enemies; who, not contented with pursuing, also gave chase to those who were victorious in the great harbour. Eleven Syracusan galleys were sunk, and great numbers of the sailors in them killed. Three were taken; but the Athenians likewise lost three: and, after towing off those of the enemy, they raised a trophy in a little island lying before Plemmyrium, and retired to the centre of their camp.

One circumstance, which the besieged considered of the greatest importance, was to attempt a second engagement, both by sea and land, before the fleet and other succours sent by the Athenians should arrive. They had concerted fresh measures for a battle at sea, by improving from the errors they had committed in the last engagement. The change made in the galleys was, that their prows were now shorter, and at the same time stronger and more solid than before. For this purpose they fixed great pieces of timber projecting forward on each side of the prows, and to these pieces they joined beams, by way of props. The beams extended to the length of six cubits on each side of the vessel, both within and without. By this they hoped to gain an advantage over the galleys of the Athenians, which did not dare, because of the weakness of their prows, to attack an enemy in front, but only in flank; not to mention, that, should the battle be fought in the harbour, they would not have room to spread themselves, nor to pass between two galleys, in which lay their greatest art, nor to tack about after they should have been repulsed, in order to return to the charge; whereas the Syracusans, by their being masters of the whole extent of the harbour, would have all these advantages, and might reciprocally assist one another. On these circumstances the latter founded their hopes of victory.

Gylippus, therefore, first drew all the infantry out of the camp, and advanced towards that part of the contravallation of the Athenians which faced the city, whilst the troops of Olympia marched towards the other, and their galleys set sail.

Nicias did not care to venture a second battle, saying, that, as he expected a fresh fleet every moment, and a great rein-

forcement under Demosthenes, it would betray the greatest want of judgment, should he, as his troops were inferior in number to those of the enemy, and already fatigued, hazard a battle without being forced to it. On the contrary, Menander and Euthydemus, who had just before been appointed to share the command with Nicias till the arrival of Demosthenes, fired with ambition, and jealous of those generals, were eager to perform some great exploit, to bereave the one of his glory, and, if possible, eclipse that of the other. The pretence they alleged on this occasion was, the fame and reputation of Athens; and they asserted, with so much vehemence, that it would be entirely destroyed, should they shun the battle, as the Syracusans offered it them, that they at last forced Nicias to a compliance. The Athenians had seventy-five galleys, and the Syracusans eighty.

The first day, the fleets continued in sight of each other, in the great harbour, without engaging, and only a few skirmishes passed, after which, both parties retired; while the land forces acted in the same manner. The Syracusans did not make the least motion the second day. Nicias, taking advantage of this inactivity, caused the transports to draw up in a line at some distance from one another, in order that his galleys might retire behind them with safety, in case he should be defeated. On the morrow the Syracusans came up sooner than usual, when a great part of the day was spent in skirmishing, after which they retired. The Athenians did not suppose they would return, but imagined that fear would make them fly. But having refreshed themselves in great haste, and returning on board their galleys, they attacked the Athenians, who were far from expecting them. The latter being now forced to return immediately on board their ships, they entered them in great disorder: so that they had not time to draw them up in a line of battle, and most of the sailors were fasting. Victory did not long continue in suspense. The Athenians, after making a short and slight resistance, retired behind the line of transports. The enemy pursued them thither, but were stopped by the yards of those ships, to which were fixed dolphins of lead: these being very heavy, had they fallen on the enemy's galleys, would have sunk them at once. The Athenians lost seven

galleys in this engagement, and a great number of soldiers were either killed or taken prisoners.

This loss threw Nicias into the utmost consternation : all the misfortunes he had met with, ever since the time he had enjoyed the supreme command, came into his mind, and he was now involved in a greater than any of them, by complying with the advice of his colleagues. Whilst he was revolving these gloomy ideas, Demosthenes's fleet was seen coming forward in great pomp, and with such an air as might fill the enemy with dread. It was now the day after the battle. This fleet consisted of seventy-three galleys, on board of which were five thousand fighting men, and about three thousand archers, slingers, and bowmen.

All these galleys were richly trimmed, their prows being adorned with shining streamers, manned with stout rowers, commanded by good officers, and echoing with the sound of clarions and trumpets ; Demosthenes having affected an air of pomp and triumph purposely to strike terror into the enemy.

This gallant sight alarmed them indeed beyond expression. They did not see any end, or even the least suspension of their calamities. All they had hitherto done or suffered was as nothing, and their work was to begin again. What hopes could they entertain of being able to weary out the patience of the Athenians, since, though they had a camp intrenched in the middle of Attica, they were, however, able to send a second army into Sicily, as considerable as the former ; and that their power, as well as their courage, seemed, notwithstanding all their losses, instead of diminishing, to increase daily.

Demosthenes, having made an exact inquiry into the state of things, imagined it would not be proper for him to lose time, as Nicias had done ; who, having spread a universal terror at his first arrival, became afterwards an object of contempt, for his having wintered in Catana, instead of going directly to Syracuse, and had afterwards given Gylippus an opportunity of throwing troops into it. He flattered himself with the hopes that he should be able to carry the city at the first attack, by taking advantage of the alarm which the news of his arrival would spread in every part of it, and by that means would immediately put an end to the war ; otherwise he intended to raise

the siege, and no longer harass and lessen the troops by fighting battles never decisive; nor quite exhaust the city of Athens, by employing its treasures in needless expenses.

Nicias, terrified by this bold and precipitate resolution of Demosthenes, conjured him not to be so hasty, but to take time to weigh things deliberately, that he might have no cause to repent of what he should do. He observed to him, that the enemy would be ruined by delays; that their provisions as well as money were entirely exhausted; that their allies were going to abandon them; that they must soon be reduced to such extremity, for want of provisions, as would force them to surrender, as they had before resolved; for there were certain persons in Syracuse, who held a secret correspondence with Nicias, and exhorted him not to be impatient, because the Syracusans were tired with the war and with Gylippus; and that, should the necessity to which they were reduced be ever so little increased, they would surrender at discretion.

As Nicias did not explain himself clearly, and would not declare, in express terms, that sure and certain advices were sent him of whatever was transacted in the city, his remonstrances were considered as an effect of the timidity and slowness with which he had always been reproached. Such, said they, are his usual protractions, delays, distrusts, and fearful precaution, whereby he has deadened all the vivacity, and extinguished all the ardour of the troops, in not marching them immediately against the enemy; but, on the contrary, by deferring to attack them till his own forces were weakened and despised. This made the rest of the generals, and all the officers, come over to Demosthenes's opinion, and Nicias himself was at last forced to acquiesce in it.

Demosthenes, after having attacked, to no purpose, the wall which cut the contravallation of the besiegers, confined himself to the attack of Epipolæ, from a supposition, that, should he once be master of it, the wall would be quite undefended. He, therefore, took provisions for five days, with workmen, implements, and every thing necessary for him to defend that post after he should possess himself of it. As there was no going up to it in the day-time undiscovered, he marched thither in the night with all his forces, followed by Eurymedon and Menander; Nicias staying behind to guard the camp. They went

up by the way of Euryelus, as before, unperceived by the sentinels, attacked the first intrenchment, and stormed it, after killing part of those who defended it. Demosthenes, not satisfied with this advantage, to prevent the ardour of his troops from cooling, and not to delay the execution of his design, marches forward. During this interval, the forces of the city, sustained by Gylippus, marched under arms out of the intrenchments. Being seized with astonishment, which the darkness of the night increased, they were immediately repulsed and put to flight. But, as the Athenians advanced in disorder, to force whatever might resist their arms, lest the enemy might rally again, should time be allowed them to breathe and recover from their surprise, they are stopped on a sudden by the Boeotians, who make a vigorous stand, and, marching against the Athenians with their pikes presented, they repulse them with great shouts, and make a dreadful slaughter. This spreads a universal terror through the rest of the army. Those who fled, either force along such as were advancing to their assistance, or else, mistaking them for enemies, turn their arms against them. They now were all mixed indiscriminately, it being impossible to discover objects in the horrors of a night, which was not so gloomy as entirely to make objects imperceptible, nor yet light enough to distinguish those which were seen. The Athenians sought for one another to no purpose, and, from their often asking the word, by which only they were able to know one another, a strange confusion of sounds was heard, which occasioned no little disorder; not to mention, that they, by this means, divulged the word to the enemy, and could not learn theirs; because, by their being together, and in a body, they had no occasion to repeat it. In the mean time, those who were pursued threw themselves from the top of the rocks, and many were dashed to pieces by the fall; and as most of those who escaped straggled from one to another up and down the fields and woods, they were cut to pieces the next day by the enemy's horse, who pursued them. Two thousand Athenians were slain in this engagement, and a great number of arms were taken; those who fled having thrown them away, that they might be the better able to escape over the precipices. Soon after Gylippus, having made the tour of Sicily, brought a great number of troops with him, which

rendered the affairs of Athens still more desperate, and deprived Nicias of all hopes of success; besides, the Athenian army now began to diminish exceedingly by sickness, and nothing was seen to remain, but their quitting an island, in which they had experienced every mortification. Nicias no longer opposed the resolution, and only desired to have it kept secret. Orders were therefore given, as privately as possible, for the fleet to prepare for setting sail with the utmost expedition.

When all things were ready, the moment they were going to set sail (wholly unsuspected by the enemy, who were far from surmising they would leave Sicily so soon), the moon was suddenly eclipsed in the middle of the night, and lost all its splendour, which terrified Nicias and the whole army, who, from ignorance and superstition, were astonished at so sudden a change, the causes of which they did not know, and therefore dreaded the consequences of it. They then consulted the soothsayers, who, being equally unacquainted with the reasons of this phenomenon, only augmented their consternation. It was the custom, after such accidents had happened, to suspend their enterprise but for three days. The soothsayers pronounced, that he must not sail till nine times three days were past (these were Thucydides' words), which doubtless was a mysterious number in the opinion of the people. Nicias, scrupulous to a fault, and full of a mistaken veneration for those blind interpreters of the will of the gods, declared that he would wait a whole revolution of the moon, and not return till the same day of the next month, as if he had not seen the planet very clearly the instant it had emerged from that part which was darkened by the interposition of the earth's body.

But he was not allowed time for this. The news of the intended departure of the Athenians soon spread over the city: a resolution was taken to attack the besiegers both by sea and land. The Syracusans began the first day by attacking the intrenchments, and gained a slight advantage over the enemy. On the morrow they made a second attack, and, at the same time, sailed with seventy-six galleys against eighty-six of the Athenians. Eurymedon, who commanded the right of the Athenian fleet, having spread along the shore to surround them, this movement proved fatal to him; for, as he was de-

tached from the body of the fleet, the Syracusans, after forcing the main battle, which was in the centre, attacked him, drove him vigorously into the gulph called Dascon, and there defeated him entirely. Eurymedon lost his life in the engagement. They afterwards gave chase to the rest of the galleys, and run them against the shore. Gylippus, who commanded the land army, seeing the Athenian galleys were forced aground, and not able to return into the stoccado, landed with part of his troops, in order to charge the soldiers, in case they should be forced to run ashore, and give his friends the more room to tow such galleys as they should have taken; however, he was repulsed by the Tyrrenians, who were posted on that side, and obliged by the Athenians, who flew to sustain them, to retire with some loss, as far as a moor, which lay near it. The latter saved most of their ships, eighteen excepted, which were taken by the Syracusans, and their crews cut to pieces by them. After this, resolving to burn the rest, they filled an old vessel with combustible materials, and having set fire to it, they drove it by the help of the wind against the Athenians, who nevertheless extinguished the fire, and drove off that ship; each side erected trophies, the Syracusans for the death of Eurymedon, and the advantage they had gained the day before, and the Athenians for their having driven part of the enemy into the moor, and put the other part to flight. But the minds of the two nations were very differently disposed; the Syracusans, who had been thrown into the utmost consternation at the arrival of Demosthenes with his fleet, seeing themselves victorious in a naval engagement, resumed fresh hope, and assured themselves of a complete victory over their enemies. The Athenians, on the contrary, frustrated of their only resource, and overcome at sea, so contrary to their expectations, entirely lost courage, and had no thoughts but of retiring.

The enemy, to deprive them of all resource, and prevent their escaping, shut the mouth of the great harbour, which was about five hundred paces wide, with galleys placed crosswise, and other vessels, fixed with anchors and iron chains, and, at the same time, made the requisite preparations for a battle, in case they should have courage to engage again. When the Athenians saw themselves thus hemmed in, the

generals and principal officers assembled, in order to deliberate on the present state of affairs. They were in absolute want of provisions, which was owing to their having forbid the people of Catana to bring any, from the hopes they entertained of their being able to retire; and they could not procure any from other places, unless they were masters of the sea: this made them resolve to venture a sea-fight. In this view, they were determined to leave their old camp and their walls, and to intrench themselves on the shore near their ships, in the smallest compass possible. Their design was to leave some forces in that place to guard their baggage and the sick, and to fight with the rest aboard all the ships they should have saved. They intended to retire into Catana, in case they should be victorious; otherwise, to set fire to their ships, and to march by land to the nearest city belonging to their allies.

This resolution being taken, Nicias immediately filled a hundred and ten galleys (the others having lost their oars) with the flower of his infantry, and drew up the rest of the forces, particularly the bowmen, in order of battle, on the shore. As the Athenians dreaded very much the beaks of the Syracusan galleys, Nicias had provided harping-irons to grapple them, in order to break the force of the blow, and to come immediately to close fight, as on shore. But the enemy, perceiving this, covered the prows and upper part of their galleys with leather, to prevent their being so easily laid hold of. The commanders on both sides had employed all their rhetoric to animate their men; and none could ever have been prompted with stronger motives: for the battle, which was going to be fought, was to determine, not only their lives and liberties, but also the fate of their country.

This battle was very obstinate and bloody. The Athenians, being arrived at the mouth of the port, easily took those ships which defended the entrance of it; but when they attempted to break the chain of the rest, to widen the passage, the enemy came up from all quarters. As near two hundred galleys came rushing on each side in a narrow place, there must necessarily be a very great confusion, and the vessels could not easily advance forward, or retire, or turn about to renew the attack. The beaks of the galleys, for this reason, did very little execution; but there were very furious and frequent discharges.

The Athenians were overwhelmed with a shower of stones, which always did execution from what place soever they were thrown; whereas they defended themselves by only shooting darts and arrows, which, by the motion of the ships, from the agitation of the sea, did not carry true, and by that means the greatest part of them did little execution. Ariston, the pilot, had given the Syracusans this counsel. These discharges being over, the soldiers, heavily armed, attempted to enter the enemy's ships, in order to fight hand to hand; and it often happened, that, whilst they were climbing up one side, their own ships were entered on the other, and two or three ships were grappled to one, which occasioned a great perplexity and confusion. Farther, the noise of the ships that dashed one against the other, the different cries of the victors and vanquished, prevented the orders of the officers from being heard. The Athenians wanted to force a passage, whatever might be the consequence, to secure their return into their own country; and this the enemy employed their utmost efforts to prevent, in order that they might gain a more complete and more glorious victory. The two land armies, which were drawn up on the highest part of the shore, and the inhabitants of the city who were there, ran to the walls, whilst the rest, kneeling in the temples, were imploring Heaven to give success to their fellow-citizens: all these saw clearly, because of their little distance from the fleet, every thing that passed, and contemplated the battle as from an amphitheatre, but not without great anxiety and terror. Attentive to, and shuddering at every movement, and the several changes which happened, they discovered the concern they had in the battle, their fears, their hopes, their grief, their joy, by different cries and different gestures; stretching out their hands sometimes towards the combatants to animate them, at other times towards heaven, to implore the succour and protection of the gods. At last, the Athenian fleet, after sustaining a long battle, and a vigorous resistance, was put to flight, and drove against the shore. The Syracusans, who were spectators of this victory, conveyed the news to the whole city by a universal shout. The victors, now masters of the sea, and sailing with a favourable wind towards Syracuse, erected a trophy, whilst the Athenians, who were quite dejected and over-

powered, did not so much as request that their dead soldiers might be delivered to them, in order to pay the last sad duty to their remains.

There now remained but two methods for them to choose; either to attempt the passage a second time, for which they had ships and soldiers sufficient, or to abandon their fleet to the enemy, and retire by land. Demosthenes proposed the former; but the sailors, in the deepest affliction, refused to obey, fully persuaded that it would be impossible for them to sustain a second engagement. The second method was, therefore, resolved upon; and accordingly they prepared to set out in the night, to conceal the march of their army from the enemy.

But Hermocrates, who suspected their design, was very sensible; that it was of the utmost importance not to suffer so great a body of forces to escape, since they otherwise might fortify themselves in some corner of the island, and renew the war. The Syracusans were, at that time, in the midst of their festivity and rejoicings, and meditating nothing but how they might divert themselves after the toils they had sustained in fight. They were then solemnizing the festival of Heracles. To desire the Syracusans to take up arms again in order to pursue the enemy, and to attempt to draw them from their diversions, either by force or persuasion, would have been to no purpose; for which reason another expedient was employed. Hermocrates sent out a few horsemen, who were to pass for friends of the Athenians, and ordered them to cry aloud; Tell Nicias not to retire till day-light, for the Syracusans lie in ambush for him, and have seized on their passes. This false advice stopped Nicias at once, and he did not even set out the next day, in order that the soldiers might have more time to prepare for their departure; and carry off whatever might be necessary for their subsistence, and abandon the rest.

The enemy had time enough for seizing the avenues. The next morning early they possessed themselves of the most difficult passes, fortified those places where the rivers were fordable; broke down the bridges, and spread detachments of horse up and down the plain, so that there was not one place which the Athenians could pass without fighting. They set

out upon their march the third day after the battle, with a design to retire to Catana. The whole army was in an inexpressible consternation, to see such a great number of men either dead or dying, some of whom were left exposed to wild beasts, and the rest to the cruelty of the enemy. Those who were sick and wounded conjured them, with tears, to take them along with the army, and held by their clothes when they were going, or else, crawling after them, followed them as far as their strength would permit; and when this failed, had recourse to tears, sighs, imprecations, and, sending up towards heaven plaintive and dying groans, they called upon the gods as well as men to avenge their cruelty, whilst every place echoed with lamentations.

The whole army was in a deplorable condition. All the Athenians were seized with the deepest melancholy. They were inwardly tortured with rage and anguish, when they represented to themselves the greatness from which they were fallen, the extreme misery to which they were reduced, and the still greater evils from which they foresaw it would be impossible for them to escape. They could not bear the comparison, for ever present in their thoughts, of the triumphant state in which they had left Athens, in the midst of the good wishes and acclamations of the people, with the ignominy of their retreat, aggravated by the cries and imprecations of their relations and fellow citizens.

But the most melancholy part of the spectacle, and that which most deserved compassion, was Nicias: dejected and worn out by a tedious illness, deprived of the most necessary comforts, at a time when his age and infirmities required them most, pierced not only with his private grief, but with that of others, all which preyed upon his mind. However, this great man, superior to all his evils, thought of nothing but how he might best comfort his soldiers, and revive their courage. He ran up and down in all places, crying aloud, that their situation was not yet desperate, and that other armies had escaped from great dangers; that they ought not to accuse themselves, or grieve too immoderately for misfortunes, which they had not occasioned; that, if they had offended some god, his vengeance must be satiated by this time; that fortune, after having so long favoured the enemy, would at last be tired of per-

scouting them; that their bravery and their numbers made them still formidable (being still near forty thousand strong); that no city in Sicily would be able to withstand them, nor prevent their settling wherever they might think proper; that they had no more to do, but to take care severally of themselves; and march in good order; that, by a prudent and courageous retreat, which was now become their only resource, they would not only save themselves, but also their country, and enable it to recover its former grandeur.

The army marched in two bodies, both drawn up in the form of a phalanx, the first being commanded by Nicias, and the second by Demosthenes, with the baggage in the centre. Being come to the river Anapia, they forced their passage, and afterwards were charged by the enemy's cavalry, as well as archers, who discharged perpetually upon them. They were annoyed in this manner during several days' march, every one of the passes being guarded, and the Athenians being obliged to dispute every inch of their way. The enemy did not care to hazard a battle against an army, which despair alone might render invincible; and the instant the Athenians presented the Syracusans battle, the latter retired; but, whenever the former proceeded in their march, they advanced and charged them in their retreat.

Demosthenes and Nicias, seeing the miserable condition to which the troops were reduced, being in extreme want of provisions, and great numbers of them wounded, judged it advisable to retire towards the sea, by a quite contrary way from that in which they then marched, and to make directly for Camarina and Gela, instead of proceeding to Catana, as they first intended. They set out in the night, after lighting a great number of fires. The retreat was made in great confusion and disorder, as generally happens to great armies in the gloomy horrors of the night, especially when the enemy is not far off. However, the van guard, commanded by Nicias, went forward in good order; but above half the rear guard, with Demosthenes at their head, quitted from the main body, and lost their way. On the next day, the Syracusans, who, on the report of their retreat, had marched with the utmost diligence, came up with Demosthenes about noon, and, having surrounded him with their horse, drove him into a nar-

row place, enclosed with a wall, where his soldiers fought like lions. Perceiving, at the close of the day, that they were oppressed with fatigue, and covered with wounds, the conquering Syracusans gave the invaders leave to retire, which some of them accepted, and they afterwards spared the lives of the rest, who surrendered at discretion, with Demosthenes, after it having been stipulated that they should not be put to death, nor sentenced to perpetual imprisonment. About six thousand soldiers surrendered on these conditions.

Nicias arrived, the same evening, at the river Erineus, and, passing it, encamped on a mountain, where the enemy came up with him the next day, and summoned him to surrender at discretion, as Demosthenes had done. Nicias could not persuade himself at first, that what they told him concerning Demosthenes was true, and therefore desired leave to send some horse for information. Upon their returning with the news, that Demosthenes had really surrendered in that manner, Nicias offered to pay the expenses of the war, upon condition they would permit him to leave the country with his forces, and to give as many Athenians for hostages as they should be obliged to pay talents. But the enemy rejected this proposal with disdain and insolence, and renewed the attack. Nicias, though in absolute want of all things, however, sustained the charge the whole night, and marched towards the river Assinarus. When they were got to the banks of it, the Syracusans, advancing up to them, threw most of them into the stream, the rest already having plunged voluntarily into it, to quench their thirst. Here the greatest and most bloody havoc was made, the poor wretches being butchered, without the least pity, as they were drinking. Nicias, finding all lost, and unable to bear this dismal spectacle, surrendered at discretion, upon condition that Gylippus should discontinue the fight, and spare the rest of his army. A great number were killed, and more taken prisoners, so that all Sicily was filled with them. The Athenians seem to have been displeased with their general for surrendering in this manner at discretion; and, for this reason, his name was omitted in a public monument, on which was engraved the names of those commanders who had lost their lives in fighting for their country.

The victors adorned with the arms taken from the prisoners.

the finest and largest trees they could find on the banks of the rivers, and made a kind of trophies of those trees; when, crowning themselves with chaplets of flowers, dressing their horses in the richest caparisons, and cropping those of their enemies, they entered triumphantly into Syracuse, after having happily terminated the most considerable war in which they had ever been engaged with the Greeks, and won, by their strength and valour, a most signal and complete victory.

The next day a council was held to deliberate on what was to be done with the prisoners. Diocles, one of the leaders of greatest authority among the people, proposed, that all the Athenians, who were born of free parents, and all such Sicilians as had joined with them, should be imprisoned, and only two measures of flour, and one of water, given them daily; that the slaves, and all the allies, should be publicly sold; and that the two Athenian generals should be first scourged with rods, and afterwards put to death.

This last article was exceedingly disliked by all wise and compassionate Syracusans. Hermocrates, who was very famous for his probity and justice, attempted to make some remonstrances to the people, but they would not hear him, and the shouts, which echoed on all sides, prevented him from continuing his speech. At that instant, an ancient man, venerable for his great age and gravity, who in this war had lost two sons, the only heirs to his name and estate, made his servants carry him to the tribunal for harangues, and, the instant he appeared, a profound silence was made. "You here behold," says he, "an unfortunate father, who has felt more than any other Syracusan the fatal effects of this war, by the death of two sons, who formed all the consolation, and were the only supports of my old age. I cannot, indeed, forbear admiring their courage and felicity, in sacrificing to their country's welfare a life, of which they would one day have been deprived by the common course of nature: but then I cannot but be strongly affected with the cruel wound which their death has made in my heart, nor forbear hating and detesting the Athenians, the authors of this unhappy war, as the murderers of my children; but, however, I cannot conceal one circumstance, which is, that I am less sensible of my private affliction than that of the honour of my country, and I see

it exposed to eternal infamy by the barbarous advice which is now given you. The Athenians, indeed, merit the worst treatment, and every kind of punishment that can be inflicted on them, for so unjustly declaring war against us; but have not the gods, the just avengers of crimes, punished them, and revenged us sufficiently? When their general laid down his arms and surrendered, did he not do this in the hopes of having their lives spared? and if we put them to death, will it be possible for us to avoid the just reproach of our having violated the law of nations, and dishonoured our victory by an unheard-of cruelty? How will you suffer your glory to be thus sullied in the face of the whole world; and have it said, that a nation, who first dedicated a temple in this city to clemency, had not found any in yours? Surely victories and triumphs do not give immortal glory to a city: but the exercising mercy towards a vanquished enemy, the using moderation in the greatest prosperity, and fearing to offend the gods by a haughty and insolent pride, will ever ensure it. You, doubtless, have not forgot that this Nicias, whose fate you are going to pronounce, was the man who pleaded your cause in the assembly of the Athenians, and employed all his credit, and the whole power of his eloquence, to dissuade his country from embarking in this war; should you, therefore, pronounce sentence of death on this worthy general, would it be a just reward for the zeal he showed for your interest? With regard to myself, death would be less grievous to me than the sight of so horrid an injustice committed by my countrymen and fellow-citizens."

The people seemed moved with compassion at this speech, especially when this venerable old man first ascended. They expected to hear him cry aloud for vengeance on those who had brought all these calamities upon him, instead of suing for their pardon. But the enemies of the Athenians exulted with vehemence on the unheard-of cruelties which their republic had exercised on several cities belonging to their enemies, and even to their ancient allies; the inveteracy which the commanders had shown against Syracuse, and the evils they would have made it suffer had they been victorious; the afflictions and groans of infinite numbers of Syracusans, who bewailed the death of their children and near relations, whose manes could be appeased by no other way than by the blood

of their murderers. These representations prevailed, and the people returned to their sanguinary resolution, and followed Diocles's advice in every respect. Gylippus used his utmost endeavours, but in vain, to have Nicias and Demosthenes given up to him (especially as he had taken them), in order for him to carry them to Lacedæmon; but his demand was rejected with a haughty scorn, and the two generals were put to death.

No wise and compassionate man could forbear shedding tears at the tragical fate of two such illustrious personages, and particularly for Nicias; who, of all men of his time, seemed least to merit so ignominious and untimely an end. When people recollected the speeches and remonstrances he had made to prevent the war; and, on the other side, when they considered how high a regard he had always retained for things relating to religion, the greatest part of them were tempted to exclaim against Providence, in seeing that a man, who had ever shown the highest reverence for the gods, and had always exerted himself to the utmost for their honour and worship, should be so ill rewarded by them, and meet with no better fate than the most abandoned wretches.

Nicias must be regarded by posterity as a good, rather than a great man. He was humane and benevolent. He wanted not for wisdom and discernment: and no man ever possessed more of the true *amor patriæ*. But then he was too timid for the services in which he was sometimes employed; and, upon all occasions, too diffident of his own abilities. These qualities in him, however, were not without their advantages: for, while they subjected him to the mortification of seeing his counsels rejected, himself sent out on duty which did not suit his inclination, or his operations in the field less acceptable than they might otherwise have been, they procured him the esteem of the people, by the appearance of moderation, and of respect for their privileges, which they always bore; and the confidence of the soldiery, by those ideas of caution, or of stratagem, or even piety towards the gods, which they were always ready to affix to them. It was of no small service to the character of Nicias, that he was called upon to act in concert with Cleon and Alcibiades. The fire and impetuosity of these men required to be tempered by the coolness and de-

liberation of their colleague; and every reflection, on the contrast which their dispositions made, tends to enhance our good opinion of Nicias. Nicias is said always to have given good advice, and always to have fought well. From thence, one would think that he merits a higher title than we seem willing to allow him; and so he would, had the promptitude of his designs kept pace with the sincerity of his intentions, or even with the vigour of his execution. The unhappy event of his last exertions in Sicily was owing to a variety of causes. Many of his fellow citizens strove, through envy, to ruin his reputation: his indifferent state of health admitted not of the unremitting vigilance and application which the Athenian affairs in that island demanded; and infectious diseases, and wounds, and death, had rendered the greatest efforts of his troops feeble and ineffectual. Nicias was a rich man: a silver mine, which he had in his estate at Laurium, furnished him with the means of displaying his magnificence in public shows and donations. This gained over to him many that were disaffected to his measures, and secured the good opinion of those who approved of them.

Demosthenes was a brave, intrepid officer, and by no means defective in military tactics. There was no contemporary of his more likely to preserve the honour of the Athenian name than he: but the misery was, that the affairs of Syracuse were become desperate before he entered upon the expedition. His name was long had in estimation at Athens. Demosthenes, the orator, many years after the discomfiture we have related, valued himself upon being of the same family with Demosthenes who fell at Syracuse.

The prisoners were shut up in the prisons of Syracuse, where, crowded one upon the other, they suffered incredible torment for eight months. Here they were for ever exposed to the inclemencies of the weather: scorched in the day-time by the burning rays of the sun, or frozen in the night by the colds of autumn; poisoned by the stench of their own excrement, by the carcasses of those who died of their wounds and of sickness, and worn out by hunger and thirst, for the daily allowance to each was but a small measure of water and two of meal. Those who were taken out of this place two months after, in order to be sold as slaves, many of whom were citi-

sons, who had concealed their condition, found a less rigorous fate. Their wisdom, their patience, and a certain air of propriety and modesty, were of great advantage to them; for they were soon restored to their liberty, or met with the kindest and most generous treatment from their masters. Several of them even owed the good usage they met with to Euripides, the finest scenes of whose tragedies they repeated to the Sicilians, who were extremely fond of them: so that, when they returned to their own country, they went and saluted that poet as their deliverer, and informed him of the admirable effects wrought in their favour by his verses.

The news of the defeat being carried to Athens, the citizens at first would not believe it, and were so far from giving credit to the report, that they sentenced that man to death who first published the tidings; but when it was confirmed, all the Athenians were seized with the utmost consternation; and, as if themselves had not decreed the war, they vented their rage and resentment against the orators who had promoted the enterprise, as well as against the soothsayers, who, by their supposed prodigies, had flattered them with the hopes of success. They had never been reduced to so deplorable a condition as now, having neither horse, foot, money, galleys, nor mariners; in a word, they were in the deepest despair, expecting every moment that the enemy, elated with so great a victory, and strengthened by the revolt of the allies, would come and invade Athens, both by sea and land, with all the forces of Peloponnesus. Cicero had reason to observe, speaking of the battles in the harbour of Syracuse, that it was there the troops of Athens, as well as their galleys, were ruined and sunk; and that, in this harbour, the power and glory of the Athenians were miserably shipwrecked.

The Athenians, however, did not suffer themselves to be wholly dejected, but resumed courage. They now resolved to raise money on all sides, and to import timber for building of ships, in order to awe the allies, and particularly the inhabitants of the island of Rhodus. They retrenched all superfluous expenses, and established a new council of ancient men, who were to weigh and examine all affairs, before they should be proposed to the people. In fine, they omitted nothing which might be of service in the present conjuncture;

the alarm which they were in, and their common danger, obliging every individual to be attentive to the necessities of the state, and sedulous to all advice that might promote its interest.

Such was the event of the siege of Syracuse, the failure of which destroyed the power of those that had undertaken it. We have hitherto seen Athens rising in arts and arms, giving lessons both in politeness, humanity, philosophy, and war, to all the nations round, and beginning to fix an empire, which, if once established, no neighbouring power could overthrow. But their ambition grew faster than their abilities; and, their views extending beyond their capacity to execute them, they fell at once from that height to which, for ages, they had been assiduously aspiring. We are now, therefore, to be presented with a different picture; we are no longer to view this little state panting for conquests over other nations, but timorously defending itself at home; we are no longer to view Athens taking the lead in the councils, and conducting the confederated armies of Greece: they now become, in a measure, annihilated; they fade from the eye of the historian; and other nations, whose names have hitherto been scarcely mentioned, emerge from obscurity. The rashness of this enterprise was severely punished in the loss of their best generals, fleets, and armies; all now was destroyed, or left at the mercy of those, whom they had so unseasonably undertaken to subdue.

Their allies began now to think of throwing off their yoke; and even those who had stood nenter took this occasion to declare against them. But the Lacedæmonians, being more particularly elevated, resolved to prosecute the war with vigour, and the winter was spent in preparations on both sides. The Athenians, in their present distress, scarcely knew where to turn; many of their allied cities revolted, and it was with the utmost difficulty, that, by placing their forces and fleets at Samos, they reduced such states as had abandoned them to their former obedience, and kept the rest to their duty: thus, still struggling with a part of their former spirit, they kept themselves in a condition to make head against their enemies, over whom they had obtained several advantages.

Alcibiades, who was well informed of all that passed among the Athenians, sent secretly to the principal of them at Samos,

to sound their sentiments, and to let them know that he was not averse from returning to Athens; provided the administration of the republic were put into the hands of the great and powerful, and not left to the populace, who had expelled him. Some of the principal officers went from Samos, with a design to concert with him the proper measures for the success of that undertaking. He promised to procure the Athenians, not only the favour of Tissaphernes, the king of Persia's lieutenant, with whom he had taken refuge, but of the king himself, upon condition they would abolish the democracy, or popular government: because the king would place more confidence in the engagements of the nobility, than upon those of the inconstant and capricious multitude. The chief man who opposed his return was Phrynichus, one of the generals, who, to compass his designs, sent word to Astyochus, the Lacedæmonian general, that Alcibiades was treating with Tissaphernes, to bring him over to the Athenian interest. He offered, farther, to betray to him the whole army and navy of the Athenians. But, his treasonable practices being all detected, by the good understanding betwixt Alcibiades and Astyochus, he was stripped of his office, and afterwards stabbed in the market-place.

In the mean time, the Athenians went eagerly forward to complete that change of government which had been proposed to them by Alcibiades; the democracy began to be abolished in several cities of Athens, and, soon after, the scheme was carried boldly forward by Pysander, who was chiefly concerned in the transaction. To give a new form to this government, he caused ten commissaries, with absolute power, to be appointed, who were, however, at a certain fixed time, to give the people an account of what they had done. At the expiration of that term, the general assembly was summoned, wherein their first resolution was, that every one should be admitted to make such proposals as he thought fit, without being liable to any accusation, or consequent penalty, for infringing the law. It was afterwards decreed, that a new council should be formed, with full power to administer the public affairs, and to elect new magistrates. For this purpose, five presidents were established, who nominated one hundred persons, including themselves. Each of these chose and asso-

ciated three more at his own pleasure, which made in all four hundred, in whom an absolute power was lodged. But, to amuse the people, and to console them with a shadow of popular government, whilst they instituted a real oligarchy, it was said, that the four hundred should call a council of five thousand citizens to assist them, whenever they should judge it necessary. The council and assemblies of the people were held as usual; nothing was done, however, but by order of the four hundred. The people of Athens were deprived, in this manner, of their liberty, which they had enjoyed almost a hundred years, after having abolished the tyranny of the Pisistratides.

This decree being passed without opposition, after the separation of the assembly, the four hundred, armed with daggers, and attended by a hundred and twenty young men, whom they made use of when any execution required it, entered the senate, and compelled the senators to retire, after having paid them the arrears due upon their appointments. They elected new magistrates out of their own body, observing the usual ceremonies upon such occasions. They did not think proper to recall those who were banished, lest they should authorize the return of Alcibiades, whose uncontrollable spirit they dreaded, and who would soon have made himself master of the people. Abusing their power in a tyrannical manner, they put some to death, others they banished, and confiscated their estates with impunity. All, who ventured to oppose this change, or even to complain of it, were butchered upon false pretexts; and those were intimidated, who demanded justice of the murderers. The four hundred, soon after their establishment, sent ten deputies to Samos, for the army's concurrence to their establishment.

The army, in the mean time, which was at Samos, protested against these proceedings in the city; and, at the persuasion of Thrasybulus, recalled Alcibiades, and created him general, with full power to sail directly to the Piræus; and crush this new tyranny. Alcibiades, however, would not give way to this rash opinion, but went first to show himself to Tissaphernes, and let him know, that it was now in his power to treat with him as a friend or an enemy. By which means he awed the Athenians with Tissaphernes, and Tissaphernes with the

Athenians. When, afterwards, the four hundred sent to Samos to vindicate their proceedings, the army was for putting the messengers to death, and persisted in the design upon the Pyreus; but Alcibiades, opposing it, manifestly saved the commonwealth.

In the meanwhile, the innovation in Athens had occasioned such factions and tumults, that the four hundred were more intent upon providing for their safety than prosecuting the war. In order to which, they fortified that part of the Pyreus, which commands the mouth of the haven; and resolved, in case of extremity, rather to let in the Lacedæmonians, than expose their persons to the fury of their fellow-citizens. The Spartans took occasion, from these disturbances, to hover about with forty-two galleys, under the conduct of Hegesandrides; and the Athenians, with thirty-six, under Timochares, were forced to engage them, but lost part of their fleet, and the rest were dispersed. To add to which, all Eubœa, except Oreus, revolted to the Peloponnesians.

This failure of success served to give the finishing blow to the power of the four hundred. The Athenians, without delay, opposed them, as the authors of all their troubles and divisions under which they groaned. Alcibiades was recalled, by unanimous consent, and earnestly solicited to make all possible haste to the assistance of the city. But judging, that if he returned immediately to Athens he should owe his recall to the compassion and favour of the people, he resolved to render his return glorious and triumphant, and to deserve it by some considerable exploit. For this purpose, leaving Samos with a small number of ships, he cruized about the islands of Cos and Cnidos, and having learnt that Mindarus, the Spartan admiral, was sailed to the Hellespont with his whole fleet, and that the Athenians were in pursuit of him, he steered that way with the utmost diligence to support them, and arrived happily with his eighteen vessels at the time the fleets were engaged, near Abydos, in a battle which lasted till night, without any advantage on either side. His arrival gave the Spartans new courage at first, who believed him still their friend, and dispirited the Athenians. But Alcibiades, hanging out the Athenian flag in the admiral's galley, fell upon them, and put them to flight; and, animated by his success,

sunk their vessels, and made a great slaughter of their soldiers, who had thrown themselves into the sea, to save themselves by swimming. The Athenians, after having taken thirty of their galleys, and retaken those they had lost, erected a trophy.

Alcibiades, after this victory, went to visit Tissaphernes, who was so far from receiving him as he expected, that he immediately caused him to be seized, and sent away prisoner to Sardis, telling him, that he had orders from the king to make war upon the Athenians; but the truth is, he was afraid of being accused to his master by the Peloponnesians, and thought, by this act of injustice, to purge himself from all former imputations. Alcibiades, after thirty days, made his escape to Clazomenæ, and soon after bore down upon the Peloponnesian fleet, which rode at anchor before the port of Cyzicus. With twenty of his best ships he broke through the enemy, pursued those who abandoned their ships and fled to land, and made a great slaughter. The Athenians took all the enemy's ships, made themselves masters of Cyzicus, while Mingimis, the Lacedæmonian general, was found among the number of the slain.

Alcibiades well knew how to make use of the victory he had gained; and, at the head of his conquering forces, took several cities which had revolted from the Athenians. Calcedon, Selymbria, and Byzantium, were among the number. Thus flushed with conquest, he seemed to desire nothing so ardently as to be once more seen by his countrymen, as his presence would be a triumph to his friends, and an insult to his enemies. Accordingly, being recalled, he set sail for Athens. Besides the ships covered with bucklers and spoils of all sorts, in the manner of trophies, a great number of vessels were also towed after him by way of triumph; he displayed also the ensigns and ornaments of those he had burnt, which were more than the others, the whole amounting to about two hundred ships. It is said, that, reflecting on what had been done against him, upon approaching the port, he was struck with some terror, and was afraid to quit his vessel, till he saw from the deck a great number of his friends and relations, who were come to the shore to receive him; and earnestly entreated him to land. As soon as he was landed, the multitude, who came

but to meet him, fixed their eyes on him, thronged about him, saluted him with loud acclamations, and crowned him with garlands. . . . He received their congratulations with great satisfaction; he desired to be discharged from his former opprobrium, and obtained from the priests an absolution from all their former denunciations.

Yet notwithstanding these triumphs, the real power of Athens was now no more, the strength of the state was gone, and even the passion for liberty was lost in the common degeneracy of the times: many of the meaner sort of people passionately desired that Alcibiades would take the sovereignty upon him; they even desired him to set himself above the reach of envy, by securing all power in his own person; the great, however, were not so warm, in their gratitude, they were content with appointing him generalissimo of all their forces; they granted him whatever he demanded, and gave him for colleagues the generals most agreeable to him. He set sail accordingly, with a hundred ships, and steered for the island of Andros, that had revolted, where, having defeated the inhabitants, he went from thence to Samos, intending to make that the seat of war. In the mean time, the Lacedæmonians, justly alarmed at his success, made choice of a general, supposed to be capable of making head against him; for this reason they fixed upon Lysander, who, though born of the highest family, had been bred up to hardships, and paid an entire respect to the discipline and manners of his country. He was brave and aspiring, and like his countrymen, sacrificed all sorts of pleasure to his ambition. He had an evenness and sedateness of temper, which made all conditions of life sit easy upon him; but withal was extremely insinuating, crafty, and designing, and made his interest the only measure of truth and falsehood. This deceitful temper was observed to run through the whole course of his life; upon which occasion it was said, that he cheated children with foul play, and men with perjury; and it was a maxim of his own, that when the lion fails, we must make use of the fox.

Lysander, having brought his army to Ephesus, gave orders for assembling ships of burthen from all parts, and erected an arsenal for building of galleys: he made the ports free for merchants, gave the public places to artificers, put all arts in

motion, and, by these means, filled the city with riches, and laid the foundation of that magnificence which she afterwards attained. Whilst he was making these dispositions, he received advice, that Cyrus, the Persian prince, was arrived at Sardis; he therefore set out from Ephesus to make him a visit, and to complain of Tissaphernes, whose duplicity and treachery had been fatal to their common cause. Cyrus, who had a personal enmity to that general, came into the views of Lysander, agreed to increase the seamen's pay, and to give him all the assistance in his power.

This largess filled the whole fleet with ardour and alacrity, and almost unmanned the enemy's galleys, the greatest part of the mariners deserting to the party where the pay was best. The Athenians, in despair, upon receiving this news, endeavoured to conciliate Cyrus by the interposition of Tissaphernes; but he would not hearken to them, notwithstanding the satrap represented, that it was not for the king's interest to aggrandize the Lacedæmonians, but to balance the power of one side with that of the other, in order to perpetuate the war, and to ruin both by their own divisions.

Alcibiades, on the other hand, having occasion to leave the fleet, in order to raise the supplies, gave the command of his fleet to Antiochus, with express command not to engage, or attack the enemy in his absence. Antiochus, however, was willing to do some action that might procure him favour, without a partner in the glory: he was so far, therefore, from observing the orders that were given him, that he presently sailed away for Ephesus; and, at the very mouth of the harbour, used every art to provoke the enemy to an engagement. Lysander at first manned out a few ships to repel his insults; but as the Athenian ships advanced to support Antiochus, other galleys belonging to the Lacedæmonians also came on, till both fleets arrived by little and little, and the engagement became general on both sides. Lysander at length was victorious; Antiochus was slain, and fifteen Athenian galleys were taken. It was in vain that Alcibiades soon after came up to the relief of his friends; it was in vain that he offered to renew the combat: Lysander, content with the victory he had gained, was unwilling to trust to fortune.

The sickle multitude of Athens again, therefore, began to

accuse Alcibiades of incapability. He, who was just before respected even to adoration, was now discarded, upon a groundless suspicion that he had not done his duty. But it was the glory he had obtained by his past services that now ruined him; for his continual success had begot in the people such a high opinion of him, that they thought it impossible for him to fail in any thing he undertook, and from thence his enemies took occasion to question his integrity, and to impute to him both his own and other miscarriages. Callicratidas was appointed to succeed Lysander, whose year was expired: alike severe to himself and others, inaccessible to flattery and sloth, the declared enemy of luxury, he retained the modesty, temperance, and austerity of the ancient Spartans; virtues that began to distinguish him particularly, as they were not very common in his time. His probity and justice were proof against all attacks: his simplicity and integrity abhorred all falsehood and fraud. To these virtues were joined a truly Spartan nobleness and grandeur of soul.

The first attempt of the new admiral was against Methymna, in Lesbos, which he took by storm. He then threatened Conon, who was appointed general of the Athenians, that he would make him leave *debauching* the sea; and accordingly, soon after, pursued him into the port of Mitylene, with a hundred and seventy sail, took thirty of his ships, and besieged him in the town, from which he cut off all provisions. He soon after took ten ships more out of twelve, which were coming to his relief. Then, hearing that the Athenians had fitted out their whole strength, consisting of a hundred and fifty sail, he left fifty of his ships, under Etenious, to carry on the siege of Mitylene, and, with a hundred and twenty more, met the Athenians at Arginusæ, over against Lesbos. His pilot advised him to retreat, for that the enemy was superior in number. He told him, that Sparta would be never the worse inhabited, though he were slain. The fight was long and obstinate, until at last the ship of Callicratidas, charging through the enemy, was sunk, and the rest fled. The Peloponnesians lost about seventy sail, and the Athenians twenty-five, with most of the men in them.

The Athenian admirals, who had the joint command of the fleet, instead of being rewarded for so signal a victory, were

made a barbarous instance of the power and ingratitude of their fellow-citizens. Upon a relation of the fight before the senate it was alleged, they had suffered their enemies who were shipwrecked to be lost, when they might have saved them upon which they were clapped in irons, in order to answer for their conduct to the people. They urged, in their defence, that they were pursuing the enemy; and, at the same time, gave orders about taking up the men to those whose business it more peculiarly was; particularly to Theramenes, who was now their accuser; but yet, that their orders could not be executed, by reason of a violent storm, which happened at that time. This seemed so reasonable and satisfactory, that several stood up and offered to bail them; but, in another assembly, the popular incendiaries demanded justice, and abused the judges, that Socrates was the only man who had courage enough to declare he would do nothing contrary to law; and accordingly refused to act. After a long debate eight of the ten were condemned, and six of them were put to death; among whom was Pericles, son of the great Pericles. He declared, that they had failed in nothing of their duty, as they had given orders that the dead bodies should be taken up; that, if any one were guilty, it was he; who, being charged with these orders, had neglected to put them in execution; but that he accused nobody; and that the tempest, which came on unexpectedly at the very instant, was an answerable apology, and entirely discharged the accused from all guilt. He demanded, that a whole day should be allowed them to make their defence, a favour not denied to the most criminal; and that they should be tried separately. He presented, that they were not in the least obliged to precipitate a sentence; wherein the lives of the most illustrious citizens were concerned: that it was, in some measure, attacking the gods, to make men responsible for the winds and weather; that they could not, without the most flagrant ingratitude and injustice, put the conquerors to death, to whom they ought to decree crowns and honours, or give up the defenders of their country to the rage of those who envied them: that, if they did so, their unjust judgment would be followed by a sudden but vain repentance, which would leave behind it the sharpest remorse, and cover them with eternal infamy. Among

the speaker also was Demosthenes, a person equally eminent for his valour and his probity: as he was carrying to his execution the demand to be heard: "Athenians," said he, "I wish the sentence you have passed upon us may not prove the misfortune of the republic; but I have one favour to ask of you, in behalf of my colleagues and myself; which is to acquit us before the gods of the vows we made to them for you and ourselves, as we are not in a condition to discharge them; for it is to their protection invoked before the battle, we acknowledge that we are indebted for the victory gained by us over the enemy." There was not a good citizen that did not melt into tears at this discourse, so full of goodness and religion; and admire with surprise the moderation of a person, who, seeing himself unjustly condemned, did not, however, vent the least resentment, or even complaint, against his judges, but was solely intent (in favour of an ungrateful country, which had doomed them to perish) upon what it owed to the gods, in common with them, for the victory they had lately obtained.

This complication of injustice and ingratitude seemed to give the finishing blow to the affairs of the Athenian state; they struggled, for a while, after their defeat at Syracuse; but, from hence, they were entirely sunk, though seemingly in the arms of victory.

The enemy, after their last defeat, had once more recourse to Lysander, who had so often led them to conquest: on him they placed their chief confidence, and ardently solicited his return. The Lacedæmonians, to gratify their allies, and yet to observe their laws, which forbade that honour being conferred twice on the same person, sent him with an inferior title; but with the power of admiral. Thus appointed, Lysander sailed towards the Hellespont; and laid siege to Lampacus, the place was carried by storm, and abandoned by Lysander to the mercy of the soldiers. The Athenians, who followed him close, upon the news of his success, steered forward towards Olesus, and from thence, sailing along the coast, moved over against the enemy at Zigos Potamos, a place fatal to the Athenians.

The Hellespont is not above two thousand paces broad, in that place. The two armies, seeing themselves so near each

other, expected only to rest that day, and were in hopes of coming to a battle on the next. But Lysander had another design in view: he commanded the seamen and pilots to go on board their galleys, as if they were in reality to fight the next morning at break of day, to hold themselves in readiness, and to wait his orders in profound silence. He ordered the land army, in like manner, to draw up in order of battle upon the coast, and to wait the day without any noise. On the morning, as soon as the sun was risen, the Athenians began to row towards them with their whole fleet in one line, and to bid them defiance. Lysander, though his ships were ranged in order of battle, with their heads towards the enemy, lay still without making any movement. In the evening, when the Athenians withdrew, he did not suffer his soldiers to go ashore till two or three galleys, which he had sent out to observe them, were returned with advice, that they had seen the enemy land. The next day passed in the same manner, as did the third and fourth. Such a conduct, which argued reserve and apprehension, extremely augmented the security and boldness of the Athenians, and inspired them with a high contempt for an army, which fear prevented from showing themselves or attempting any thing.

Whilst this passed, Alcibiades, who was near the fleet, took horse, and came to the Athenian generals, to whom he represented, that they kept upon a very disadvantageous coast, where there were neither ports nor cities in the neighbourhood; that they were obliged to bring their provisions from Sestos, with great danger and difficulty; and that they were very much in the wrong to suffer the soldiers and mariners of the fleet, as soon as they were ashore, to straggle and disperse themselves at their pleasure, whilst the enemy's fleet faced them in view, accustomed to execute the orders of their general with instant obedience, and upon the slightest signal. He offered also to attack the enemy by land, with a strong body of Thracian troops, and to force them to a battle. The generals, especially Tydeus and Monander, jealous of their command, did not content themselves with refusing his offers (from the opinion, that, if the event proved unfortunate, the whole blame would fall upon them, and, if favourable, that Alcibiades would engross the whole honour of it), but rejected

also with thank his wise and salutary counsel: as if a man in disgrace lost his sense and abilities with the favour of the commonwealth. Alcibiades withdrew.

The fifth day, the Athenians presented themselves again, and offered him battle, retiring in the evening, according to custom, with more insulting air than the days before. Lyxandor, as usual, detached some galleys to observe them, with orders to return with the utmost diligence when they saw the Athenians landed, and to put a brown buckler at each ship's head, as soon as they reached the middle of the channel. Himself, in the mean time, ran through the whole line in his galley, exhorting the pilots and officers to hold the seamen and soldiers in readiness to row and fight on the first signal.

As soon as the bucklers were put up in the ships' heads, and the admiral's galley had given the signal by the sound of trumpet, the whole fleet set forwards, in good order. The land army, at the same time, made all possible haste to the top of the promontory, to see the battle. The strait that separates the two continents in this place is about fifteen stadia, or three quarters of a league in breadth, which space was presently cleared, through the activity and diligence of the rowers. Conon, the Athenian general, was the first who perceived from shore, the enemy's fleet advancing in good order to attack him, upon which he immediately cried out for the troops to embark. In the height of sorrow and perplexity, some he called to by their names, some he conjured, and others he forced to go on board their galleys; but all his endeavours and emotion were ineffectual, the soldiers being dispersed on all sides. For they were no sooner come on shore, than some were run to the entrenchments, some to walk in the country, some to sleep in their tents, and others had begun to dress their suppers. This proceeded from the want of vigilance and experience in their generals, who, not suspecting the least danger, indulged themselves in taking their repose, and gave their soldiers the same liberty.

The enemy had already fallen on with loud cries, and a great noise of their oars, when Conon, disengaging himself with nine galleys, of which number was the sacred ship, he stood away for Cyprus, where he took refuge, with Evagoras. The Peloponnesians, falling upon the rest of the fleet, took imme-

diately the galleys which were empty, and disabled and destroyed such as began to fill with men. The soldiers, who ran without order or arms to their relief, were either killed in the endeavour to get on board, or, flying on shore, were cut to pieces by the enemy, who landed in pursuit of them. Lysander took three thousand prisoners, with all the generals, and the whole fleet: after having plundered the camp, and fastened the enemy's galleys to the sterns of his own, he returned to Eamipsacus, amidst the sounds of flutes and songs of triumph. It was his glory to have achieved one of the greatest military exploits recorded in history, with little or no loss, and to have terminated a war, in the small space of an hour; which had already lasted seven and twenty years, and which, perhaps, without him, had been of much longer continuance. Lysander immediately sent dispatches with this agreeable news to Sparta.

The three thousand prisoners taken in this battle having been condemned to die, Lysander called upon Philocles, one of the Athenian generals, who had caused all the prisoners taken in two galleys, the one of Andros, the other of Corinth, to be thrown from the top of a precipice, and had formerly persuaded the people of Athens to make a decree for cutting off the thumb of the right hand of all the prisoners of war, in order to disable them from handling the pike, and that they might be fit only to serve at the oar. Lysander, therefore, caused him to be brought forth, and asked him what sentence he would pass upon himself, for having induced his city to pass that cruel decree. Philocles, without departing from his haughtiness in the least, notwithstanding the extreme danger he was in, made answer: "Accuse not people of crimes, who have no judges; but, as you are victors, use your right, and do by us as we had done by you if we had conquered." At the same instant he went into a bath, put on afterwards a magnificent robe, and marched foremost to the execution. All the prisoners were put to the sword, except Adamantus, who had opposed the decree.

When the news of the entire defeat of the army came to Athens, by a ship which arrived in the night at the Piræus, the city was in consternation. They naturally expected a siege: and, in fact, Lysander was preparing to besiege them. Nothing

was heard but cries of sorrow and despair in every part of it. They imagined the enemy already at their gates; they represented to themselves the miseries of a long siege, a cruel famine, the ruin and burning of their city, the insolence of a proud victor; and the shameful slavery they were upon the point of experiencing, more afflicting and insupportable to them than the most severe punishments, and death itself. The next day the assembly was summoned, wherein it was resolved to shut up all the ports, one only excepted, to repair the breaches in the walls, and mount guard to prepare against a siege.

Their fears were soon confirmed by reality. Lysander, finding numbers of Athenians dispersed in different cities, commanded them all, on pain of death, to take shelter in Athens. This he did with a design, so to crowd the city, as to be able soon to reduce it by famine. In effect, he soon after arrived at the port of Athens, with a hundred and fifty sail; while Agis and Pausanias, the two kings of Sparta, advanced with their army to besiege it by land.

The wretched Athenians, thus hemmed in on every side, without provisions, ships, or hopes of relief, prepared to meet the last extremity with patience: in this manner, without speaking the least word of a capitulation, and dying in the streets by numbers, they obstinately continued on the defensive; but at length, their corn and provisions being entirely consumed, they found themselves compelled to send deputies to Agis, with offers of abandoning all their possessions, their city and port only excepted. The haughty Lacedæmonian returned their deputies to the state itself, and when the suppliant deputies had made known their commission to the Ephori, they were ordered to retire, and to come with other proposals if they expected peace. At length, Theramenes, an Athenian, undertook to manage the treaty with Lysander, and after three months of close conference, he received full powers to treat at Lacedæmon. When he attended by nine others, arrived before the Ephori, it was there strongly urged by some of the confederates, that Athens should be totally destroyed, without hearkening to any further proposals. But the Lacedæmonians told them, they would not destroy a city which had so eminently rescued Greece in the most critical juncture, and

consented to a peace upon these conditions: that the long walls and fortifications of the Piræus should be demolished; that they should deliver up all their ships but twelve; that they should restore their exiles; that they should make a league offensive and defensive with the Lacedæmonians, and serve them in all their expeditions, both by sea and land. Themistocles, being returned with the articles to Athens, was asked why he acted so contrary to the intentions of Themistocles, and gave those walls into the hands of the Lacedæmonians, which he built in defiance of them? "I have my eye," says he, "upon Themistocles's design; he raised these walls for the preservation of the city, and I for the very same reason would have them destroyed; for, if walls only secure a city, Sparta, which has none, is in a very ill condition." The Athenians, at another time, would not have thought this a satisfactory answer, but, being reduced to the last extremity, it did not admit of a long debate, whether they should accept the treaty. At last, Lysander coming up the Piræus, demolished the walls with great solemnity, and all the insulting triumphs of music. Thus a final period was put to this unhappy war, which had continued for seven and twenty years, in which heaps of treasure and a deluge of blood were exhausted. It would be unpardonable in us, not to pay that tribute of gratitude and respect, which is due to the memory of those exalted geniuses, whose labours adorned the nations of their own times, and have polished and humanised those of latter times. Wars and political contests serve but to depopulate the earth, or to fill the minds of men with animosity and hate: while the labours of the historian, the fancies of the poet, and the inventions of the philosopher, enlarge the understanding, meliorate the heart, and teach us fortitude and resignation. Such peaceful and improving arts well deserve our notice. More especially does the cultivation of them in Greece deserve our attention, as many of the writers of that country were renowned for military or political, as well as literary accomplishments. Of Homer it were unnecessary to say much, his merit being well known. It is not probable that he was the first of the Grecian poets. There seem to have been authors prior to him, from whom he has borrowed in the execution of his *Iliad*;

but as he was the first poet of note, it was not unnatural to place him at the head of all ancient bards. Concurring testimonies seem to allow Smyrna the highest claim to the honour of giving him birth. That event took place about two hundred and forty years after the destruction of Troy.

Hesiod was either contemporary with Homer, or lived immediately after him. Their works will not bear a comparison. Homer is stately and sublime, while Hesiod is plain and agreeable. But when we say so, we do not mean to detract in the least from the reputation of Hesiod: to write with sweetness and propriety was all he studied, and these he certainly attained to.

About the beginning of the war, which preceded the peace concluded between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians for fifty years, died Æschylus, the Athenian dramatic writer. He has the same claim to the title of "Father of Tragedy," which Homer has to that of "Poetry;" for although he was not the first who attempted that sort of composition, yet he was the first who reduced it to any kind of regularity and method. In the days of Solon, Thespis made a considerable improvement, by introducing a single person, whose business was to relieve the chorus, by the recital of some extraordinary adventure. It was Æschylus who exchanged the cast of Thespis for a theatre; who introduced a variety of performers, each taking a part in the representation of some great action, and dressed in a manner suited to his character. The style of Æschylus is pompous, and sometimes sublime, but harsh, and destitute of musical arrangement. Had he been less obscure, he would have had a much higher claim to the character of sublime. The chief object of his pieces is *terror*; and there is not a doubt but that his rough, unpolished manner, has contributed greatly to promote that object.

During that period, in which Greece was so much distracted by the Peloponnesian war, there flourished Sophocles, Euripides, Aristophanes, &c., among the poets; Herodotus and Thucydides among the historians; and Socrates among the philosophers.

Sophocles had applied so intensely to the study of tragedy, when a young man, that his first piece was judged not inferior to the very best of those of Æschylus. Both of these poets

were stately in their manner, but *Æschylus* was the more sublime. That advantage, however, was more than counter-balanced by the versatility of *Sophocles's* genius, and by his superior perspicuity and eloquence. He was the more successful than his master in his appeal to the passions; and though he did not harrow up the breast so much by *terrors*, he softened it more by *pity*, and acquired, of course, the reputation of being a more amiable and *polite* writer. *Sophocles* was likewise much more happy than his predecessor in the conduct of his plots; he made them more interesting by being more artful. He also contrived to make the performances of the chorus bear a relation to the main action, and so rendered the whole entire. The great applause with which his last piece was received is said to have cost him his life.

Euripides, the rival of *Sophocles*, aimed not at the lofty strains of *Æschylus* or of his great competitor: he was more sententious and moral than either of them, and seemed to have as strong a desire to instruct mankind, as to obtain their approbation. Correctness and elegance were the qualities of style which he appears to have admired. He is less artful and magnificent than *Sophocles*; but then he is more natural, and more useful. We have already mentioned a circumstance which redounded very much to the honour of the poet—the emancipation of many of the Athenians who were made prisoners at *Syracuse*; because they repeated some of his beautiful verses.

While tragedy was improving in the hands of *Sophocles* and *Euripides*, comedy was advancing under the guidance of *Phrynichus*, *Aristophanes*, and *Cratinus*. But the most distinguished genius of this kind was *Aristophanes*. At the same time that he entertained the Athenians with his pleasantry, he lashed them with his satire. True it is, he did not possess much of that fine raillery, which has given so smooth, and yet so sharp an edge to modern comedy; but then he possessed fire and strength; and by introducing his characters without the disguise of name, occupation, &c., his performances were often more relished, and, most likely, more useful, than those of the tragedians. The period of which we are speaking may very properly be called, “The free age of Poetry in Greece.” There were several causes which conspired to make it so.

The taste and manners of the Greeks had been refined, and their minds enlarged, by their intercourse with foreign nations, and the lessons of their philosophers; and what was a greater incentive to emulation among the poets than any of these, was the smooth, musical, expressive, copious, and varied language in which they wrote.

As to history, Herodotus is considered as the father of that species of composition in Græcæ. He wrote the history of the wars between the Greeks and Persians, and gave a detail of the affairs of almost all other nations; from the reign of Cyrus to that of Xerxes. His work consists of nine books. It is clothed in the Ionic dialect, and is a perfect model of simplicity and elegance. Thucydides is esteemed a more able writer than even Herodotus. He wants, indeed, that native elegance, for which his predecessor is admired; but then he is more judicious and accurate. He wrote the history of the Peloponnesian war. Of Socrates, Aristotle, Demosthenes, and other illustrious Grecian writers and philosophers, mention is made in different parts of this work. There is a circumstance that merits our attention here: the discovery of the "Metonic," or "Solonian Number," by Meton. That philosopher flourished a little before the commencement of the Peloponnesian war, and was much esteemed by the Athenians.

Pindar was a native of Thebes, and contemporary with Meton.

CHAPTER XL

FROM THE DEMOLITION OF THE ATHENIAN POWER TO THE DEATH OF SOCRATES.

THE victory of Lysander was so terrible a shock to Athens, that it only survived to be sensible of the loss of its own power; however, the conquerors were so generous as not to extinguish the name; they said they would not be guilty of putting out one of the eyes of Greece; but they imposed some farther marks of conquest on them: they obliged the people to demolish the democracy, and submit to the government of thirty men, who were commonly known by the name of the thirty tyrants. Though the Greeks were apt enough to give that name to men of virtuous characters, these men, who were the creatures of Lysander, in every respect deserved the most opprobrious denomination: instead of compiling and publishing a more perfect body of laws, which was the pretence for their being chosen, they began to exert their power of life and death; and though they constituted a senate, and other magistrates, they made no farther use of them, than to confirm their authority, and to see their commands executed. However, they at first acted cautiously, and condemned only the most detested and scandalous part of the citizens, such as lived by evidencing and informing: but this was only to give a colour to their proceedings: their design was to make themselves absolute; and, knowing that was not to be done without a foreign power, their next step was to desire a guard might be sent them from Sparta, until such time as they could clear the city from all disaffected persons, and thoroughly settle the government. Lysander accordingly procured them a guard under the command of Callibius, who, by bribes and artifices, was wrought over to their designs, and then seen to act without control, filling the city with the blood of those, who, on account of their riches, interest, or good qualities, were most likely to make head against them.

One of the first acts of their cruelty was, the procuring the death of Alcibiades, who had taken refuge in the dominions of Persia. This unfortunate general, still mindful of the debt he owed his country, employed his utmost attention in giving it the earliest notices of what could affect its freedom or its safety. Cyrus, the prince of Persia, having resolved to dethrone his brother Artaxerxes, entered into a treaty with the Lacedæmonians, to assist him in his designs. Alcibiades did all that was in his power to obstruct the scheme; but the Lacedæmonian partizans at Athens, that is to say, the thirty tyrants, apprehended the intrigues of so superior a genius as his, and represented to their masters, that they were inevitably ruined, if they did not find means to rid themselves of Alcibiades. The Lacedæmonians thereupon wrote to Pharnabazus, and, with an abject meanness not to be excused, and which showed how much Sparta had degenerated from her ancient manners, made pressing instances to him to deliver them at any rate from so formidable an enemy. This satrap complied with their wishes. Alcibiades was then in a small town of Phrygia, where he lived with his concubine, Timandra. Those, who were sent to kill him, not daring to enter his house, contented themselves with surrounding and setting it on fire. Alcibiades having quitted it through the flames, sword in hand, the barbarians were afraid to try to come to blows with him, but, flying and retreating as he advanced, they poured their darts and arrows upon him from a distance, and he fell dead upon the spot. Timandra took up his body, and having adorned and covered it with the finest robes she had, she made as magnificent a funeral for it as her present condition would admit.

Such was the end of Alcibiades, whose great virtues were stifled and suppressed by still greater vices. It is not easy to say whether his good or bad qualities were most pernicious to his country; for with the one he deceived, and with the other he oppressed it. In him, distinguished valour was united with nobility of blood. His person was beautiful and finely made; he was eloquent, of great ability in affairs, insinuating, and formed for charming all mankind. He loved glory, but he indulged, at the same time, his inclination for pleasure; nor was he so fond of pleasure as to neglect his glory for it; he knew

how to give into, or abstract himself from, the allurements of luxury; according to the situation of his affairs. Never was there ductility of genius equal to his: he metamorphosed himself, with incredible facility, into the most contrary forms, and supported them all with as much ease and grace as if each had been natural to him.

In this manner the thirty proceeded, and, fearing to be opposed by the multitude, they invested three thousand citizens with some part of their power, and by their assistance preserved the rest. But, thoroughly emboldened by such an accession to their party, they agreed to single out every one, his man, to put him to death, and seize their estates for the maintenance of their garrison. Theramenes, one of their number, was the only man that was struck with horror at their proceedings; wherefore Critias, the principal author of this detestable resolution, thought it necessary to remove him, and accused him to the senate of endeavouring to subvert the state. Sentence of death was, therefore, passed upon him, and he was obliged to drink the juice of hemlock, the usual mode of execution at that time in Athens. Socrates, whose disciple he had, he was the only person of the senate who ventured to appear in his defence: he made an attempt to rescue him out of the hands of the officer of justice, and, after his execution, went about, as it were, in defiance of the thirty, exhorting and animating the senators and citizens against them.

The tyrants, delivered from a colleague whose presence alone was a continual reproach to them, no longer observed any just measure. Nothing passed throughout the city but imprisonments and murders. Every body trembled for himself or his friends. The general desolation had no remedy, nor was there any hope of regaining lost liberty.

All the citizens of any consideration in Athens, and who retained a love of freedom, quitted a place reduced to so hard and shameful a slavery, and sought elsewhere an asylum and retreat, where they might live in safety. The Lacedæmonians had the inhumanity to endeavour to deprive these unhappy fugitives of this last resource. They published an edict to prohibit the cities of Greece from giving them refuge, decreed that they should be delivered up to the thirty tyrants, and condemned all such as should contravene the execution of

this edict, to pay a fine of five talents. Only two cities rejected with disdain so unjust an ordinance, Megara and Thebes, the latter of which made a decree to punish all persons whatsoever, that should see an Athenian attacked by his enemies, without doing his utmost to assist him. Lysias, an orator of Syracuse, who had been banished by the thirty, raised five hundred soldiers at his own expense, and sent them to the aid of the native country of eloquence.

Thrasybulus, a man of admirable character, who had long deplored the miseries of his country, was now the first to relieve it. At Thebes he fell into a consultation with his fellow citizens, and the result was, that some vigorous effort, though it should carry never so much danger, ought to be made for the benefit of public liberty. Accordingly, with a party of thirty men only, as Nepos says, but as Xenophon, more probably, says, of near seventy, he seized upon Phyle, a strong castle on the frontiers of Attica. This enterprise gave the alarm to the tyrants, who immediately marched out of Athens, with their three thousand followers, and their Spartan guard, and attempted the recovery of the place, but were repulsed with loss. Finding they could not carry it by a sudden assault, they resolved upon a siege, but not being sufficiently provided for that service, and a great snow falling that night, they were forced to retire the next day into the city, leaving only part of their guard, to prevent any farther incursions into the country. Encouraged by this success, Thrasybulus no longer kept himself confined, but marched out of Phyle by night; and, at the head of a body of a thousand men, seized on the Piræus. The thirty flew thither with their troops, and a battle sufficiently warm ensued; but, as the soldiers on one side fought with valour and vigour for their liberty, and, on the other, with indolence and neglect for the power of their oppressors, the success was not doubtful, but followed the better cause: the tyrants were overthrown; Critias was killed upon the spot; and, as the rest of the army were taken to flight, Thrasybulus cried out, "Wherefore do you fly from me as from a victor, rather than assist me as the avenger of your liberty? We are not enemies, but fellow citizens, nor have we declared war against the city, but against the thirty tyrants." He continued, with bidding them remember, that they had the same origin,

country, laws, and religion; he exhorted them to compassionate their exiled brethren, to restore to them their country, and resume their liberty themselves. This discourse had suitable effects. The army, upon their return to Athens, expelled the thirty, and substituted ten persons to govern in their room, but whose conduct proved no better than that of those whom they succeeded. Though the government was thus altered, and the thirty were deposed from power, they still had hopes of being reinstated in their former authority, and sent deputies to Lacedæmon to demand aid. Lysander was for granting it to them: but Pausanias, who then reigned in Sparta, moved with compassion at the deplorable condition of the Athenians, favoured them in secret, and obtained a peace for them: it was sealed with the blood of the tyrants, who, having taken arms to reinstate themselves in the government, were put to the sword, and Athens left in full possession of its liberty. Thrasybulus then proposed an amnesty, by which the citizens engaged upon oath that all past actions should be buried in oblivion. The government was then re-established in its ancient forms; their laws were restored to their past vigour, the magistrates elected with the usual ceremonies, and democracy once more restored to this unfortunate people. Xenophon observes, that this intestine fury had consumed as many in eight months, as the Peloponnesian war had done in ten years.

Upon the re-establishment of affairs in Athens, the other states enjoyed the same tranquillity, or rather kept in a quiet subjection to Sparta, which now held the undoubted sovereignty of Greece. But it being a maxim with the Spartans, that this sovereignty was not to be maintained but by a constant course of action, they were still seeking fresh occasions for war; and part of their forces, together with another body of Grecians, being at this time engaged in a quarrel between the Persian king and his brother, it will be necessary to pass over into Asia, and relate so much of the Persian affairs as concerns the expedition of Cyrus, wherein those forces were employed, especially since it is attended with circumstances, which, if duly considered, will easily make it pass for one of the greatest actions of antiquity.

It has been already observed, that Cyrus, the son of Darius

Nothus, saw with pain his elder brother Artaxerxes upon the throne, and more than once attempted to remove him. Artaxerxes was not insensible of what he had to fear from a brother of his enterprising and ambitious spirit, but could not refuse pardoning him on the prayers and tears of his mother, Parysatis, who doated upon this youngest son. He removed him, therefore, into Asia, to his government, confiding in him; contrary to all the rules of policy, an absolute authority over all the provinces left him by the will of the king his father. He was no sooner appointed in this manner, but he used all his arts with the barbarians and the Grecians to procure power and popularity, in order to dethrone his brother. Clearchus retired to his court, after having been banished from Sparta, and was of great service to him, being an able, experienced, and valiant captain. At the same time, several cities, in the province of Tissaphernes, revolted from their obedience in favour of Cyrus. This incident, which was not an effect of chance, but of the secret practices of that prince, gave birth to a war between the two brothers. The emissaries of Cyrus at the court were perpetually dispersing reports and opinions amongst the people, to prepare their minds for the intended change and revolt. They talked, that the state required a king of Cyrus's character, a king magnificent, liberal, who loved war, and showered his favours upon those that served him; and that it was necessary, for the grandeur of the empire, to have a prince upon the throne, fired with ambition and valour, for the support and augmentation of his glory.

The troops of Cyrus, which were apparently levied for the business of the state, but, in fact, to overturn it, consisted of thirteen thousand Greeks, which were the flower and chief force of his army. Clearchus, the Lacedæmonian, who commanded the Peloponnesian troops, was the only man of all the Greeks that was let into the Persian prince's design; he made it his sole application to gain the affections of his people during their marches, by treating them with humanity, conversing freely with them, and giving effectual orders that they should want for nothing. The Grecian troops knew neither the intent nor the occasion of the war; they set out for Sardis, at length, and marched towards the upper provinces of Asia.

When they were arrived at Tarsus, the Greeks refused to march any farther, rightly suspecting that they were intended against the king, and loudly exclaiming, that they had not entered into the service upon that condition. Clearchus, who commanded them, had occasion for all his address and ability to stifle this commotion in its birth. At first he made use of authority and force, but with very ill success, and desisted, therefore, from an open opposition to their sentiments; he even affected to enter into their views, and to support them with his approbation and credit. By this artful evasion he appeased the tumult, and made them easy; and they chose him and some other officers for their deputies. Cyrus, whom he had secretly apprized of every thing, made answer, that he was going to attack Abrocomas, his enemy, at twelve days' march from thence upon the Euphrates. When this answer was repeated to them, though they plainly saw against whom they were going, they resolved to proceed, and only demanded an augmentation of their pay. Cyrus, instead of one daric a month to each soldier, promised to give them one and a half. Still to ingratiate himself the more, being told that two officers had deserted from the army, and being advised to pursue and put them to death, he declared publicly, that it should never be said he had detained any one person in his service against his will: and he ordered their wives and children, who were left as hostages in his army, to be sent after them. A conduct so wise, and apparently generous, had a surprising effect in conciliating the affections of the soldiery, and made even those his firm adherents, who were before inclined to retire.

As Cyrus advanced by long marches, he was informed, from all parts, that the king did not intend to come directly to a battle, but had resolved to wait in the remotest parts of Persia till all his forces were assembled; and that, to stop his enemies, he had ordered an intrenchment to be thrown up on the plains of Babylon, with a ditch five fathoms broad, and three deep, extending the space of twelve parasangs, or leagues, from the Euphrates to the walls of Media. Between the Euphrates and the ditch a way had been left of twenty feet in breadth, by which Cyrus passed with his whole army, having reviewed it the day before. The king had neglected to dis-

pute this pass with him, and suffered him to continue his march towards Babylon.

Cyrus still continued to proceed, giving Clearchus the command of the right wing of the Grecian army, and Menon that of the left, still marching in order of battle, expecting every hour to engage. At length he discovered his brother's army, consisting of twelve hundred thousand men, besides a select body of six thousand horse, approaching and preparing to engage.

The place where the battle was fought was called Cunara, about twenty-five leagues from Babylon. Cyrus, getting on horseback, with his javelin in his hand, gave orders to the troops to stand to their arms, and proceed in order of battle. The enemy, in the mean time, advanced slowly, in good order. Artaxerxes led them on regularly with a slow pace, without noise or confusion. That good order and exact discipline extremely surprised the Greeks, who expected to see much luxury and tumult in so great a multitude, and to hear confused cries, as Cyrus had foretold them.

The armies were not distant above four or five hundred paces, when the Greeks began to sing the hymn of battle, and to march on softly at first, and with silence. When they came near the enemy, they set up great cries, striking their darts upon their shields to frighten the horse; and then, moving all together, they sprung forwards upon the barbarians with all their force, who did not wait their charge, but took to their heels and fled universally, except Tissaphernes, who stood his ground with a small part of his troops.

Cyrus saw with pleasure the enemy routed by the Greeks, and was proclaimed king by those around him; but he did not give himself up to a vain joy, nor, as yet, reckon himself victor. He perceived that Artaxerxes was wheeling his right to attack him in flank, and marched directly against him with six hundred horse. He killed Artagerxes, who commanded the king's guard of six thousand horse, with his own hand, and put the whole body to flight. Discovering his brother, he cried out, with his eyes sparkling with rage, "I see him!" and spurred against him, followed only by his principal officers, for his troops had quitted their ranks to follow the runaways, which was an essential fault.

The battle then became a single combat, in some measure, between Artaxerxes and Cyrus; and the two brothers were seen, transported with rage and fury, endeavouring, like Eteocles and Polynices, to plunge their swords into each other's hearts, and to assure themselves of the throne by the death of their rival.

Cyrus, having opened his way through those who were drawn up to battle before Artaxerxes, joined him, and killed his horse, and fell with him to the ground; he rose, and was remounted upon another, when Cyrus attacked him again, gave him a second wound, and was preparing to give him a third, in hopes that it would prove his last. The king, like a lion wounded by the huntsman, was only the more furious from the smart, and sprung forwards, impetuously pushing his horse against Cyrus, who, running headlong, and without regard to his person, threw himself into the midst of a flight of darts, aimed at him from all sides, and received a wound from the king's javelin, at the instant that all the rest discharged upon him. Cyrus fell dead; some say by the wound given him by the king, others affirm that he was killed by a Carian soldier. The greatest persons of his court, resolving not to survive so good a master, were all killed around his body; a certain proof, says Xenophon, that he well knew how to choose his friends, and that he was truly beloved by them. Ariæus, who ought to have been the firmest of all his adherents, fled with the left wing, as soon as he heard of his death.

Artaxerxes, after having caused the head and right hand of his brother to be cut off by the eunuch Mesabates, pursued the enemy into their camp. Ariæus had not stopped there; but, having passed through it, continued his retreat to the place where the army had encamped the day before, which was about four leagues distant.

Tissaphernes, after the defeat of the greatest part of his left wing by the Greeks, led on the rest against them, and, by the side of the river, passed through the light armed infantry of the Greeks, who opened to give him a passage, and made their discharges upon him as he passed, without losing a man. They were commanded by Episthenes of Amphipolis, who was esteemed an able captain. Tissaphernes kept on, without

returning to the charge, because he perceived he was too weak, and went forward to Cyrus's camp, where he found the king, who was plundering it, but had not been able to force the quarters defended by the Greeks, who saved their baggage.

The Greeks on their side, and Artaxerxes on his, who did not know what had passed elsewhere, believed each of them that they had gained the victory; the first, because they had put the enemy to flight, and pursued them; and the king, because he had killed his brother, beat the troops he had fought, and plundered their camp. The event was soon cleared up on both sides. Tissaphernes, upon his arrival at the camp, informed the king, that the Greeks had defeated his left wing, and pursued it with great vigour; and the Greeks, on their side, learnt that the king, in pursuing Cyrus's left, had penetrated into the camp. Upon this advice, the king rallied his troops, and marched in quest of the enemy; and Clearchus, being returned from pursuing the Persians, advanced to support the camp.

The two armies were very soon near each other, when, by a movement made by the king, he seemed to intend to charge the Greeks on their left, who, fearing to be surrounded on all sides, wheeled about and halted, with the river on their backs, to prevent their being taken in the rear. Upon seeing that, the king changed his form of battle also, drew up his army in front of them, and marched on to the attack. As soon as the Greeks saw him approach, they began to sing the hymn of battle, and advanced against the enemy, even with more ardour than in the first action.

The barbarians again began to fly, running farther than before, and were pursued to a village at the foot of a hill, upon which their horse halted. The king's standard was observed to be there, which was a golden eagle upon the top of a pike, having its wings displayed. The Greeks preparing to pursue them, they abandoned also the hill, fled precipitately, with all their troops broke, and in the utmost disorder and confusion. Clearchus having drawn up the Greeks at the bottom of the hill, ordered Lycias, the Syracusan, and another, to go up it, and observe what passed in the plain. They returned with an account, that the enemy fled on all sides, and that their whole army was routed.

As it was almost night, the Greeks laid down their arms to rest themselves, much surprised that neither Cyrus nor any from him appeared; and, imagining that he was either engaged in the pursuit of the enemy, or was making haste to possess himself of some important place (for they were still ignorant of his death and the defeat of his army), they determined to return to their camp, and found the greatest part of the baggage taken, with all the provisions, and four hundred waggons laden with corn and wine, which Cyrus had expressly caused to be carried along with the army for the Greeks, in case of any pressing necessity. They passed the night in the camp; the greatest part of them without any refreshment, concluding that Cyrus was alive, and victorious.

Amidst the confusion the Grecians were in after the battle, they sent to Ariæus, as conqueror and commander in chief, upon Cyrus's death, to offer him the Persian crown. In the mean time, the king, as conqueror also on his side, sent to them to surrender their arms, and implore his mercy; representing to them, at the same time, that as they were in the heart of his dominions, surrounded with vast rivers and numberless nations, it would be impossible for them to escape his vengeance; and, therefore, they had nothing to do but to submit to the present necessity. Upon debating among themselves what answer they should return, Proxenes desired to know of the heralds upon what terms the king demanded their arms: if as conqueror, it was in his power to take them; if upon any other footing, what would he give them in return? He was seconded by Xenophon, who said, they had nothing left but their arms and their liberty, and that they could not preserve the one without the other. Clearchus said to the same effect, that if the king was disposed to be their friend, they should be in a better capacity of serving him with their arms than without; if their enemy, they should have need of them for their defence. Some, indeed, spoke in terms more complying; that, as they had served Cyrus faithfully, they would also serve Artaxerxes, if he would employ them; and provided he would, at the same time, put them in possession of Egypt. At last it was agreed they should remain in the place where they were; and that if they advanced farther, or retreated back, it should be looked upon as a declaration of

war; so that by the issue of the debate, it appeared to have been managed so as to avoid giving a direct answer, and only to amuse the king and gain time.

Whilst this treaty was on foot, they received Ariæus's answer, that there were too many powerful men in Persia to let him possess the throne; wherefore he intended to set out early the next morning on his return to Greece; and that if they had a mind to accompany him, they should join him that night in his camp, which accordingly they all did, except Mithrocytus, a Thracian, who went, with a party of three hundred men and forty horse, to the king. The rest, in conjunction with Ariæus's forces, decamped by break of day, and continued their march until sun-set, when they discovered, from the neighbouring villages, that the king was in pursuit of them.

Clearchus, who now undertook to conduct the Greeks, ordered his troops to halt, and prepared for an engagement. The king of Persia, terrified by so bold an appearance, sent heralds, not to demand their surrender, but to propose terms of peace and treaty. When Clearchus was informed of their arrival, he gave orders to bid them wait, and to tell them that he was not yet at leisure to hear them. He assumed purposely an air of haughtiness and grandeur, to denote his intrepidity, and, at the same time, to show the fine appearance and good condition of his phalanx. When he advanced with the most showy of his officers, expressly chosen for the occasion, and had heard what the heralds had to propose, he made answer, that they must begin with giving battle, because, the army being in want of provisions, they had no time to lose. The heralds having carried back this answer to their master, returned immediately, which showed that the king, or whoever spoke in his name, was not very far distant. They said they had orders to conduct them to villages where they would find provisions in abundance, and conducted them thither accordingly.

After three days' stay, Tissaphernes arrived from the king, and insinuated to them the good offices he had done for their safety. Clearchus in his own defence urged, that they were engaged in this expedition without knowing the enemy against whom they were to contend; that they were free from all engagements; and had no design against the Persian king, un-

less he opposed their return. Tissaphernes seemingly granted their desire, and promised that they should be furnished with all necessary provisions in their march; and, to confirm their security, that he himself would be their companion on the way.

Accordingly, in a few days after, they set out under his conduct; but, in their march, the barbarians encamping at about a league's distance from the Grecians, created some little distrusts and jealousies on both sides. In about fifty days, being got to the banks of the river Zabatas, Clearchus, to prevent things coming to an open rupture, had a conference with Tissaphernes. The result of their discourse was, that they had been misrepresented to each other by some of Clearchus's officers, and that he should bring them all to Tissaphernes, in order to detect those who were guilty. In consequence of this it was agreed between them, that there should be a general consultation of officers, in which those who had been remiss, or attempted to sow any dissensions between the two armies, should be exposed and punished. Menon, in particular, was suspected on both sides, and he was appointed among the number. In consequence of this fatal resolution, the five principal generals attended the succeeding day at the Persian general's tent. Their names were, Clearchus, Menon, Proxenes, Agis, and Socrates; they, on a signal given, were immediately seized, their attendants put to the sword, and themselves, after being sent bound to the king, were beheaded in his presence.

Nothing could exceed the consternation of the Greeks, when they were informed of the massacre of their generals: they were now near two thousand miles from home, surrounded with great rivers, extensive deserts, and inimical nations, without any supplies of provisions. In this state of general dejection, they could think of taking neither nourishment nor repose; all now turned their eyes upon Xenophon, a young Athenian, who had been invited into Asia by Proxenes, and had hitherto served as a volunteer in the army. This was that Xenophon, afterwards so famous as an historian; and his conduct seemed equal to his eloquence, in which he surpassed all the rest of mankind. This young general went to some of the Greek officers in the middle of the

night, and represented to them, that they had no time to lose; that it was of the last importance to prevent the bad designs of the enemy; that, however small their number, they would render themselves formidable, if they behaved with boldness and resolution; that valour, and not multitudes, determines the success of arms; and that it was necessary, above all things, to nominate generals immediately; because an army without commanders is like a body without a soul. A council was immediately held, at which an hundred officers were present; and Xenophon, being desired to speak, deduced the reasons at large he had at first but lightly touched upon; and, by his advice, commanders were appointed. They were, Timasion for Clearchus, Xanthicles for Socrates, Cleanor for Agis, Philesius for Menon, and Xenophon for Proxenes.

Before the break of day, they assembled the army. The generals made speeches to animate the troops, and Xenophon among the rest. "Fellow-soldiers," said he, "the loss of so many brave men by vile treachery, and the being abandoned by our friends, is very deplorable; but we must not sink under our misfortunes; and, if we cannot conquer, let us choose rather to perish gloriously, than to fall into the hands of barbarians, who would inflict upon us the greatest miseries; let us call to mind the glorious battles of Plataea, Thermopylae, Salamis, and the many others, wherein our ancestors, though with a small number, have fought and defeated the innumerable armies of the Persians, and thereby rendered the name alone of Greeks for ever formidable. It is to their invincible valour we owe the honour we possess, of acknowledging no masters upon earth but the gods, nor any happiness but what consists with liberty. Those gods, the avengers of perjury, and witnesses of the enemy's treason, will be favourable to us; and, as they are offended by the violation of treaties, and take pleasure in humbling the proud, and exalting the low, they will also follow us to battle, and combat for us. For the rest, fellow-soldiers, we have no refuge but in victory, which must be our hope, and will make us ample amends for whatever it costs us to attain it. And I should believe, if it were your opinion, that, for the making a more ready and less difficult retreat, it would be very proper to rid ourselves of all the useless baggage, and to keep only what is absolutely ne-

cessary in our march." All the soldiers that moment lifted up their hands, to signify their approbation and consent to all that had been said, and, without loss of time, set fire to their tents and carriages; such of them as had too much equipage giving it others who had too little, and destroying the rest.

Cherisophus, the Spartan general, led the van, and Xenophon, with Timasion, brought up the rear. They bent their march towards the heads of the great rivers, in order to pass them where they were fordable. But they had made little way, before they were followed by a party of the enemy's archers and slingers, commanded by Mithridates, which galled their rear, and wounded several of them, who, being heavy armed, and without cavalry, could make no resistance. To prevent the like inconvenience, Xenophon furnished two hundred Rhodians with slings, and mounted fifty more of his men upon baggage horses; so that when Mithridates came up with them a second time, and with a much greater body, he repulsed them with loss, and made good his retreat with this handful of men, until he arrived near the city of Larissa, on the banks of the Tigris. From thence they marched to another desolate city, called Mepsila; and, about four leagues from that place, Tissaphernes came up to them with his whole army in order of battle, but, after several skirmishes, was forced to retire. In a few days after he secured an eminence, over which the Grecians were obliged to make their way; which Xenophon perceiving, took a detachment of the army, and with great diligence gained the top of a mountain, which commanded that eminence, from whence he easily dislodged the enemy, and made good a passage for the rest of his troops into the plain, where they found plenty of provisions; though Tissaphernes had done what he could before to burn and destroy the country.

But still they were under as great difficulties as ever, being bounded on the one hand by the Tigris, and on the other by inaccessible mountains, inhabited by the Carduci, a fierce and warlike people; and who, Xenophon says, had cut off an army of sixscore thousand Persians to a man, by reason of the difficulty of the ways. However, having no boats to cross the river, and the passage through the mountains opening

into the rich plains of Armenia, they resolved to pursue their march that way. These barbarians soon took the alarm, but not being prepared to meet the Greeks in a body, they possessed themselves of the tops of the rocks and mountains, and from thence annoyed them with darts and great stones, which they threw down into the defiles through which they passed; in which they were also attacked by several other parties; and, though their loss was not considerable, yet, what with storms and famine, besides seven tedious days' march, and being continually forced to fight their way, they underwent more fatigue and hardship than they had suffered from the Persians during the whole expedition.

They found themselves soon after exposed to new dangers. Almost at the foot of the mountains, they came to a river two hundred feet in breadth, called Centrites, which stopped their march. They had to defend themselves against the enemy, who pursued them in the rear, and Armenians, the soldiers of the country, who defended the opposite side of the river. They attempted in vain to pass it in a place where the water came up to their armpits, and were carried away by the rapidity of the current, against which the weight of their arms made them unable to resist. By good fortune, they discovered another place not so deep, where some soldiers had seen the people of the country pass. It required abundance of address, diligence, and valour, to keep off the enemy on both sides of them. The army, however, passed the river, at length, without much loss.

They marched forward with less interruption, passed the source of the Tigris, and arrived at the little river Teleboa, which is very beautiful, and has many villages on its banks. Here began the western Armenia, which was governed by Tiribasis, a satrap much beloved by the king, and who had the honour to help him to mount on horseback when at the court. He offered to let the army pass, and to suffer the soldiers to take all they wanted, on condition that they should commit no ravages upon their march; which proposal was accepted and ratified on each side. Tiribasis kept always a flying camp at a small distance from the army. There fell a great quantity of snow, which gave the troops some inconvenience; and they learned from a prisoner, that Tiribasis had a design to attack

the Greeks at a pass of the mountains, in a defile through which they must necessarily march. They prevented him, by seizing that post, after having put the enemy to flight. After some days' march through the desert, they passed the Euphrates near its source, not having the water above their middles.

They suffered exceedingly afterwards from a north wind, which blew in their faces, and prevented respiration : so that it was thought necessary to sacrifice to the wind, upon which it seemed to abate. They marched on in snow five or six feet deep, which killed several servants and beasts of burthen, besides thirty soldiers. They made fires during the night, for they found plenty of wood. All the next day they continued their march through the snow, when many of them, from the excess of hunger, followed with languor or fainting, continued lying upon the ground through weakness and want of spirits : when something had been given them to eat, they found themselves relieved, and continued their march.

After a march of seven days, they arrived at the river Araxes, called also the Phasis, which is about a hundred feet in breadth. Two days after, they discovered the Phasians, the Chalybes, and the Taochians, who kept the pass of the mountain to prevent their descending into the plain. They saw it was impossible to avoid coming to a battle with them, and resolved to give it the same day. Xenophon, who had observed that the enemy defended only the ordinary passage, and that the mountain was three leagues in extent, proposed the sending a detachment to take possession of the heights that commanded the enemy, which would not be difficult, as they might prevent all suspicion of their design by a march in the night, and by making a false attack by the main road, to amuse the barbarians. This was accordingly executed, the enemy put to flight, and the pass cleared. Thus, after twelve or fifteen days' march, they arrived at a very high mountain, called Tecqua, from whence they descried the sea. The first who perceived it raised great shouts of joy for a considerable time, which made Xenophon imagine that the vanguard was attacked, and went with all haste to support it. As he approached nearer, the cry of "The sea! the sea!" was heard distinctly, and the alarm changed into joy and gaiety ; and when

they came to the top, nothing was heard but a confused noise of the whole army crying out together, "The sea! the sea!" whilst they could not refrain from tears, nor from embracing their generals and officers; and then, without waiting for orders, they heaped up a pile of stones, and erected a trophy with broken bucklers and other arms.

From thence they advanced to the mountains of Colchis, one of which was higher than the rest, and of that the people of the country had possessed themselves. The Greeks drew up in battle at the bottom of it to ascend, for the access was not impracticable. Xenophon did not judge it proper to march in line of battle, but by files, because the soldiers could not keep their ranks from the inequality of the ground, that in some places was easy, in others difficult to climb, which might discourage them. That advice was approved, and the army formed according to it. The heavy-armed troops amounted to fourscore files, each consisting of about one hundred men; with eighteen hundred light-armed soldiers, divided into three bodies, one of which was posted on the right, another on the left, and a third in the centre. After having encouraged his troops by representing to them, that this was the last obstacle they had to surmount, and having implored the assistance of the gods, the army began to ascend the hill. The enemy were not able to support the charge, and dispersed. They passed the mountain and encamped in villages, where they found provisions in abundance.

A very strange accident happened there to the army, which put them into great consternation. The soldiers finding abundance of bee-hives in that place, and eating the honey, they were taken with violent vomiting and fluxes, attended with raving fits: so that those who were least ill seemed like drunken men, and the rest either furiously mad or dying. The earth was strowed with their bodies, as after a defeat; however, none of them died, and the distemper ceased the next day, about the same hour it had taken them. The third or fourth day the soldiers got up, but in the condition people are in after taking a violent medicine.

Two days after, the army arrived near Trehisond, a Greek colony of Sinopians, situated upon the Euxine, or Black Sea, in the province of Colchis. Here they lay encamped for thirty

days, and acquitted themselves of the vows they had made to Jupiter, Hercules, and the other deities, to obtain a happy return into their own country: they also celebrated the games of horse and foot races, wrestling, boxing, and the pancratium, the whole attended with the greatest joy and solemnity. Here Xenophon formed a project of settling them in those parts, and founding a Grecian colony, which was approved of by some; but his enemies representing it to the army only as a more honourable way of abandoning them, and to the inhabitants as a design to subdue and enslave the country, he was forced to give over the enterprise. However, the noise of it had this good effect, that the natives did what they could in a friendly manner to procure their departure, advising them to go by sea as the safest way, and furnished them with a sufficient number of transports for that purpose.

Accordingly, they embarked with a fair wind, and the next day got into the harbour of Sinope, where Chersiphus met them with some galleys; but instead of the money they had also expected from him, he only told them they should be paid their arrears as soon as they got out of the Euxine sea. But this answer occasioned a good deal of murmuring and discontent among them; so that they resolved to put themselves under one general, desiring Xenophon, in the most pressing and affectionate terms, to accept of that command, which he modestly declined, and procured the appointment to fall upon Chersiphus. But he enjoyed it not above six or seven days; for no sooner were they arrived at Heraclaea, than the army deposed him, for refusing to extort a sum of money from the inhabitants of that city; which being a Grecian colony, Xenophon likewise refused to concern himself in that affair: so that the army being disappointed in their hopes of plunder, fell into a mutiny, and divided into three bodies. When parted from their barbarian enemies, they were happily reunited, and encamped at the port of Calpe, where they settled the command as before, substituting Neon in the room of Chersiphus, who died here, and making it death for any man henceforward to propose the dividing of the army. But being straitened for provisions, they were forced to spread themselves in the valleys, where Pharnabazus's horse, being joined by the inhabitants, cut in pieces five hundred of them; the

rest, escaping to a hill, were rescued and brought off by Xenophon, who, after this, led them through a large forest, where Pharnabatus had posted his troops to oppose their passage; but they entirely defeated him, and pursued their march to Chrysopolis of Chalcedon, having got a great deal of booty in their way, and from thence to Byzantium.

From thence he led them to Salmydessa, to serve Seuthes, prince of Thrace; who had before solicited Xenophon, by his envoys, to bring troops to his aid, in order to his re-establishment in his father's dominions, of which his enemies had deprived him. He had made Xenophon great promises for himself and his troops; but when he had done him the service he wanted, he was so far from keeping his word, that he did not give them the pay agreed upon. Xenophon reproached him exceedingly with his breach of faith, imputing his perfidity to his minister Heraclides, who thought to make his court to his master by saving him a sum of money at the expense of justice, faith, and honesty, qualities which ought to be dearer than all others to a prince, as they contribute the most to his reputation, as well as to the success of affairs, and the security of a state. But that treacherous minister, who looked upon honour, probity, and justice, as mere chimeras, and who thought that there was nothing real but the possession of much money, had no desire, in consequence, but of enriching himself by any means whatsoever, and robbed his master first with impunity, and all his subjects along with him. However, continued Xenophon, every wise man, especially in authority and command, ought to regard justice, probity, and the faith of engagements, as the most precious treasure he can possess, and as an assured resource and an infallible support in all the events that can happen. Heraclides was the more in the wrong for acting in this manner with regard to the troops, as he was a native of Greece, and not a Thracian; but avarice had extinguished in this man all sense of honour.

Whilst the dispute between Seuthes and Xenophon was warmest, Charinus and Polynices arrived as ambassadors from Lacedæmon; and brought advice, that the republic had declared war against Tissaphernes and Pharnabatus; that Thimbron had already embarked with the troops; and pro-

raised a daric a month to every soldier, two to each officer, and four to the colonels, who should engage in the service. Xenophon accepted the offer, and, having obtained from Seuthes, by the mediation of the ambassadors, part of the pay due to him, he went by sea to Lampsacus with the army, which amounted at that time to almost six thousand men. From thence he advanced to Pergamus, a city in the province of Troas. Having met near Parthenia, where ended the expedition of the Greeks, a great nobleman returning into Persia, he took him, his wife, and children, with all his equipage, and by that means found himself in a condition to bestow great liberality among the soldiers, and to make them a satisfactory amends for all the losses they had sustained. Thimbron at length arrived, who took upon him the command of the troops; and having joined them with his own, marched against Tisaphernes and Pharnabazus.

Such was the event of Cyrus's expedition. Xenophon, who has himself composed a most beautiful history on the subject, reckons from the first setting out of that prince's army from the city of Ephesus, to their arrival where the battle was fought, five hundred and thirty parasangas, or leagues, and fourscore and thirteen days' march; and in their return from the place of battle to Coreyra, a city upon the coast of the Euxine, or Black Sea, six hundred and twenty parasangas, or leagues, and one hundred and twenty days' march; and, adding both together, he says the way going and coming was eleven hundred and fifty-five parasangas, or leagues, and two hundred and fifteen days' march; and that the whole time the army took to perform that journey, including the days of rest, was fifteen months.

This retreat of the ten thousand Greeks has always passed among judges of the art of war as a most extraordinary undertaking; and it in some measure inspired them, ever after, with a contempt for the power of the Persians: it taught them, that their dominions could be invaded without danger, and that marching into Persia was but pursuing an unresisting enemy, that only appeared to offer victory rather than battle.

In the mean time, while Greece was gaining fame in Persia, Athens was losing its honour at home. Though it had now some breathing time to recover from its late confusions, yet

still there were the seeds of rancour remaining, and the citizens opposed each other with unremitting malice. Socrates was the first object that fell a sacrifice to these popular dissensions. We have already seen this great man, who was the son of an obscure citizen at Athens, emerging from the meanness of his birth, and giving examples of courage, moderation, and wisdom; we have seen him saving the life of Alcibiades in battle, of refusing to concur in the edict which unjustly doomed the six Athenian generals to death, of withstanding the thirty tyrants, and of spurning the bigotry and persecution of the times with the most acute penetration, and the most caustic railery. He possessed unexampled good nature, and an universal love to mankind; he was ready to pity vices in others, while he was, in a great measure, free from them himself; however, he knew his own defects, and if he was proud of any thing, it was in the being thought to have none. He seemed, says Libanius, the common father of their public, so attentive was he to the happiness and advantage of his whole country. But as it is very difficult to correct the aged, and to make people change principles, who revere the errors in which they have grown grey, he devoted his labours principally to the instruction of youth, in order to sow the seeds of virtue in a soil more fit to produce the fruits of it. He had no open school, like the rest of the philosophers, nor set times for his lessons; he had no benches prepared, nor ever mounted a professor's chair; he was the philosopher of all times and seasons; he taught in all places, and upon all occasions; in walking, conversation at meals, in the army, and in the midst of the camp, in the public assemblies of the senate or people. Such was the man, whom a faction in the city had long devoted to destruction: he had been, for many years before his death, the object of their satire and ridicule. Aristophanes, the comic poet, was engaged to expose him upon the stage: he composed a piece called "The Clouds," wherein he introduced the philosopher in a basket, uttering the most ridiculous absurdities. Socrates, who was present at the exhibition of his own character, seemed not to feel the least emotion; and, as some strangers were present, who desired to know the original for whom the play was intended, he rose up from his seat, and showed himself during the whole repre-

sentation. This was the first blow struck at him; and it was not till twenty years after, that Melitus appeared in a more formal manner as his accuser, and entered a regular process against him. His accusation consisted of two heads; the first was, that he did not admit the gods acknowledged by the republic, and introduced new divinities; the second, that he corrupted the youth of Athens; and concluded with inferring, that sentence of death ought to pass against him. How far the whole charge affected him is not easy to determine; it is certain, that, amidst so much zeal and superstition as then reigned in Athens, he never durst openly oppose the received religion, and was, therefore, forced to preserve an outward show of it; but it is very probable, from the discourses he frequently held with his friends, that, in his heart, he despised and laughed at their monstrous opinions and ridiculous mysteries, as having no other foundation than the fables of the poets; and that he had attained to the notion of the one only true God, inasmuch, that, upon the account both of his belief of the Deity, and the exemplariness of his life, some have thought fit to rank him with the Christian philosophers.

As soon as the conspiracy broke out, the friends of Socrates prepared for his defence. Lycias, the most able orator of his time, brought him an elaborate discourse of his own composing, wherein he had set forth the reasons and measures of Socrates in their full force, and interspersed the whole with tender and pathetic strokes, capable of moving the most obdurate hearts. Socrates read it with pleasure, and approved it very much; but, as it was more conformable to the rules of rhetoric than the sentiments and fortitude of a philosopher, he told him frankly, that it did not suit him. Upon which Lycias having asked him, how it was possible to be well done, and at the same time not suit him? "In the same manner," said he, using, according to his custom, a vulgar comparison, "that an excellent workman might bring me magnificent apparel, or shoes embroidered with gold, to which nothing would be wanting on his part, but which, however, would not suit me." He persisted, therefore, inflexibly in the resolution, not to demean himself by begging suffrages in the low, abject manner, common at that time. He employed neither artifice nor the glitter of eloquence; he had no recourse either

to solicitation or entreaty; he brought neither his wife nor children to incline the judges in his favour by their sighs and tears: nevertheless, though he firmly refused to make use of any other voice but his own in his defence, and to appear before his judges in the submissive posture of a suppliant, he did not behave in that manner out of pride, or contempt of the tribunal; it was from a noble and intrepid assurance, resulting from greatness of soul, and the consciousness of his truth and innocence; so that his defence had nothing weak or timorous in it: his discourse was bold, manly, generous, without passion, without emotion, full of the noble liberty of a philosopher, with no other ornament than that of truth, and brightened universally with the character and language of innocence. Plato, who was present, transcribed it afterwards, and, without any addition, formed from it the work which he calls the *Apology of Socrates*, one of the most consummate master-pieces of antiquity. I shall here make an extract from it.

Upon the day assigned, the proceedings commenced in the usual forms; the parties appeared before the judges, and Melitus spoke. The worse his cause, and the less provided it was with proofs, the more occasion he had for address and art to cover its weakness; he omitted nothing that might render the adverse party odious; and, instead of reasons, which could not but fail him, he substituted the delusive glitter of a lively and pompous eloquence. Socrates, in observing that he could not tell what impression the discourse of his accuser might make upon the judges, owns, that, for his part, he scarcely knew how it had affected him, they had given such artful colouring and likelihood to their arguments, though there was not the least word of truth in all they had advanced.

“ I am accused of corrupting the youth, and of instilling dangerous maxims into them, as well in regard to the worship of the gods, as the rules of government. You know, Athenians, that I never made it my profession to teach; nor can envy, however violent against me, reproach me with ever having sold my instructions. I have an undeniable evidence for me in this respect, which is my poverty. Always equally ready to communicate my thoughts either to the rich or poor, and to give them entire leisure to question or answer me. I lend myself to every one who is desirous of becoming virtuous;

and if, amongst those who hear me, there be any that prove either good or bad, neither the virtues of the one, nor the vices of the other, to which I have not contributed, are to be ascribed to me. My whole employment is to persuade the young and old against too much love for the body, for riches, and all other precarious things, of whatsoever nature they be; and against too little regard for the soul, which ought to be the object of their affection: for I incessantly urge upon you, that virtue does not proceed from riches, but, on the contrary, riches from virtue; and that all the other goods of human life, as well public as private, have their source in the same principle.

"If to speak in this manner be to corrupt youth, I confess, Athenians, that I am guilty, and deserve to be punished. If what I say be not true, it is most easy to convict me of my falsehood. I see here a great number of my disciples; they have only to appear. But, perhaps, the reserve and consideration for a master, who has instructed them, will prevent them from declaring against me; at least their fathers, brothers, and uncles, cannot, as good relations, and good citizens, dispense with their not standing forth to demand vengeance against the corrupter of their sons, brothers, and nephews. But these are the persons who take upon them my defence, and interest themselves in the success of my cause.

"Pass on me what sentence you please, Athenians; but I can neither repent nor change my conduct; I must not abandon or suspend a function which God himself has imposed on me. Now he has charged me with the care of instructing my fellow-citizens. If, after having faithfully kept all the posts wherein I was placed by our generals at Potidaea, Amphipolis, and Delium, the fear of death should at this time make me abandon that in which the Divine Providence has placed me, by commanding me to pass my life in the study of philosophy, for the instruction of myself and others; this would be a most criminal desertion indeed, and make me highly worthy of being cited before this tribunal as an impious man, who does not believe the gods. Should you resolve to acquit me, for the future, I should not hesitate to make answer, Athenians, I honour and love you; but I shall choose rather to obey God than you, and to my latest breath shall never renounce my philosophy, nor cease to exhort and reprove you, according to my custom, by telling each of you, when you

come in any way, ' My good friend, and citizen of the most famous city in the world for wisdom and valour, are you not ashamed to have no other thoughts than that of amassing wealth and of acquiring glory, credit, and dignities, whilst you neglect the measures of prudence, truth, and wisdom, and take no pains in rendering your soul as good and perfect as it is capable of being?'

" I am reproached with abject fear and meanness of spirit, for being so busy in imparting my advice to every one in private, and for having always avoided to be present in your assemblies to give my counsels to my country. I think I have sufficiently proved my courage and fortitude, both in the field, where I have borne arms with you, and in the senate, where I alone opposed the unjust sentence you pronounced against the ten captains, who had not taken up and interred the bodies of those who were killed and drowned in the sea-fight near the island of Arginusæ : and when, upon more than one occasion, I opposed the violent and cruel orders of the thirty tyrants. What is it then that has prevented me from appearing in your assemblies? It is that daemon, that voice divine, which you have so often heard me mention, and Melitus has taken so much pains to ridicule. That spirit has attached itself to me from my infancy : it is a voice which I never hear but when it would prevent me from persisting in something I have resolved ; for it never exhorts me to undertake any thing ; it is the same being that has always opposed me when I would have intermeddled in the affairs of the republic, and that with the greatest reason ; for I should have been amongst the dead long ago, had I been concerned in the measures of the state, without effecting any thing to the advantage of myself or our country. Do not take it ill, I beseech you, if I speak my thoughts without disguise, and with truth and freedom. Every man, who would generously oppose a whole people, either amongst us or elsewhere, and who inflexibly applies himself to prevent the violation of the laws, and the practice of iniquity in a government, will never do so long, with impunity. It is absolutely necessary for him, who would contend for justice, if he has any thoughts of living, to remain in a private station, and never to have any share in public affairs.

“For the rest, Athenians, if, in the extreme danger I now am, I do not imitate the behaviour of those, who, upon less emergencies, have implored and supplicated their judges with tears, and have brought forth their children, relations, and friends; it is not through pride and obstinacy, or any contempt for you, but solely for your honour, and for that of the whole city. You should know, that there are amongst our citizens those who do not regard death as an evil, and who give that name only to injustice and infamy. At my age, and with the reputation, true or false, which I have, would it be consistent for me, after all the lessons I have given upon the contempt of death, to be afraid of it myself, and to belie in my last action all the principles and sentiments of my past life?

“But without speaking of my fame, which I should extremely injure by such a conduct, I do not think it allowable to entreat a judge, nor to be absolved by supplications. He ought to be persuaded and convinced. The judge does not sit upon the bench to show favour, by violating the laws, but to do justice in conforming to them. He does not swear to discharge with impunity whom he pleases, but to do justice where it is due: we ought not, therefore, to accustom you to perjury, nor you to suffer yourselves to be accustomed to it; for, in so doing, both the one and the other of us equally injure justice and religion, and both are criminal.

“Do not, therefore, expect from me, Athenians, that I should have recourse amongst you to means, which I believe neither honest nor lawful, especially upon this occasion, wherein I am accused of impiety by Melitus; for, if I should influence you by my prayers, and thereby induce you to violate your oaths, it would be undeniably evident, that I teach you not to believe in the gods; and even in defending and justifying myself, should furnish my adversaries with arms against me, and prove that I believe no Divinity. But I am very far from such bad thoughts: I am more convinced of the existence of God than my accusers; and so convinced, that I abandon myself to God and you, that you may judge of me as you shall deem best for yourselves.”

Socrates pronounced this discourse with a firm and intrepid tone: his air, his action, his visage, expressed nothing of the accused; he seemed the master of his judges, from the assur-

ance and greatness of soul with which he spoke, without, however, losing any thing of the modesty natural to him. But how slight soever the proofs were against him, the faction was powerful enough to find him guilty. There was the form of a process against him, and his irreligion was the pretence upon which it was grounded, but his death was certainly a concerted thing. His steady, uninterrupted course of obstinate virtue, which had made him in many cases appear singular, and oppose whatever he thought illegal or unjust, without any regard to times or persons, had procured him a great deal of envy and ill-will.

By his first sentence the judges only declared Socrates guilty; but when, by his answer, he appeared to appeal from their tribunal to that of justice and posterity; when, instead of confessing himself guilty, he demanded rewards and honours from the state, the judges were so very much offended, that they condemned him to drink hemlock, a method of execution then in use amongst them.

Socrates received this sentence with the utmost composure. Apollodorus, one of his disciples, launching out into bitter invectives and lamentations, that his master should die *innocent*: "What," replied Socrates, with a smile, "would you have me die guilty? Melitus and Anytus may kill, but they cannot hurt me."

After his sentence, he still continued with the same serene and intrepid aspect with which he had long enforced virtue, and held tyrants in awe. When he entered his prison, which now became the residence of virtue and probity, his friends followed him thither, and continued to visit him during the interval between his condemnation and death, which lasted for thirty days. The cause of that long delay was, the Athenians sent every year a ship to the isle of Delos, to offer certain sacrifices, and it was prohibited to put any person to death in the city, from the time the priest of Apollo had crowned the poop of this vessel, as a signal of its departure, till the same vessel should return: so that sentence having been passed upon Socrates the day after that ceremony began, it was necessary to defer the execution of it for thirty days, during the continuance of this voyage.

In this long interval, death had sufficient opportunities to

present itself before his eyes in all its terrors; and to put his constancy to the proof, not only by the severe rigour of a dungeon, and the irons upon his legs, but by the continual prospect and cruel expectation of an event, of which nature is always abhorrent. In this sad condition, he did not cease to enjoy that profound tranquillity of mind, which his friends had always admired in him. He entertained them with the same temper he had always expressed; and Crito observes, that the evening before his death he slept as peaceably as at any other time. He composed also a hymn in honour of Apollo and Diana, and turned one of *Æsop's* fables into verse.

The day before, or the same day, that the ship was to arrive from Delos, the return of which was to be followed by the death of Socrates, Crito, his intimate friend, came to him early in the morning, to let him know that bad news, and, at the same time, that it depended only upon himself to quit the prison; that the jailor was gained; that he would find the doors open, and offered him a safe retreat in Thessaly. Socrates laughed at this proposal, and asked him, whether he knew any place out of Attica where people did not die? Crito urged the thing very seriously, and pressed him to take the advantage of so precious an opportunity, adding argument upon argument, to induce his consent, and to engage him to resolve upon escape: without mentioning the inconsolable grief he should suffer for the death of such a friend, how should he support the reproaches of an infinity of people, who would believe it was in his power to have saved him, but that he would not sacrifice a small part of his wealth for that purpose? Can the people ever be persuaded, that so wise a man as Socrates would not quit his prison, when he might do it with all possible security? Perhaps he might fear to expose his friends, or to occasion the loss of their fortunes, or even of their lives or liberty: ought there to be any thing more dear and precious to them than the preservation of Socrates? Even strangers themselves dispute that honour with them, many of whom have come expressly with considerable sums of money to purchase his escape; and declare, that they should think themselves highly honoured to receive him amongst them, and to supply him abundantly with all he should have occasion for: ought he to abandon himself to enemies, who have occasioned his being

condemned unjustly; and can he think it allowable to betray his own cause? Is it not essential to his goodness and justice to spare his fellow citizens the guilt of innocent blood? But, if all these motives cannot alter him, and he is not concerned in regard to himself, can he be insensible to the interests of his children? In what a condition does he leave them: and can he forget the father to remember only the philosopher?

Socrates, after having heard him with attention, praised his zeal, and expressed his gratitude; but, before he could give into his opinion, was for examining whether it was just for him to depart out of prison without the consent of the Athenians. The question, therefore, here is, to know whether a man, condemned to die, though unjustly, can, without a crime, escape from justice and the laws. Socrates held it was unjust; and therefore nobly refused to escape from prison. He revered the laws of his country, and resolved to obey them in all things, even in his death.

At length the fatal ship returned to Athens, which was, in a manner, the signal for the death of Socrates. The next day all his friends, except Plato, who was sick, repaired to the prison early in the morning. The jailor desired them to wait a little, because the eleven magistrates (who had the direction of the prisons) were at that time signifying to the prisoner, that he was to die the same day. Presently after they entered, and found Socrates, whose chains had been taken off, sitting by Xantippe, his wife, who held one of his children in her arms; as soon as she perceived them, setting up great cries, sobbing, and tearing her face and hair, she made the prison resound with her complaints. "Oh, my dear Socrates! your friends are come to see you this day for the last time!" He desired she might be taken away; and she was immediately carried home.

Socrates passed the rest of the day with his friends, and discoursed with them with his usual cheerfulness and tranquillity. The subject of conversation was the most important, and adapted to the present conjuncture; that is to say, the immortality of the soul. What gave occasion to this discourse was a question introduced in a manner by chance; Whether a

true philosopher ought not to desire, and take pains to die? This proposition, taken too literally, implied an opinion, that a philosopher might kill himself. Socrates shows, that nothing is more unjust than this notion; and that man, appertaining to God, who formed and placed him, with his own hand, in the post he possesses, cannot abandon it, without his permission, nor depart from life, without his order. What is it, then, that can induce a philosopher to entertain this love for death? It can be only the hope of that happiness, which he expects in another life: and that hope can be founded only upon the opinion of the soul's immortality.

Socrates employed the last day of his life in entertaining his friends upon this great and important subject; from which conversation Plato's admirable dialogue, entitled the *Phædon*, is wholly taken. He explains to his friends all the arguments for believing the soul immortal, and refutes all the objections against it, which are very nearly the same as are made at this day.

When Socrates had done speaking, Crito desired him to give him, and the rest of his friends, his last instructions in regard to his children and other affairs, that, by executing them, they might have the consolation of doing him some pleasure. "I shall recommend nothing to you this day," replied Socrates, "more than I have already done, which is to take care of yourselves. You cannot do yourselves a greater service, nor do me and my family a greater pleasure." Crito having asked him afterwards in what manner he thought fit to be buried: "As you please," said Socrates, "if you can lay hold of me, and I escape not out of your hands." At the same time, looking on his friends with a smile, "I can never persuade Crito, that Socrates is he who converses with you, and disposes the several parts of his discourse; for he always imagines that I am what he is going to see dead in a little while; he confounds me with my carcass, and, therefore, asks me how I would be interred." On finishing these words, he rose up, and went to bathe himself in a chamber adjoining. After he came out of the bath, his children were brought to him; for he had three, two very little, and the other grown up. He spoke to them for some time, gave his orders to the women

who took care of them, and then dismissed them. Being returned into his chamber, he laid himself down upon his bed.

The servant of the eleven entered at the same instant, and, having informed him that the time for drinking the hemlock was come (which was at sun-set), the servant was so much afflicted with sorrow, that he turned his back, and fell a weeping. "See," said Socrates, "the good heart of this man: since my imprisonment he has often come to see me, and to converse with me; he is more worthy than all his fellows; how heartily the poor man weeps for me. This is a remarkable example, and might teach those, in an office of this kind, how they ought to behave to all prisoners, but more especially to persons of merit, when they are so unhappy as to fall into their hands." The fatal cup was brought. Socrates asked what it was necessary for him to do? "Nothing more," replied the servant, "than as soon as you have drank off the draught, to walk about till you find your legs grow weary, and afterwards lie down upon your bed." He took the cup, without any emotion, or change in his colour or countenance; and, regarding the man with a steady and assured look—"Well," said he, "what say you of this drink; may one make a libation out of it?" Upon being told there was only enough for one dose, "At least," continued he, "we may say our prayers to the gods, as it is our duty, and implore them to make our exit from this world, and our last stage happy, which is what I ardently beg of them." After having spoke these words, he kept silence for some time, and then drank off the whole draught, with an amazing tranquillity and serenity of aspect, not to be expressed or conceived.

Till then, his friends, with great violence to themselves, had refrained from tears; but, after he had drank the potion, they were no longer their own masters, and wept abundantly. Apollodorus, who had been in tears almost the whole conversation, began then to raise great cries, and to lament with such excessive grief, as pierced the hearts of all that were present. Socrates alone remained unmoved, and even reproved his friends, though with his usual mildness and good nature, "What are you doing?" said he to them: "I

wonder at you! Oh! what is become of your virtue? Was it not for this I sent away the women, that they might not fall into these weaknesses? for I have always heard you say, that we ought to die peaceably, and blessing the gods. Be at ease, I beg you, and show more constancy and resolution." He then obliged them to restrain their tears.

In the mean time, he kept walking to and fro, and when he found his legs grew weary, he laid down upon his back, as he had been directed.

The poison then operated more and more. When Socrates found it began to gain upon the heart, uncovering his face, which had been covered, without doubt, to prevent any thing from disturbing him in his last moments. "Crito," said he, "we owe a cock to Esculapius; discharge that vow for me, and pray do not forget it." Soon after which, he breathed his last. Crito went to his body, and closed his mouth and eyes. Such was the end of Socrates, in the first year of the ninety-fifth Olympiad, and the seventieth of his age.

It was not till some time after the death of this great man, that the people of Athens perceived their mistake, and began to repent of it: their hatred being satisfied, their prejudices expired; and time having given them an opportunity for reflection, the notorious injustice of the sentence appeared in all its horrors. Nothing was heard throughout the city, but discourses in favour of Socrates. The Academy, the Lyceum, private houses, public walks, and market places, seemed still to re-echo the sound of his loved voice. "Here," said they, "he formed our youth, and taught our children to love their country, and to honour their parents. In this place he gave us his admirable lessons, and sometimes made us seasonable reproaches, to engage us more warmly in the pursuit of virtue. Alas! how have we rewarded him for such important services!" Athens was in universal mourning and consternation: the schools were shut up, and all exercises suspended. The accusers were called to account for the innocent blood they had caused to be shed. Melitus was condemned to die, and the rest banished. Plutarch observes, that all those, who had any share in this black calumny, were held in such abomination amongst the citizens, that no one would give them fire, answer

them any question, nor go into the same bath with them, and they had the place cleaned where they had bathed, lest they should be polluted by touching it; which drove them into such despair, that many of them killed themselves.

The Athenians, not contented with having punished his accusers, caused a statue of brass to be erected to him, of the workmanship of the celebrated Lysippus, and placed it in one of the most conspicuous parts of the city. Their respect and gratitude rose even to a religious veneration; they dedicated a chapel to him, as to a hero and a demigod, which they called the chapel of Socrates.

CHAPTER XII.

FROM THE DEATH OF SOCRATES TO THE DEATH OF EPAMINONDAS.

HITHERTO we have pursued the Athenians, both in their successes and their defeats, with peculiar attention. While they took the lead in the affairs of Greece, it was necessary to place them on the foreground of the picture; but we must now change the scene; and, leaving them to act an obscure part, go to those states that successively took the lead after their downfall.

The Spartans seem to be the first state, after the Athenians, that gave laws to the rest of the Greeks; their old jealousies began to revive against the petty states that had formerly sided against them; and the Eleans were the first upon whom they fell, under a pretence that they (the Spartans) had not been admitted by that state to the Olympic games, as well as the rest of the Grecians. The Eleans having formerly declared war, and being upon the point of plundering the city of Elis, were taken into the alliance of Sparta, and the conquerors now assumed and enjoyed the title of the Protectors and Arbitrators of Greece. Soon after, Agesilaus, who was chosen king of Sparta, was sent into Asia with an army, under pretence of freeing the Grecian cities. He gained a signal victory over Tissaphernes, near the river Pactolus, where he forced the enemy's camp, and found considerable plunder. This success induced the Persian monarch, instead of meeting Agesilaus openly in the field, to subvert his interest among the Grecian states by the power of bribery; and indeed this confederacy was now so weakened, its concord and unanimity so totally destroyed, that they were open to every offer: the love of money was now rooted in their affections; and the Spartans were the only people, that, for a while, seemed to disdain it: but, the contagion still spreading,

even they at last yielded to its allurements; and every man sought private emolument, without attending to the good of his country.

The Thebans, as they were the first that were gained over to the Persian interest, so they were the most active in performing it. To strengthen their alliance, they sent ambassadors to the Athenians, with a long representation of the present posture of affairs, wherein they artfully insinuated their zeal and affection to that state; from thence they took occasion to inveigh against the tyranny of Sparta; and concluded with telling them, that now was the time to throw off the yoke, and to recover their former splendour and authority. The Athenians, though they had no share of the Persian money, needed not many arguments to engage them in a rupture of this kind, for which they had been long waiting a fit opportunity.

Agésilæus, who had carried on the war in Persia with success, received news of the war being again broke out in Greece, with orders, at the same time, for him to return home. He had set his heart upon the entire conquest of Persia, and was preparing to march farther into the country; but such was his deference to the laws, and such his submission to the Ephori, that he instantly obeyed their mandate; but left four thousand men in Asia, to maintain his successes there. The Spartans, however, could not wait his arrival: they found confederacies thickening on their hands, and they were ready to be attacked on all sides. The Athenians, Argives, Thebans, Corinthians, and Euboeans, joined against them, and made up a body of twenty-four thousand men. Both sides encamped near Sicyon, at a small distance from each other, and soon came to a regular engagement. The Spartan allies at first were entirely routed; but the Spartans themselves turned the scale of victory by their single valour, and came off conquerors, with the loss of but eight men. This victory, however, was in some measure overbalanced by a loss at sea, which the Spartans sustained near Cnidus. Conon, the Athenian general, being appointed to command the Persian fleet against them, took fifty of their ships, and pursued the rest into port. Agésilæus, on the other hand, obtained a considerable victory over the Athenians and their allies upon

the plains of Coronea. Thus was the war continued by furious but undecisive engagements, in which neither side was a gainer; and in this manner did the Spartans maintain themselves and their allies, without any considerable increase or diminution of their power. In this general shock, the Athenians seemed for a while to recover their former spirit: being assisted by Persian money, and conducted by Conon, an excellent general, they took the field with ardour, and even rebuilt the walls of their city. From the mutual jealousies of these petty states among each other all were weakened, and the Persian monarch became arbitrator of Greece. In this manner, after a fluctuation of successes and intrigues, all parties began to grow tired of a war, and a peace ensued: this peace was concluded in the second year of the ninety-eighth Olympiad; and, from the many stipulations in favour of Persia, Plutarch terms it the reproach and ruin of Greece.

The Spartans, thus freed from the terrors of a powerful foreign enemy, went on to spread terror among the petty states of Greece. They gave peremptory orders to the Mantineans to throw down their walls, and compelled them to obedience. They obliged the Corinthians to withdraw the garrison from Argosi; and some other states they treated with an air of superiority, that plainly marked that they expected obedience. They marched against the Olynthians, who had lately grown into power, and effectually subdued them. They interposed also in a domestic quarrel, which was carried on at Thebes. Phœbidas having seized upon the citadel; they turned him out, and placed a garrison of their own in that fortress. They then procured articles to be exhibited against Ismenias, his antagonist, for having taken money of the Persians, and for holding intelligence with them; and also for having been a principal promoter of their intestine broils: upon which he underwent a formal trial, before the commissioners deputed from Sparta, and one from each of the other great cities of Greece, and was condemned to death. Thus, having secured Thebes, and having, by a tedious war, humbled the Olynthians, they went on to chastise the Phliasians, for having abused some exiles, that had been restored by the orders of Sparta. In this manner they continued distributing their orders with pride and severity: no state of

Greece was able to oppose their authority; and, under the colour of executing justice, they were hourly paving the way to supreme command.

In the midst of this security, they were alarmed from a quarter where they least expected to find opposition. The Thebans had, for four years since the seizing of their citadel, submitted to the Spartan yoke; but they now took occasion, by a very desperate attempt, to throw it off; for which purpose there was a secret correspondence carried on between the most considerable of the Theban exiles at Athens and those who were well affected to them in Thebes; and measures were conducted between them by Phyllidas, secretary to the Theban governors, by whose contrivance a competent number of the exiles were to get into the city; and Charon, a man of the first rank there, offered his house for their reception. The day being fixed, they set out from Athens; and twelve of the most active and resolute among them were detached to enter the city, the rest remaining at a proper distance to wait the event. The first who offered himself was Pelopidas, who was young and daring, and had been very zealous in encouraging the design; and, by the share he had in it, gave a sufficient earnest of what might be farther expected from him in the service of his country. The next man of consequence was Mellon, who, by some, is said to have first projected the scheme with Phyllidas. These two, with their ten associates, dressed themselves like peasants, and beat about the fields, with dogs and hunting poles, as in search of game. Having thus passed unsuspected, and conveyed themselves into the city, they met at Charon's house, as the general rendezvous, where they were soon after joined by thirty-six more of their confederates. It was concerted, that Phyllidas should on that day give a great entertainment to Archias and Philip, the two governors, who were appointed by the Spartans; and, to make it the more complete, he had engaged to provide some of the finest women in the town to give them a meeting. Matters being thus prepared, the associates divided themselves into two bands; one of which, led by Charon and Mellon, were to attack Archias and his company; and having put on women's clothes over their armour, with pine and poplar over their heads, to shade their faces,

they took their opportunity, when the guests were well heated with wine, to enter the room, and immediately stabbed Archias and Philip, with such others of the company as were pointed out to them by Phyllidas. A little before this execution Archias received an express from Athens, with all the particulars of the conspiracy; and the courier conjured him, in the name of the persons who wrote the letters, that he should read them forthwith, for that they contained matter of great importance. But he laid them by unopened; and, with a smile, said, "Business to-morrow:" which words, upon that occasion, grew into a proverb. The other band, headed by Pelopidas and Democrides, went to attack Leontidas, who was at home, and in bed. They rushed into his house by surprise; but he, soon taking the alarm, leaped up, and, with his sword in his hand, received them at his chamber-door, and stabbed Cephisodorus, who was the first man that attempted to enter. Pelopidas was the next who encountered him; and, after a long and difficult dispute, killed him. From hence they went in pursuit of Hypates, his friend and neighbour, and dispatched him likewise; after which they joined the other band, and sent to hasten the exiles they had left in Attica.

The whole city was, by this time, filled with terror and confusion; the houses full of lights; and the inhabitants, running to and fro in the streets, in a wild, distracted manner, and waiting impatiently for day-light, that they might distinguish their friends from their foes, seemed undetermined what course to take. Early in the morning the exiles came in armed; and Pelopidas appeared, with his party, in a general assembly of the people, encompassed by the priests, carrying garlands in their hands, proclaiming liberty to the Thebans in general, and exhorting them to fight for their gods and their country; for, though they had made such a prosperous beginning, the most difficult part still remained, whilst the citadel was in the possession of the Spartans, with a garrison of fifteen hundred men, besides a great number of citizens and others, who had fled to them for protection, and declared themselves on their side.

Early the next morning, the Athenians sent five thousand foot and two thousand horse to the assistance of Pelopidas; several other bodies of troops also came in from all the cities

of Boeotia ; so that the citadel, being hemmed round, and despairing of success from without, surrendered at discretion.

The Thebans, having thus acquired their freedom, the Spartans were resolved, at any rate, to take the lead in the affairs of Greece ; and, having incensed the states beyond measure, attempted to seize upon Piræus, and thus made the Athenians their irreconcilable enemies. Agesilaus was pitched upon to command the army, that was to humble the Grecian states. His name struck a terror into the Thebans ; and his forces, which amounted to near twenty thousand men, increased their fears. The Thebans, therefore, instead of attempting to attack, were contented to stand upon their defence, and possessed themselves of a hill near the city. Agesilaus detached a party of light-armed men, to provoke them to come down and give him battle, which they declining, he drew out his whole forces, in order to attack them. Chabrias, who commanded the mercenaries on the part of the Thebans, ordered his men to present themselves, and keep their ranks in close order, with their shields laid down at their feet, their spears advanced, one leg put forward, and the knee upon the half-bend. Agesilaus, finding them prepared in this manner to receive him, and that they stood, as it were, in defiance of him, thought fit to withdraw his army, and contented himself with ravaging the country. This was looked upon as an extraordinary stratagem, and Chabrias valued himself so much upon it, that he procured his statue to be erected in that posture.

Thus, through a succession of engagements, both by sea and land, the Spartans, having provoked a powerful confederacy, grew every day weaker, and their enemies more daring. The Thebans continually grew bolder ; and, instead of continuing to defend themselves with difficulty, attacked the enemy with courage and success. Though the battles fought between these states were neither regular nor decisive, yet they were such as served to raise the courage of the Thebans, to gain them confidence, and to form them for those great undertakings, which were shortly to follow. Pelopidas, who headed them at the battle of Tanagra, slew the Spartan commander with his own hand. At the battle of Tegyra, with very unequal forces, he put a large body of the enemy to flight.

As it was this battle in which Pelopidas first displayed the

superiority of his military talents, and as it was it, also, that first convinced the Grecian states, that true martial spirit may rise and flourish in other regions, besides those that lie on the banks of the Eurotas, it cannot but be deemed a very interesting and important one. Pelopidas had come to a resolution of attacking Orchomenus, which was garrisoned by the Spartans; he therefore marched against it with an army, consisting of three hundred foot and forty horse; but, upon hearing that a large body of Spartans were hastening to its relief, he thought it prudent to retire. In his retreat, he fell in with this reinforcement, near Tegyra; and, finding a battle inevitable, he proposed to engage them. He ordered his horse to begin the attack: his foot, which he had ranged in a masterly manner, he led up, with all possible speed, to support the horse. The action now became general, and was supported with animosity and vigour on both sides. Gorgoleon, however, and Theopompus, who commanded the Spartans, falling early in the engagement, those who fought near to them were either slain or put to flight; and that struck such a terror into the minds of the rest of their troops, that they retired immediately to either side, opening a passage for the Thebans to prosecute their march. But a safe retreat was not the sole object of Pelopidas's wishes: the recent success of his arms stimulated him to attempt something of higher moment; he therefore drew up his men afresh, renewed the battle, and, after much slaughter of the enemy, thoroughly routed and dispersed them. The Thebans thus gained more reputation and advantage from their retreat, than they could have gained by the most complete success in their original design of attacking Orchomenus. This defeat was the most signal disgrace with which the Spartans had ever met. Hitherto, they had never known what it was to yield even to an equal army. At Tegyra, they were vanquished by a force not one-third of their own. It must, however, be acknowledged, that these three hundred foot were the flower and pride of the Theban army. They were distinguished by the name of "The Sacred Battalion." They were as remarkable for their fidelity to each other as for their strength and courage; they were linked by the bonds of common friendship, and were sworn to stand by each other in the most dangerous extremities. Thus united, they became invin-

cible, and generally turned the scale of victory in their favour, for a succession of years, until they were at last cut down, as one man, by the Macedonian phalanx under Philip.

A peace of short continuance followed these successes of the Thebans; but they soon fell into tumults and seditions again. The inhabitants of Zacinthus and Corcyra, having expelled their magistrates, put themselves under the protection of Athens, and repulsed the Spartans, who attempted to restore their magistrates by force.

About the same time the inhabitants of Platæa, applying to their old friends, the Athenians, for their protection and alliance, the Thebans took offence at it, and demolished the town; and soon after did the same by Thespiae. The Athenians were so highly incensed at the treatment of those two cities, which had deserved so well of the common cause in the Persian war, that they would act no longer in conjunction with the Thebans; and, upon their breaking with them, the affairs of Greece took a new and unexpected turn.

It now began to appear that the Thebans were growing into power; and while Sparta and Athens were weakening each other by mutual contests, this state, which had enjoyed all the emoluments without any of the expenses of the war, was every day growing more vigorous and independent. The Thebans, who now began to take the lead in the affairs of Greece, were naturally a hardy and robust people, of slow intellects, and strong constitutions. It was a constant maxim with them, to side either with Athens or Sparta in their mutual contests; and whichever they inclined to, they were generally of weight enough to turn the balance. However, they had hitherto made no farther use of that weight than to secure themselves; but the spirit which now appeared among them was first implanted by Pelopidas, their deliverer from the Spartan yoke; but still farther carried to its utmost height by Epaminondas, who now began to figure in the affairs of Greece.

Epaminondas was one of those few exalted characters, who have scarcely any vice, and almost every virtue, to distinguish them from the rest of mankind. Though in the beginning possessed of every quality necessary for the service of the state, he chose to lead a private life, employed in the study of

philosophy, and showing an example of the most rigid observance of all its doctrines.

Truly a philosopher, and poor out of taste, he despised riches, without affecting any reputation from that contempt; and, if Justin may be believed, he coveted glory as little as he did money. It was always against his will that commands were conferred upon him; and he behaved himself, when invested with them, in such a manner, as did more honour to dignities, than dignities did to him.

Though poor himself, and without any estate, his very poverty, by drawing upon him the esteem and confidence of the rich, gave him the opportunity of doing good to others. One of his friends being in great necessity, Epaminondas sent him to a very rich citizen, with orders to ask him for a thousand crowns in his name: that rich man coming to his house, to know his motives for directing his friend to him upon such an errand, "Why," replied Epaminondas, "it is because this honest man is in want, and you are rich." Fond of leisure, which he devoted to the study of philosophy, he shunned public employments, and made no interest but to be excluded from them. His moderation concealed him so well, that he lived obscure, and almost unknown. His merit, however, discovered him at last. He was taken from his solitude by force, to be placed at the head of armies; and he demonstrated, that philosophy, though generally held in contempt by those who aspire at the glory of arms, is wonderfully useful in forming heroes; for it was, in his opinion, a great advance towards conquering an enemy, to know how to conquer one's self. In the schools of philosophy anciently were taught the great maxims of true policy; the rules of every kind of duty; the motives for a true discharge of them; what we owe to our country; the right use of authority; wherein true courage consists; in a word, the qualities that form the good citizen, statesman, and great captain; and in all these Epaminondas excelled.

• He possessed all the ornaments of the mind. He had the talent of speaking in perfection, and was well versed in the most sublime sciences: but a modest reserve threw a veil over all those excellent qualities, which still augmented their value, and of which he knew not what it was to be ostentatious.

Spintharus, in giving his character, said, That he never had met with a man who knew more and spoke less.

Such was the general appointed to command the Theban army, and act in conjunction with Pelopidas, with whom he had the most perfect and the most disinterested friendship. This state being left out in the general treaty of peace, and thus having the Spartans and Athenians confederated against it, they appeared under the utmost consternation, and all Greece looked upon them as lost and undone. The Spartans ordered levies to be made in all parts of Greece that sided with them; and Cleombrotus, their general, marched towards the frontiers of Bœotia, secure of victory. Willing, however, to give his hostilities an air of justice, he sent to demand of the Thebans, that they should restore the cities that they had usurped to their liberties; that they should rebuild those they had demolished before, and make restitution for all their former wrongs. To this it was replied, "That the Thebans were accountable to none but Heaven for their conduct." Nothing now remained, on both sides, but to prepare for action. Epaminondas immediately raised all the troops he could, and began his march. His army did not amount to six thousand men; and the enemy had above four times that number. As several bad omens were urged, to prevent his setting out, he replied only by a verse from Homer, of which the sense is, There is but one good omen—to fight for one's country. However, to reassure the soldiers, by nature superstitious, and whom he observed to be discouraged, he instructed several persons to come from different places, and report auguries and omens in his favour, which revived the spirit and hopes of his troops.

Epaminondas had wisely taken care to secure a pass, which would have shortened Cleombrotus's march considerably. The latter, after having taken a large compass, arrived at Leuctra, a small town of Bœotia, between Plataea and Thespiae. Both parties consulted whether they should give battle, which Cleombrotus resolved to do, by the advice of his officers, who represented to him, that if he declined fighting with such a superiority of troops, it would confirm the current report, that he secretly favoured the Thebans. The former had an essential reason for hastening a battle before the arrival of the

troops, which the enemy daily expected; however, the six generals, who formed the council of war, differing in their sentiments, the seventh, who was Pelopidas, came in very good time to join the three that were for fighting, and, his opinion carrying the question, the battle was resolved upon.

The two armies were very unequal in number; that of the Lacedæmonians, as has been said, consisted of twenty-four thousand foot, and sixteen hundred horse; the Thebans had only six thousand foot, and four hundred horse, but all of them choice troops, animated by their experience in war, and determined to conquer or die. The Lacedæmonian cavalry, composed of men picked up by chance, without *valeur*, and ill disciplined, was as much inferior to their enemies in courage as superior in number. The infantry could not be depended on, except the Lacedæmonians; the allies, as has been said, having engaged in the war with reluctance, because they did not approve the motive of it, and being, besides, dissatisfied with the Lacedæmonians.

The ability of the generals of either side supplied the place of numerous armies, especially of the Theban, who was the most accomplished soldier of his times. He was supported by Pelopidas, with whom he had formerly fought and bled, and who was then at the head of the Sacred Battalion, composed of three hundred Thebans, united in a strict friendship and affection, and engaged, under a particular oath, never to fly, but to defend each other to the last.

Upon the day of battle, the two armies drew up on a plain. Cleombrotus was upon the right, at the head of a body consisting of Lacedæmonians, in whom he confided most, and whose files were twelve feet deep: to take the advantage which his superiority of horse gave him in an open country, he posted them in front of his Lacedæmonians. Archidamus, the son of Agesilaus, was at the head of the allies, who formed the left wing.

Epaminondas, who resolved to charge with his left, which he commanded in person, strengthened it with the choice of his heavy-armed troops, whom he drew up fifty deep: the Sacred Battalion was on his left, and closed the wing; the rest of his infantry were posted upon his right, in an oblique line, which, the farther it extended, was the more distant from

the enemy. By this uncommon disposition, his design was to cover his flank on the right; to keep off his right wing, as a kind of reserved body, that he might not hazard the event of the battle upon the weakest part of his army; and to begin the action with his left wing, where his best troops were posted, to turn the whole weight of the battle upon Cleombrotus and the Spartans. He was assured, that if he could penetrate the Lacedæmonian phalanx, the rest of the army would soon be put to the rout. As for his horse, he disposed them, after the enemy's example, in the front of his left.

The action began with the cavalry. As the Thebans were better mounted, and braver troops than the Lacedæmonian horse, the latter were not long before they were broke, and driven upon the infantry, which they put into some confusion. Epaminondas, following his horse close, marched swiftly up to Cleombrotus, and fell upon his phalanx with all the weight of his heavy battalion. The latter, to make a diversion, detached a body of troops, with orders to take Epaminondas in flank, and to surround him. Pelopidas, upon sight of that movement, advanced, with incredible speed and boldness, at the head of the Sacred Battalion, to prevent the enemy's design, and flanked Cleombrotus himself, who, by that sudden and unexpected attack, was put into disorder. The battle was very fierce and obstinate; and whilst Cleombrotus could act the victory continued in suspense, and declared for neither party. But when he fell dead with his wounds, the Thebans, to complete the victory, and the Lacedæmonians, to avoid the shame of abandoning the body of their king, redoubled their efforts, and a great slaughter ensued on both sides. The Spartans fought with so much fury about the body, that at length they gained their point, and carried it off. Animated by so glorious an advantage, they proposed to return to the charge, which would, perhaps, have proved successful, had the allies seconded their ardour; but the left wing seeing the Lacedæmonian phalanx broken, and believing all lost, especially when they heard that the king was dead, took to flight, and drew off the rest of the army. Epaminondas followed them vigorously, and killed a great number in the pursuit. The Thebans remained masters of the field of battle, erected a trophy, and permitted the enemy to bury their dead.

The Lacedæmonians had never received such a blow. The most bloody defeat, till then, had scarcely ever cost them more than four or five hundred of their citizens. Here they lost four thousand men, of whom one thousand were Lacedæmonians, and four hundred Spartans, out of seven hundred, who were in the battle. The Thebans had only three hundred men killed, among whom were four of their citizens.

The city of Sparta was at that time celebrating the Gymnastic games, and was full of strangers, whom curiosity had brought thither. When the couriers arrived from Leuctra with the terrible news of their defeat, the Ephori, though perfectly sensible of all the consequences, and that the Spartan empire had received a mortal wound, would not permit the representations of the theatre to be suspended, nor any changes in the celebration of the festival. They sent to every family the names of their relations who were killed, and stayed in the theatre, to see that the dances and games were continued, without interruption, to the end. It is not easy to determine whether we ought to ascribe this supine and unprecedented conduct of the Ephori to their desire of concealing from the people the desperate state in which their affairs then were, or to that luxury and dissipation which had begun to corrupt even Sparta itself.

The next day, in the morning, the loss of each family being known, the fathers and relations of those who had died in the battle met in the public place, and saluted and embraced each other with great joy and serenity in their looks; whilst the others kept themselves close in their houses; or if necessity obliged them to go abroad, it was with a sadness and dejection of aspect, which sensibly expressed their anguish and affliction. That difference was still more remarkable in the women: grief, silence, tears, distinguished those who expected the return of their sons; but such as had lost their sons were seen hurrying to the temple, to thank the gods, and congratulating each other upon their glory and good fortune.

One great point, under immediate consideration, was concerning those who had fled out of the battle. They were, by the law, in that case, to be degraded from all honour, and rendered infamous, insomuch, that it was a disgrace to intermarry with them; they were to appear publicly in mean and

dirty habits, with patched and party-coloured garments, and to go half shaved; and whoever met them in the streets might insult and beat them, and they were not to make any resistance. This was so severe a law, and such numbers had incurred the penalties of it, many of whom were of great families and interest, that they apprehended the execution of it might occasion some public commotions; besides that these citizens, such as they were, could very ill be spared at this time, when they wanted to recruit the army. Under this difficulty, they gave Agesilaus a power even over the laws, to dispense with them, to abrogate them, or to enact such new ones as the present exigency required. He would not abolish, or make any variation in the law itself, but made a public declaration, That it should lie dormant for that single day, but revive and be in full force again on the morrow, and by that expedient he saved the citizens from infamy.

So great a victory was followed by instantaneous effects: numbers of the Grecian states, that had hitherto remained neuter, now declared in favour of the conquerors, and increased their army to the amount of seventy thousand men. Epaminondas entered Laconia with an army, the twelfth part of which were not Thebans; and, finding a country hitherto untouched by an enemy, he ran through it with fire and sword, destroying and plundering as far as the river Eurotas.

The river was at that time very much swollen by the melting of the snow, and the Thebans found more difficulty in passing it than they expected, as well from the rapidity as the extreme coldness of the water. As Epaminondas was passing at the head of his infantry, some of the Spartans showed him to Agesilaus, who, after having attentively considered and followed him with his eyes a long time, could not help crying out, in admiration of his valour, "Oh! the wonder-working man!" The Theban general, however, contented himself with overrunning the country, without attempting any thing upon Sparta, and, entering Arcadia, reinstated it in all its former privileges and liberties. The Lacedæmonians had, some time before, stripped the harmless natives of all their possessions, and obliged them to take refuge amongst strangers. Their country was equal in extent to Laconia, and as fertile as the best in Greece. Its ancient inhabitants, who were dis-

persed in different regions of Greece, Italy, and Sicily, on the first notice given them, returned with incredible joy, animated by the love of their country, natural to all men; and almost as much by their hatred of the Spartans, which length of time had only increased. They built themselves a city, which, from the ancient name, was called Messene.

After performing such signal exploits, Pelopidas and Epaminondas, the Theban generals, once more returned home, not to share the triumphs and acclamations of their fellow-citizens, but to answer the accusations that were laid against them; they were now both summoned as criminals against the state, for having retained their posts four months beyond the time limited by law. This offence was capital by the laws of Thebes; and those, who stood up for the constitution, were very earnest in having it observed with punctuality. Pelopidas was the first cited before the tribunal: he defended himself with less force and greatness of mind than was expected from a man of his character, by nature warm and fiery. That valour, which was haughty and intrepid in fight, forsook him before his judges. His air and discourse, which had something timid and low in it, denoted a man who was afraid of death, and did not in the least incline the judges in his favour, who acquitted him not without difficulty. Epaminondas, on the contrary, appeared with all the confidence of conscious innocence: instead of justifying himself, he enumerated his actions; he repeated, in haughty terms, in what manner he had ravished Laconia, re-established Messenia, and re-united Arcadia in one body. He concluded with saying, that he should die with pleasure, if the Thebans would renounce the sole glory of those actions to him, and declare that he had done them by his own authority, and without their participation. All the voices were in his favour; and he returned from his trial, as he used to return from battle, with glory and universal applause. Such dignity has true valour, that it in a manner seizes the admiration of mankind by force. This manner of reproaching them had so good an effect, that his enemies declined any further prosecution; and he, with his colleague, was honourably acquitted. His enemies, however, jealous of his glory, with a design to affront him, caused him to be elected the city scavenger; he accepted the place with

thanks, and declared, that, instead of deriving honour from his office, he would give it dignity in his turn.

In the mean time, the Spartans, struck with consternation at their late defeats, applied to the Athenians for succour, who, after some hesitation, determined to assist them with all their forces; and a slight advantage the Spartans had gained over the Arcadians, in which they did not lose a man, gave a promising dawn of success. The Persian king was also applied to for assistance, in the confederacy against Thebes; but Pelopidas, undertaking an embassy to that court, frustrated their purpose, and induced that great monarch to stand neuter.

Thebes, being thus rid of so powerful an enemy, had less fears of withstanding the confederacy of Sparta and Athens; but a new and an unexpected power was now growing up against them; a power which was one day about to swallow up the liberties of Greece, and give laws to all mankind.

Some years before this, Jason the king of Phæræ, was chosen general of the Thessalians, by the consent of the people; he was at the head of an army of eight thousand horse, and twenty thousand heavy-armed foot, without reckoning light infantry: and might have undertaken any thing with such a body of well-disciplined and intrepid troops, who had an entire confidence in the valour and conduct of their commander. Death prevented his designs; he was assassinated by persons, who had long before conspired his destruction. His two brothers, Polydorus and Poliphron, were substituted in his place; the latter of whom killed the other, for the sake of reigning alone; and was soon after killed himself, by Alexander of Phæræ, who seized the government, under the pretence of revenging the death of Polydorus his father. Against him Pelopidas was sent. The Theban general soon compelled Alexander to make submission to him; and attempted, by mild usage, to change the natural brutality of his disposition. But Alexander, long addicted to a debauched life, and possessed of insatiable avarice, secretly withdrew from all constraint, resolved to seize an opportunity of revenge. It was not till some time after, that this opportunity offered; for Pelopidas being appointed ambassador to Alexander, who was at that time at the head of a powerful army, he was seized

upon, and made prisoner, contrary to all the laws of nations and humanity. It was in vain that the Thebans complained of this infraction of laws; it was in vain that they sent a powerful army, but headed by indifferent generals, to revenge the insult: their army returned without effect, and Alexander treated his prisoners with the utmost severity. It was left for Epaminondas to bring the tyrant to reason. Entering Thessalia, at the head of a powerful army, his name spread such terror, that the tyrant offered terms of submission, and delivered up Pelopidas from prison.

Pelopidas was scarce freed from confinement, when he resolved to punish the tyrant for his perfidy and breach of faith. He led a body of troops against Alexander, to a place called Cynocephalus, where a bloody battle ensued, in which the Thebans were victorious; but Pelopidas was unfortunately slain: his countrymen considered those successes very dearly earned, which they had obtained at the expense of his life. The lamentations for him were general; his funeral was magnificent, and his praises boundless. Alexander himself, soon after, was killed by Thebe his wife, and his three brothers, who, long shocked at his cruelties, had resolved to rid the world of such a monster. The account has it, that he slept every night, guarded by a dog, in a chamber which was ascended by a ladder. Thebe allured away the dog, and covered the steps of the ladder with wool, to prevent noise; and then, with the assistance of her brothers, stabbed him in several parts of his body.

In the mean time, the war between the Thebans and the Spartans was carried on with unabated vigour. The Theban troops were headed by their favourite general Epaminondas; those of Sparta by Agesilaus, the only man in Greece, that was then able to oppose him.

The first attempt of Epaminondas, in this campaign, marked his great abilities, and his skill in the art of war. Being informed that Agesilaus had begun his march to Mantinea, and had left but few citizens to defend Sparta, at home, he marched directly thither by night, with a design to take the city by surprize, as it had neither walls nor troops to defend it; but, luckily, Agesilaus was apprised of his design, and dispatched one of his horse to advise the city of its danger; soon

after, arriving with a powerful succour in person, he had scarcely entered the town, when the Thebans were seen passing the Euratas, and coming on against the city. Epaminondas, who perceived that his design was discovered, thought it incumbent on him not to retire without some attempt. He therefore made his troops advance, and, making use of valour instead of stratagem, he attacked the city at several quarters, penetrated as far as the public place, and seized that part of Sparta, which lay upon the hither side of the river. Agesilaus made head everywhere, and defended himself with much more valour than could be expected from his years. He saw well, that it was not now a time, as before, to spare himself, and to act only upon the defensive; but that he had need of all his courage and intrepidity, and to fight with all the vigour of despair. His son Archidamus, at the head of the Spartan youth, behaved with incredible valour, wherever the danger was greatest; and with his small troops stopped the enemy, and made head against them on all sides.

A young Spartan, named Isadas, distinguished himself particularly in this action. He was very handsome in the face, perfectly well shaped, of an advantageous stature, and in the flower of his youth; he had neither armour nor clothes upon his body, which shone with oil; he held a spear in one hand, and a sword in the other. In this condition he quitted his house, with the utmost eagerness; and, breaking through the press of the Spartans that fought, he threw himself upon the enemy, gave mortal wounds at every blow, and laid all at his feet who opposed him, without receiving any hurt himself. Whether the enemy were dismayed at so astonishing a sight, or whether, says Plutarch, the gods took pleasure in preserving him upon account of his extraordinary valour, remains a question. It is said, the Ephori decreed him a crown after the battle, in honour of his exploits; but afterwards fined him a thousand drachmas, for having exposed himself to so great a danger without arms.

Epaminondas, thus failing in his design, was resolved, before he laid down his command, which was near expiring, to endeavour to effect something that might compensate for his failure. In order to protect Sparta, Agesilaus had withdrawn all the troops from Mantinea: thither, therefore, Epaminondas

resolved to bend his course. Being determined to attack the town, he dispatched a troop of horse to view its situation, and to clear the fields of stragglers. But just before they had reached Mantinea, an army of six thousand Athenian auxiliaries arrived by sea, who, without taking any refreshment either to their men or horses, rushed out without the city, and attacked and defeated the Theban horse. In the mean time, Epaminondas was advancing with his whole army, with the enemy close upon his rear. Finding it impossible to accomplish his purpose, before he was overtaken, he determined to halt and give them battle. He had now got within a short way of the town, which has had the honour of giving its name to the conflict of that day; a conflict the most splendid, and best contested, that ever figured in the history of any country.

The Greeks had never fought among themselves with more numerous armies; the Lacedæmonians consisted of more than twenty thousand foot and two thousand horse; the Thebans of thirty thousand foot and three thousand horse. Upon the right wing of the former, the Mantineans, Arcadians, and Lacedæmonians, were posted in one line; the Eleans and Achæans, who were the weakest of their troops, had the centre; and the Athenians alone composed the left wing. In the other army, the Thebans and Arcadians were on the left, the Argives on the right, and the other allies in the centre: the cavalry on each side were disposed in the wings.

The Theban general marched in the same order of battle in which he intended to fight, that he might not be obliged, when he came up with the enemy, to lose, in disposing of his army, a precious time, which could not be recovered.

He did not march directly, and with his front to the enemy, but in a column upon the hills, with his left wing foremost, as if he did not intend to fight that day. When he was over-against them, at a quarter of a league's distance, he made the troops halt, and lay down their arms, as if he designed to encamp there. The enemy, in effect, were deceived by this stand: and, reckoning no longer upon a battle, they quitted their arms, dispersed themselves about the camp, and suffered that ardour to be extinguished, which a near approach of a battle is wont to kindle in the hearts of soldiers.

Epaminondas, however, by suddenly wheeling his troops to

the right, having changed his column into a line; and having drawn out the choice troops, whom he had, in his march, posted in front, made them double their files upon the front of his left wing, to add to its strength, and to put it into a condition to attack in a point the Lacedæmonian phalanx, which, by the movements he had made, faced it directly. He ordered the centre and right wing of his army to move very slow, and to halt before they came up with the enemy, that he might not hazard the event of the battle upon troops of which he had no great opinion.

He expected to decide the victory by that body of chosen troops which he commanded in person, and which he had formed into a column to attack the enemy in a wedge-like point. He assured himself, that if he could penetrate the Lacedæmonian phalanx, in which the enemy's principal force consisted, he should not find it difficult to rout the rest of the army, by charging upon the right and left with his victorious troops.

But that he might prevent the Athenians in the left wing from coming to the support of their right against his intended attack, he made a detachment of his horse and foot advance out of the line, and posted them upon a rising ground, in readiness to flank the Athenians, as well as to cover his right and to alarm them, and give them reason to apprehend being taken in flank and rear themselves, if they advanced to sustain their right.

After having disposed his whole army in this manner, he moved on to charge the enemy with the whole weight of his column. They were strangely surprised when they saw Epaminondas advance towards them in this order, and resumed their arms, bridled their horses, and made all the haste they could to their ranks.

Whilst Epaminondas marched against the enemy, the cavalry that covered his flank on the left, the best at that time in Greece, entirely composed of Thebans and Thessalians, had orders to attack the enemy's horse. The Theban general, whom nothing escaped, had artfully bestowed bow-men, slingers, and dart-men, in the intervals of his horse, in order to begin the disorders of the enemy's cavalry, by a previous discharge of a shower of arrows, stones, and javelins upon them.

The other army had neglected to take the same precaution; and had been guilty of another fault, not less considerable, in giving as much depth to the squadrons as if they had been a phalanx. By this means their horse were incapable of supporting long the charge of the Thebans. After having made several ineffectual attacks, with great loss, they were obliged to retire behind their infantry.

In the mean time Epaminondas, with his body of foot, had charged the Lacedæmonian phalanx. The troops fought on both sides with incredible ardour, both the Thebans and Lacedæmonians being resolved to perish, rather than yield the glory of arms to their rivals. They began fighting with their spears; but these being soon broken in the fury of the combat, they charged each other sword in hand. The resistance was equally obstinate, and the slaughter very great on both sides. The troops despising danger, and desiring only to distinguish themselves by the greatness of their actions, chose rather to die in their ranks than to lose a step of their ground.

The furious slaughter on both sides having continued a great while, without the victory inclining to either, Epaminondas, to force it to declare for him, thought it his duty to make an extraordinary effort in person, without regard to the danger of his own life. He formed, therefore, a troop of the bravest and most determinate about him, and, putting himself at the head of them, made a vigorous charge upon the enemy, where the battle was most warm, and wounded the general of the Lacedæmonians with the first javelin he threw. This troop, by his example, having wounded or killed all that stood in their way, broke and penetrated the phalanx. The Lacedæmonians, dismayed by the presence of Epaminondas, and overpowered by the weight of that intrepid party, were induced to give ground. The gross of the Theban troops, animated by their general's example and success, drove back the enemy upon his right and left, and made great slaughter of them. But some troops of the Spartans, perceiving that Epaminondas abandoned himself too much to his ardour, suddenly rallied, and, returning to the fight, charged him with a shower of javelins. Whilst he kept off part of those darts, shunned some of them, fenced off others, and was fighting with the most heroic valour, to assure the victory to his army, a Spar-

tan, named Callicrates, gave him a mortal wound with a javelin in his breast, across his cuirass. The wood of the javelin being broke off, and the iron head continuing in the wound, the torment was insupportable, and he fell immediately. The battle began around him with new fury; the one side using their utmost endeavours to take him alive, and the other to save him. The Thebans gained their point at last, and carried him off, after having put the enemy to flight.

After several different movements and alternate losses and disadvantages, the troops on both sides stood still and rested upon their arms; and the trumpets of the two armies, as if by consent, sounded the retreat at the same time. Each party pretended to the victory, and erected a trophy; the Thebans, because they had defeated the right wing, and remained masters of the field of battle; the Athenians, because they had cut the general's detachment in pieces: and from this point of honour, both sides at first refused to ask leave to bury their dead; which, with the ancients, was confessing their defeat. The Lacedæmonians, however, sent first to demand that permission; after which the rest had no thoughts but of paying the last duties to the slain.

In the mean time, Epaminondas had been carried into the camp. The surgeons, after having examined the wound, declared, that he would expire as soon as the head of the dart was drawn out of it. Those words gave all that were present the utmost sorrow and affliction, who were inconsolable on seeing so great a man on the point of expiring. For him, the only concern he expressed was about his arms, and the fate of the battle. When they showed him his shield, and assured him that the Thebans had gained the victory, turning towards his friends with a calm and serene air,—"All then is well," said he: and soon after, upon drawing the head of the javelin out of his body, he expired in the arms of victory.

As the glory of Thebes rose with Epaminondas, so it fell with him; and he is, perhaps, the only instance of one man's being able to inspire his country with military glory, and lead it to conquest, without having had a predecessor, or leaving an imitator of his example.

The battle of Mantinea was the greatest that ever was fought by Grecians against Grecians; the whole strength of

the country being drawn out, and ranged according to their different interests; and it was fought with an obstinacy equal to the importance of it; which was the fixing the empire of Greece; and this must of course have been transferred to the Thebans upon their victory, if they had not lost the fruits of it by the death of their general, who was the soul of all their counsels and designs. This blasted all their hopes, and put out their sudden blaze of power almost as soon as it was kindled. However, they did not presently give up their pretensions; they were still ranked among the leading states, and made several further struggles; but they were faint and ineffectual, and such as were rather for life and being, than for superiority and dominion. A peace, therefore, was proposed, which was ratified by all the states of Greece, except Sparta; the conditions of which were, that every state should maintain what they possessed, and hold it independent of any other power.

A state of repose followed this peace, in which the Grecian powers seemed to slacken from their former animosities; and if we except an expedition under Agesilaus into Egypt, whither he went to assist Tachos, who had usurped that kingdom, there was little done for several years following.

It will be proper to give a short account of that expedition. Tachos, having usurped the supreme power in Egypt, applied to Agesilaus for aid against the Persian king, with whom he was at war. Agesilaus, through avarice, and the hope of being preferred to the chief command, readily complied; assuring the Spartans, that nothing but the interest of his country could have induced him to go into the service of a foreign prince. Being arrived in Egypt, all were anxious to see a man who had acquired so splendid a reputation. Accordingly, great multitudes, of every denomination, flocked to the place where he was: but how much were they astonished, when, instead of an elegant, portly figure, they found a little old man, of mean appearance, lying on the grass, with his clothes thread-bare, and his hair uncombed! They were still more struck, upon their offering him presents of perfumes and other Egyptian luxuries: "Give these things," he said, "to my Helots: Spartan freemen know not how to use them." He was far from meeting with that sort of treatment from Tachos,

which he had reason to expect. Instead of making him commander in chief, that prince would allow him no command but that of the mercenaries. Agesilaus, of course, became disaffected to Tachos, and joined with Nectanebus, his nephew, who had commenced hostilities against him. Tachos was soon driven out of the kingdom. Nectanebus did not, however, enjoy a long tranquillity; for he had hardly been proclaimed king, when another competitor starting up, Egypt was again in arms. Nectanebus and Agesilaus were obliged to fortify themselves with their troops. The conduct of Agesilaus, during the siege, is much extolled. By his advice a successful sally was made, and Nectanebus peaceably seated on the throne. In return for his great services, the Spartan king was presented with two hundred and thirty talents of silver, and treated with every mark of gratitude and respect. In returning home, the ensuing winter, he was driven into the haven of Menelaus, which lies upon a desert spot of Africa, where he was attacked with an acute disease, and carried off, being upwards of eighty years of age, forty of which he had been king.

The character of Agesilaus was compounded of a variety of very opposite qualities. Against his pretensions to the regal power there were very strong prejudices, both with regard to his person, and his interest in the state: the first he conquered by his good humour; the second by the assistance of his friend Lysander. He was so fully convinced of the meanness of his appearance, that he never would allow any statue of him to be erected during his life-time; and he entreated the Spartans that they would erect none after his death. He always paid the utmost deference and respect to the senate, and to the Ephori; the consequence of which was, that he was enabled to carry all his designs, by fresh acquisitions to the prerogative. He was remarkable for his abstinence and continence; adhering rigidly to the ancient Spartan mode of plainness and frugality. He was capable of enduring immense fatigue and pain. His uncommon affection for his children made a strong feature in his character. A friend having found him riding with them on a hobby-horse, expressed some surprise; on which he said, "Don't say a word of it, till you become a father yourself." He was in a high degree humane and gene-

rous to his enemies; easily forgiving their offences or debts, and never taking the smallest advantage of their distress or necessities. But, on the other hand, he was by much too partial to his friends, in whom he seldom could discover any thing worthy of blame. His words to the prince of Caria are worthy of being remembered:—"If Nicias be innocent, acquit him on account of his innocence; if guilty, acquit him on my account: at any event, let him be acquitted." It was the misfortune of his country, that the impetuosity and ambition of his youth degenerated, when he grew old, into obstinacy and perverseness. The effect of that change was, that he sometimes rendered his country unhappy, by engaging in enterprises to which the senate had consented with reluctance. He had one peculiar method of deceiving his enemies. When about to enter upon a march, he took care to publish a true account of his intended route, and time of marching; by which he generally had the pleasure of hearing that they had moved on a different day, and had taken a different road from that which they wished to take. So high was his fame for military prowess, that the Spartans appointed him not only to be their general, but their admiral: a mark of honour never conferred on any other commander.

The Athenians, when they found themselves delivered from him (Epaminondas) who kept up their emulation, grew indolent and remiss, and abandoned themselves to their ease and pleasure, being wholly taken up with shows, sports, and festivals. They were naturally too much addicted to these amusements; and they had formerly been encouraged in them by Pericles, who knew how to lead them by their inclinations, and who took this method to ingratiate himself, and to divert them from inspecting too narrowly into his administration. But they now carried their diversions to a much higher pitch of extravagance; they had such a passion for the stage, that it stifled in them all other thoughts, either of business or of glory: in short, the decorations and other charges attending the theatre were so excessive, that Plutarch says, "It cost more to represent some of the famous pieces of Sophocles and Euripides, than it had done to carry on the war against the barbarians." And, in order to support this charge, they seized upon the fund which had been set apart for the war, with a

prohibition, upon pain of death, ever to advise the applying of it to any other purpose. They not only reversed this decree, but went as far the other way, making it death to propose the restoring the fund to the uses to which it had been before appropriated, under the same penalties. By diverting the course of the supplies in so extraordinary a manner, and entertaining the idle citizens at the expense of the soldier and the mariner, they seemed to have no remains of that spirit and vigour which they had exerted in the Persian wars, when they demolished their houses to furnish out a navy; and when the women stoned a man to death, who proposed to appease the Great King (as he was called) by paying tribute and doing homage.

In this general remissness, it was not to be supposed that their allies would treat them with the respect they demanded. Most of the states, that had hitherto been in alliance with them, and had found security under their protection, took up arms against them. In reducing these, Chabrias, Iphicrates, and Timotheus, gained great reputation, and are supposed to have been consummate generals; but their successes are too minute to rank them among the class of eminent commanders; and, whatever their skill might have been, there was wanted a great occasion for its display. This war was opened with the siege of Chio, in which the Athenians were repulsed; and Chabrias, unwilling to abandon his vessel, preferred death to flight. The siege of Byzantium followed; before which the fleets of the contending powers were dispersed by a storm: in consequence of which the Athenian generals were recalled. Timotheus was fined a great sum, but being too poor to pay, he went into voluntary banishment. Iphicrates was also obliged to answer for himself, but got off by his eloquence; and, in the mean time, the affairs of Athens succeeded but ill under the guidance of Charis, who was left sole commander. A peace was concluded; whereby every city and people were left to the full enjoyment of their liberty, and thus the war of the allies ended, after having continued three years.

During these transactions, a power was growing up in Greece, hitherto unobserved, but now too conspicuous and formidable to be overlooked in the general picture: this was

that of the Macedonians ; a people hitherto obscure, and in a manner barbarous ; and who, though warlike and hardy, had never yet presumed to intermeddle in the affairs of Greece. But now, several circumstances concurred to raise them from that obscurity, and to involve them in measures, which, by degrees, wrought a thorough change in the state of Greece. It will be necessary, therefore, to begin with a short account of their power and origin, before we enter into a detail of that conspicuous part which they afterwards performed on the theatre of the world.

CHAPTER XIII.

FROM THE BIRTH TO THE DEATH OF PHILIP, KING OF MACEDON.

THE people of Macedon were hitherto considered as making no part of the Grecian confederacy; they were looked upon as foreigners; as men, in a measure, semi-barbarous; who boasted, indeed, of taking their origin from the Greeks, but who hitherto neither possessed their politeness, nor enjoyed their freedom; they had little or no intercourse with their mother-country; they had contracted the habits and manners of the natives where they were settled, and from thence they were treated with similar disrespect.

The first king, who is mentioned with any degree of certainty to have reigned in Macedonia, was Caranus, by birth an Argive, and said to be the sixteenth in descent from Hercules. It was upon this foundation that Philip afterwards grounded his pretensions to be of the race of Hercules, and assumed to himself divine honours. Caranus is commonly reputed to have led forth a body of his countrymen, by the advice of the oracle, into those parts where he settled, and made himself king. Caranus having, according to the general account, reigned twenty-eight years, the succession was continued after him to the times we are now treating of. But there is very little worth notice recorded of these kings, they being generally employed in defending themselves against the incursions of their neighbours; and as to their domestic affairs, they were remarkable only for the frequent murders and usurpations which happened in the royal family.

Amyntas, father of Philip, began to reign the third year of the ninety-sixth Olympiad. Having the very year after been warmly attacked by the Illyrians, and dispossessed of a great part of his kingdom, which he thought it scarcely possible for him ever to recover again, he addressed himself to the Olyn-

thians ; and in order to engage them the more firmly in his interest, he had given up to them a considerable tract of land in the neighbourhood of their city. He was restored to the throne by the Thessalians ; upon which he was desirous of resuming the possession of the lands, which nothing but the ill situation of his affairs had obliged him to resign to the Olynthians. This occasioned a war ; but Amyntas not being strong enough to make head singly against so powerful a people, the Greeks, and the Athenians in particular, sent him succours, and enabled him to weaken the power of the Olynthians, who threatened him with a total and sudden ruin.

Amyntas died, after having reigned twenty-four years. He left three legitimate children ; namely, Alexander, Perdicas, and Philip. Alexander, the eldest son, reigned but one year. Perdicas, the second brother, was opposed by Pausanias, the Lacedæmonian, who began by seizing some fortresses ; but, by the assistance of Iphicrates, the Athenian general, the usurper was expelled, and Perdicas, the lawful sovereign, confirmed on the throne. He did not, however, long continue in tranquillity. Ptolemy, a natural son of Amyntas, laid claim to the crown, and disputed his title ; which, by mutual consent, was referred to Pelopidas, the Theban, a man much revered both for his probity and his valour. Pelopidas determined in favour of Perdicas ; and, having judged it necessary to take pledges on both sides, in order to oblige the two competitors to observe the articles of the treaty accepted by them, among other hostages, he carried Philip with him to Thebes, where he resided several years. He was then ten years of age. Eurydice, at her leaving this much-loved son, earnestly besought Pelopidas to procure him an education worthy of his birth, and of the city to which he was going an hostage. Pelopidas placed him with Epaminondas, who had a celebrated Pythagorean philosopher in his house for the education of his son. Philip improved greatly by the instructions of his preceptor, and much more by those of Epaminondas, under whom he undoubtedly made some campaigns, though no mention is made of them. He could not possibly have had a more excellent master, whether for war or the conduct of life ; for this illustrious Theban was, at the same time that he was a warrior, a very great philosopher ; that is to say, a wise and

virtuous man. Philip was very proud of being his pupil, and proposed him as a model to himself; most happy, could he have copied him perfectly! Perhaps he borrowed from Epaminondas his activity in war, and his promptitude in improving occasions; which, however, formed but a very inconsiderable part of the merit of that illustrious personage. But, with regard to his temperance, his justice, his disinterestedness, his sincerity, his magnanimity, his clemency, which rendered him truly great, these were virtues which Philip had not received from nature, and did not acquire by imitation.

The Thebans did not know that they were then forming and educating the most dangerous enemy of Greece. After Philip had spent nine or ten years in their city, the news of a revolution in Macedonia made him resolve to leave Thebes clandestinely. Accordingly he stole away, made the utmost expedition, and found the Macedonians greatly distressed at having lost their king Perdiccas, who had been killed in a great battle by the Illyrians; but much more so, to find they had as many enemies as neighbours. The Illyrians were on the point of returning into the kingdom with a much greater force; the Pæonians infested it with perpetual incursions; the Thracians were determined to place Pausanias on the throne, who had not abandoned his pretensions; and the Athenians were bringing Argæus, whom Mantias, their general, was ordered to support with a strong fleet, and a considerable body of troops. Macedonia, at that time, wanted a prince of years to govern; and had only a child, Amyntas, the son of Perdiccas, and lawful heir of the crown. Philip governed the kingdom for some time, by the title of Guardian to the Prince; but the subjects, justly alarmed, deposed the nephew in favour of the uncle; and instead of the heir whom nature had given them, set him upon the throne whom the present conjuncture of affairs required to fill it; persuaded that the laws of necessity are superior to all others. Accordingly, Philip, at twenty-four years of age, ascended the throne, the first year of the 105th Olympiad.

Never did the present condition of the Macedonians require a man of more prudence and activity. They were surrounded with as many enemies as they had neighbours. The Illyrians, flushed with their late victory, were preparing to march against

them with a great army. The Pæonians were making daily incursion upon them; and, at the same time, the title to the crown was contested by Pausanias and Argæus; the former whereof was supported by the Thracians, and the latter by the Athenians; who, for that purpose, had sent out a good fleet, and three thousand land-men.

Under these circumstances, with so many enemies on his hands at once, and that before he was settled on the throne, his first care was to make sure of his own people, to gain their affections, and to raise their spirits; for they were very much disheartened, having lost above four thousand men in the late action with the Illyrians. He succeeded in these points by the artfulness of his address, and the force of his eloquence, of which he was a great master. His next step was to train and exercise them, and reform their discipline; and it was at this time that he instituted the famous Macedonian phalanx, which did so much execution. It was an improvement upon the ancient manner of fighting among the Greeks, who generally drew up their foot so close, as to stand the shock of the enemy without being broken. The complete phalanx was thought to contain above sixteen thousand men; though it was also taken in general for any company or party of soldiers, and frequently for the whole body of foot. But this of Philip's invention is described by Polybius to be an oblong figure, consisting of eight thousand pikemen, sixteen deep, and five hundred in front; the men standing so close together, that the pikes of the fifth rank were extended three feet beyond the line of the front. The rest, whose distance from the front made their pikes useless, rested them upon the shoulders of those who stood before them, and so, looking them together in file, pressed forward to support and push on the former ranks, whereby the assault was rendered more violent and irresistible.

When Philip had made some proper regulation of his affairs at home, he began to look abroad, in order to divert the storms which threatened him from all quarters. By money and promises he made up matters for the present, with such of his enemies as lay nearest to him; and then turned his forces against the Athenians, who were marched up to Methone; to assist Argæus. He gave them battle, and defeated them;

and the death of Argæus, who was killed in the action, put an end to that dispute: for he permitted the Athenians, when they were in his power, to return home. This instance of his moderation gained so far upon them, that they soon after concluded a peace with him; which yet he observed no longer than it served his design of securing the other part of his dominions.

Accordingly he marched northward, where he declared war against the Pæonians, and subdued them; then fell upon the Illyrians, and, having killed above seven thousand of them in a pitched battle, obliged them to restore all their conquests in Macedonia. He had also obstructed the passage of the Thracians; but yet did not think it sufficiently secured without making himself master of Amphipolis, which was very commodiously situated on the river Strymon, and was the key of that side of his dominions. He knew the importance of it, therefore he possessed himself of it in the beginning of his reign. This was the ground of his quarrel with the Athenians, who claimed it as one of their colonies, and made such a point of it, that their setting up Argæus against him, was not so much for his own sake, or for the credit of imposing a king upon the Macedonians, as it was with a view to get the city restored to them by his means, in case he should have succeeded in his intentions. Philip was sensible of their drift, and finding it necessary, at that time, to keep up some sort of agreement with them, would neither keep the place himself, nor let them have it; but took a middle course, and declared it a free city; thereby leaving the inhabitants to throw off their dependance on their old masters, and making it appear to be their own act. But the city continued no longer in this state than until he found himself at liberty to make a more thorough conquest of it; which, at this time, he easily effected, through the remissness of the Athenians, who refused to send any relief to it; alleging, in their excuse, that it would be a breach of the peace, which they had concluded with Philip the year before. But the truth is, he tricked them out of it by a promise of delivering it up to them. But, instead of keeping his word, he made farther encroachments, by seizing on Pydna and Potidea; the latter of which, being garrisoned by the Athenians, he drew them out and sent them home; but dis-

missed them with such marks of civility, as showed that he avoided coming to an open rupture with that state, at least until his designs were more ripe for it; though, at the same time, he did what he could to weaken them, and drive them out of his neighbourhood. Pydna, with the territory belonging to it, he gave up to the Olynthians, who were his father's inveterate enemies. His hands were too full at this time to revive the quarrel against so rich and powerful a city; which, for three years together, had withstood the united forces of Sparta and Macedonia: he therefore chose to buy their friendship for the present, and to amuse them by the delivery of this town, as he had done the Athenians by the peace, until he could attack them with more advantage. In this step, also, he over-reached the Athenians; who were, at the same time, courting the alliance of the Olynthians, in order to maintain their footing in those parts. Which side soever the Olynthians inclined to, they were strong enough to turn the balance; and, therefore, the gaining them became a matter of great contention between Philip and the Athenians.

From thence he proceeded to seize the city of Crenides, which had been built two years before, and then called it Philippi, from his own name. It was here that he discovered a gold mine, which every year produced a hundred and forty-four thousand pounds sterling. This, which was an immense sum for that age, was much more serviceable than fleets or armies, in fighting his battles; and he seldom failed using it in every negotiation. The Roman poets have sung its effects in the most beautiful strains. It is said, that, consulting the oracle at Delphos, concerning the success of an intended expedition, he was answered by the priestess, "That with silver spears he should conquer all things." He took the advice of the oracle, and his success was answerable to its wisdom: indeed, he was less proud of the success of a battle than of a negotiation; well knowing, that his soldiers and generals shared in the one, but that the honour of the latter was wholly his own.

But a larger field was now opening to his ambition. The mutual divisions of the states of Greece were, at no time, wholly cemented, and they broke out now upon a very particular occasion. The first cause of the rupture (which was afterwards

called the Sacred War) arose from the Phocians having ploughed up a piece of ground belonging to the temple of Apollo at Delphos. Against this all the neighbouring states exclaimed, as a sacrilege; they were cited before the council of the Amphictyons, who particularly took cognizance of sacred matters; they were cast, and a heavy fine was imposed upon them. This the Phocians were unable to pay: they refused to submit to the decree: they alleged, that the care and patronage of the temple anciently belonged to them; and, to vindicate this, they quoted a precedent from Homer.

Philomelus, one of their chief citizens, was principally instrumental in encouraging them to arms: he raised their ardour, and was appointed their general. He first applied himself to the Spartans, who likewise had been fined by the Amphictyons, at the instance of the Thebans, after the battle of Leuctra, for having seized the Cadmea: for this reason, they were very well disposed to join with him, but did not yet think it proper to declare themselves. However, they encouraged his design, and supplied him under-hand with money; by which means he raised troops, and, without much difficulty, got possession of the temple. The chief resistance he met with in the neighbourhood was from the Locrians; but, having worsted them, he erased the decree of the Amphictyons, which was inscribed on the pillars of the temple. However, to strengthen his authority, and give a colour to his proceedings, he thought it convenient to consult the oracle, and to procure an answer in his favour. But when he applied to the priestess for that purpose, she refused to officiate; until, being intimidated by his threats, she told him the god left him at liberty to act as he pleased; which he looked upon as a good answer, and as such took care to divulge it.

The Amphictyons meeting a second time, a resolution was formed to declare war against the Phocians. Most of the Grecian nations engaged in this quarrel, and sided with the one or the other party. The Boeotians, the Locrians, Thes-salians, and several other neighbouring people, declared in favour of the god; whilst Sparta, Athens, and some other cities of Peloponnesus, joined with the Phocians. Philomelus had not yet touched the treasures of the temple; but being afterwards not so scrupulous, he believed that the riches of

the god could not be better employed than in the deity's defence; for he gave this specious name to this sacrilegious attempt: and, being enabled by this fresh supply to double the pay of his soldiers, he raised a very considerable body of troops.

Several battles were fought, and the success for some time seemed doubtful on both sides. Every one knows how much religious wars are to be dreaded, and the prodigious lengths which a false zeal, when veiled with so venerable a name, is apt to go. The Thebans, having in a rencounter taken several prisoners, condemned them all to die, as sacrilegious wretches, who were excommunicated: the Phocians did the same, by way of reprisal. These had at first gained several advantages, but having been defeated in a great battle, Philomelus, their leader, being closely attacked on an eminence, from which there was no retreating, defended himself for a long time with invincible bravery; which, however, not availing, he threw himself headlong from a rock, in order to avoid the torments he must undoubtedly have undergone, had he fallen alive into the hands of his enemies. Oenomarchus was his successor, and took upon him the command of the forces.

Philip thought it most consistent with his interest to remain neuter in this general movement of the Greeks. It was consistent with the policy of this ambitious prince, who had little regard either for religion or the interests of Apollo, and who was always intent upon his own, not to engage in a war, by which he could not reap the least benefit; and to take advantage of a juncture, in which all Greece, employed and divided by a great war, gave him an opportunity to extend his frontiers, and push his conquests without any apprehension of opposition. He was also well pleased to see both parties weaken and consume each other, as he should thereby be enabled to fall upon them afterwards to greater advantage.

Just on the conclusion of this war was born Alexander the Great. His father Philip lost no time in acquainting Aristotle of what had happened. He wrote to that distinguished philosopher, in terms the most polite and flattering; begging of him to come and undertake his education, and to bestow on him those useful lessons of magnanimity and virtue, which

every great man ought to possess, and which his numerous avocations rendered impossible to be attempted by him. He added, "I return thanks to the gods, not so much for having given me a son, as for having given him to me in the age in which Aristotle lives."

Being desirous of subjecting Thrace, and of securing the conquests he had already made there, he determined to possess himself of Methone, a small city, incapable of supporting itself by its own strength, but which gave him disquiet, and obstructed his designs, whenever it was in the hands of his enemies. Accordingly he besieged that city, made himself master of it, and razed it. He lost one of his eyes before Methonè, by a very singular accident. Aster, of Amphipolis, had offered his services to Philip, telling him that he was so excellent a marksman, that he could bring down birds in their most rapid flight. The monarch made this answer—"Well, I will take you into my service when I make war upon starlings;" which answer stung the archer to the quick. A repartee proves often of fatal consequence to him who makes it. Aster, having thrown himself into the city, let fly an arrow, on which was written, "To Philip's right eye." This carried a most cruel proof that he was a good marksman; for he hit him in the right eye: and Philip sent him back the same arrow with this inscription—"If Philip takes the city, he will hang up Aster;" and accordingly he was as good as his word. A skilful surgeon drew the arrow out of Philip's eye with so much art and dexterity, that not the least scar remained; and though he could not save his eye, he yet took away the blemish.

After taking the city, Philip, ever studious either to weaken his enemies by new conquests, or gain more friends by doing them some important service, marched into Thessaly, which had implored his assistance against its tyrants. The liberty of that country seemed now secure, since Alexander of Pheræ was no more. Nevertheless, his brothers, who, in concert with his wife Thebe, had murdered him, grown weary of having some time acted the part of deliverers, revived his tyranny, and oppressed the Thessalians with a new yoke. Lycophron, the eldest of the three brothers who succeeded Alexander, had strengthened himself by the protection of the Phocians.

Oenomarchus, their leader, brought him a numerous body of forces, and at first gained a considerable advantage over Philip; but, engaging him a second time, he was entirely defeated, and his army routed. The flying troops were pursued to the sea-shore: upwards of six thousand men were killed on the spot, amongst whom was Oenomarchus, whose body was hung upon a gallows; and three thousand, who were taken prisoners, were thrown into the sea by Philip's order, as so many sacrilegious wretches, the professed enemies of religion.

Philip, after having freed the Thessalians, resolved to carry his arms into Phocis. This was his first attempt to get footing in Greece, and to have a share in the general affairs of the Greeks, from which the kings of Macedon had always been excluded, as foreigners. In this view, upon pretence of going over into Phocis, in order to punish the sacrilegious Phocians, he marched towards Thermopylæ, to possess himself of a pass, which gave him a free passage into Greece, and especially into Attica.

An admission of foreigners into Greece was a measure that was always formidable to those who called themselves Grecians; and the Macedonians, as has already been observed, did not come under that denomination. Ambitious of excelling, both in domestic and literary refinement, the Athenians had no desire to see individuals constantly residing among them; and the dissensions and disasters that had befallen the state made them very jealous of the approach of embodied strangers. Upon hearing, therefore, of a march, which might prove of the utmost consequence, they hastened to Thermopylæ, and possessed themselves of this important pass, which Philip did not care attempting to force. The Athenians were roused from their lethargy of pleasure to make use of this precaution by the persuasions of Demosthenes, the celebrated orator, who, from the beginning, saw the ambition of Philip, and the power of which he was possessed to carry him through his designs.

This illustrious orator and statesman, whom we shall hereafter find acting so considerable a part in the course of this history, was born in the last year of the ninety-ninth Olympiad, according to Dionysius, who, in his epistle to Lamachus, hath

accurately distinguished the different periods of his life, and the times in which his several orations were delivered. He was the son, not of a mean and obscure mechanic, as the Roman satirist hath represented him, but of an eminent Athenian citizen, who raised a considerable fortune by the manufacture of arms. At the age of seven years he lost his father; and, to add to this misfortune, the guardians to whom he was entrusted wasted and embezzled a considerable part of his inheritance. Thus oppressed by fraud and discouraged by a weak and effeminate habit of body, he yet discovered an early ambition to distinguish himself as a popular speaker. The applause bestowed on a public orator, who had defended his country's right to the city of Oropus, in an elaborate harangue, inflamed his youthful mind with an eager desire of meriting the like honour. Isocrates and Isæus were then the two most eminent professors of eloquence at Athens. The soft and florid manner of the former did by no means suit the genius of Demosthenes. Isæus was more vigorous and energetic, and his style better suited to public business. To him, therefore, he applied, and under his direction pursued those studies, which might accomplish him for the character to which he aspired. His first essay was made against his guardian, by whom he had been so injuriously treated: but the goodness of his cause was here of more service than the abilities of the young orator; for his early attempts were unpromising, and soon convinced him of the necessity of a graceful and manly pronounciation. His close and severe application, and the extraordinary diligence with which he laboured to conquer his defects and natural infirmities, are too well known, and have been too frequently the subjects of historians and critics, ancient and modern, to need a minute recital. His character as a statesman will be best collected from the history of his conduct in the present transactions. As an orator, the reader, perhaps, is not to be informed of his qualifications. Indeed, the study of oratory was at that time the readiest, and almost the only means of rising in the state. His first essay at the bar was two years after this incident, when he called his guardians to account for embezzling his patrimony, and recovered some part of it. This encouraged him, some time after, to harangue before the people in their public assembly; but he

acquitted himself so ill, that they hissed him; however, he ventured a second time, but with no better success than before; so that he went away ashamed, confounded, and quite in despair. It was upon this occasion that Satyrus the player assisted him, and, in a friendly way, encouraged him to proceed. With this view he asked him to repeat to him some verses of Sophocles, or Euripides, which he accordingly did; the other repeated them after him, but with such a different spirit and cadence, as made him sensible that he knew very little of elocution. But, by his instructions, and his own perseverance, he at length made himself master of it; and, by the methods before mentioned, corrected the imperfections which were born with him, as well as the ill habits which he had contracted. It is not very clear whether this passage be rightly ascribed to Satyrus, who seems to be confounded with Neoptolemus and Andronicus, who were likewise famous comedians; and Demosthenes is said to have been instructed by all the three. With these advantages and improvements he appeared again in public, and succeeded so well, that people flocked from all parts of Greece to hear him. From thence he was looked upon as the standard of true eloquence; inasmuch, that none of his countrymen have been put in comparison with him; nor even among the Romans, any but Cicero. And though it has been made a question by the ancient writers, to which of the two they should give the preference, they have not ventured to decide it, but have contented themselves with describing their different beauties, and showing that they were both perfect in their kind. His eloquence was grave, and austere, like his temper; masculine and sublime, bold, forcible, and impetuous; abounding with metaphors, apostrophes, and interrogations; which, with his solemn way of invoking and appealing to the gods, the planets, the elements, and the names of those who fell at Salamis, and Marathon, had such a wonderful effect upon his hearers, that they thought him inspired. If he had not so much softness and insinuation as is often requisite in an orator, it was not that he wanted art and delicacy, when the case required it; he knew how to sound the inclinations of the people, and to lead them to the point he aimed at; and sometimes, by seeming to propose that which was, directly, the contrary. But his chief

characteristic was vehemence, both in action and expression; and, indeed, that was the qualification of all others most wanted at this time: for the people were grown so insolent and imperious, so factious and divided, so jealous of the power of the democracy, and withal so sunk into a state of pleasure and indolence, that no arts of persuasion would have been so effectual as that spirit and resolution, that force and energy of Demosthenes, to humble them, to unite them, and to rouse them into a sense of their common danger.

But Demosthenes himself could not have made such impressions on them, if his talent of speaking had not been supported by their opinion of his integrity. It was that which added weight and emphasis to every thing he said, and animated the whole. It was that which chiefly engaged their attention, and determined their counsils; when they were convinced, that he spoke from his heart, and had no interest to manage but that of the community; and this he gave the strongest proofs of in his zeal against Philip, who said, he was of more weight against him than all the fleets and armies of the Athenians; and that he had no enemy but Demosthenes. He was not wanting in his endeavours, to corrupt him; as he had done most of the leading men in Greece; but this great orator withstood all his offers, and, as it was observed, all the gold in Macedon could not bribe him.

When Philip found himself shut out of Greece by the Athenians, he turned his arms against those remote places which depended on them, either as colonies or as conquests; and particularly against the Olynthians, whom he had long looked upon with an evil eye, but whom he had courted and cajoled whilst he was otherwise employed. But he came now resolved entirely to reduce them; and, advancing towards the city, only sent them a short message, to let them know, that one of these two points was become necessary—either that they must quit Olynthus, or he Macedonia. Whereupon they sent immediately to Athens for relief. The subject was debated there with great solemnity, and Demosthenes was very earnest in sending them succours: he was opposed by Demades and Hyperides. The opinion, however, of Demosthenes prevailed; the people of Athens resolved to unite against Philip, but the great difficulty lay in furnishing the

supplies; their principal fund, which had formerly served the purposes of war, had long been converted to the use of the stage. The money arising from this fund was computed at a thousand talents a year; and a certain proportion of it was allotted to the citizens to defray the charge of their admittance into the theatre. This distribution having been continued to them from the time of Pericles, they claimed it now as their right, especially since they had lately obtained a law, which made it capital to propose the restoring the fund to the uses for which it was originally granted. Hence it was, that, upon any pressing emergency, extraordinary taxes were to be raised; and they were laid so unequally, and collected with so much difficulty, that they seldom answered the service for which they were intended.

Demosthenes treated this subject with the utmost art and circumspection. After showing that the Athenians were indispensably obliged to raise an army, in order to stop the enterprises of their aspiring enemy, he asserted, that the theatrical fund was the only probable mean of supply. These remonstrances had some weight; but were not attended with deserved success. The Athenians sent a reinforcement to Olynthus; but Philip, who had corrupted the principal men in the town, entered, plundered it, and sold the inhabitants among the rest of the spoil. His two bastard brothers, who were among the captured, he put to death, as he had formerly done the other. Justin says, that the protection which the Olynthians had given his brothers was the plan which he used for attacking them. Here he found much treasure, which served to assist him in his farther encroachments.

In the mean time the Thebans, being unable alone to terminate the war, which they had so long carried on against the Phocians, addressed Philip. Hitherto, as we before mentioned, he had observed a kind of neutrality, with respect to the Sacred War, and he seemed to wait for an opportunity of declaring himself; that is, till both parties should have weakened themselves by a long war, which equally exhausted both. The Thebans had now very much abated of that haughtiness, and these ambitious views, with which the victories of Epaminondas had inspired them. The instant, therefore, they requested the alliance of Philip, he resolved to espouse the

interest of that republic in opposition to the Phocians. He had not lost sight of the project he had formed of obtaining an entrance into Greece, in order to make himself master of it.

To give success to his design, it was proper for him to declare in favour of one of the two parties, which at that time divided all Greece; that is, either for the Thebans, or the Athenians and Spartans. He was not so void of sense as to imagine, that the latter party would assist his design of carrying his arms into Greece. He therefore had no more to do but to join the Thebans, who offered themselves voluntarily to him, and who stood in need of Philip's power to support themselves in their declining condition: he therefore declared at once in their favour. But, to give a specious colour to his arms, besides the gratitude he affected to have at heart for Thebes, in which he had been educated, he also pretended to make an honour of the zeal with which he was fired with regard to the violated god, and was very glad to pass for a religious prince, who warmly espoused the cause of the god and of the temple of Delphos, in order to conciliate, by that means, the esteem and friendship of the Greeks.

There was nothing Philip had more at heart than to possess himself of Thermopylae, as it opened to him a passage into Greece; to appropriate all the honour of the Sacred War to himself, as if he had been principal in that affair; and to preside in the Pythian games. He was therefore desirous of aiding the Thebans, and by their means to possess himself of Phocia. But then, in order to put this double design in execution, it was necessary for him to keep it secret from the Athenians, who had actually declared war against Thebes, and who, for many years, had been in alliance with the Phocians. His business, therefore, was to make them change their measures, by placing other objects in their view; and, on this occasion, the politics of Philip succeeded to a wonder.

The Athenians, who began to grow tired of a war which was very burthensome, and of little benefit to them, had commissioned Ctesiphon and Phymon to sound the intentions of Philip; and in what manner he stood disposed in regard to peace. These related, that Philip did not appear averse to it; and that he even expressed a great affection for the country. Upon this, the Athenians resolved to send a solemn embassy to inquire more strictly into the truth of things, and

to procure the last explanations previously necessary to an important negotiation. *Æschines* and *Demosthenes* were among the ten ambassadors, who brought back three from Philip, viz. *Antipater*, *Parmentio*, and *Eurylochus*. All the ten executed their commission very faithfully, and gave a very good account of it. Upon this they were immediately sent back with full powers to conclude a peace, and to ratify it by oath. It was then that *Demosthenes*, who, in his first embassy, had met some Athenian captives in Macedonia, and promised to return and ransom them at his own expense, endeavoured to enable himself to keep his word, and, in the mean time, advised his colleagues to embark with the utmost expedition, as the republic had commanded, and to wait as soon as possible upon Philip, in what place soever he might be. However, these, instead of making a speedy dispatch, as they were desired, travelled like ambassadors; proceeded to Macedonia by land, staid three months in that country, and gave Philip time to possess himself of several other strong places belonging to the Athenians in Thrace. At last, meeting with the king of Macedonia, they agree with him upon the articles of peace; but he, having lulled them asleep with his specious pretence of a treaty, deferred the ratification of it from day to day. In the mean time he found means to corrupt the ambassadors, one after another, by presents, *Demosthenes* excepted; who, being but one, opposed his colleagues to no manner of purpose.

Philip being suffered quietly to pursue his march into Phœcis, gained the straits of *Thermopylæ*, but did not immediately discover what use he intended to make of his entrance into Greece; but went on, according to his agreement with the Thebans, to put an end to the Phœcian war, which he easily effected. His name and appearance struck such a terror among the Phœcians, that, though they had lately received a reinforcement of a thousand heavy-armed Spartans under the command of their king, *Archidamus*, they declined giving him battle, and sent to treat with him, or rather to submit themselves to any terms that he would grant them. He allowed Phœcians to retire with eight thousand men, being mercenaries, into Peloponnesus; but the rest, who were the inhabitants of Phœcis, were left at his mercy. As the disposing of them was a matter wherein Greece in general was concerned, he did

not think fit to act in it by his own private authority, but referred it to the Amphictyons, whom he caused to be assembled for that purpose. But they were so much under his influence, that they served only to give a sanction to his determinations. They decreed, that all the cities of Phocis should be demolished; that they who had fled, as being principally concerned in the sacrilege, should be stigmatized as accursed, and proscribed as outlaws; that they who remained, as inhabitants, should be dispersed in villages, and obliged to pay out of their lands a yearly tribute of sixty talents, until the whole of what had been taken out of the temple should be restored: they were likewise adjudged to lose their seat in the council of the Amphictyons, wherein they had a double voice. This Philip got transferred to himself, which was a very material point, and may be looked upon as the principal step towards his gaining that authority, which he afterwards exercised in the affairs of Greece. At the same time he gained, in conjunction with the Thebans and Thessalians, the superintendency of the Pythian games, which the Corinthians had forfeited, for their having taken part with the Phocians.

Philip having, by these plausible methods, succeeded in this expedition, did not think it advisable, by attempting any thing farther at present, to sully the glory he had acquired by it, or to incense the body of the Grecians against him: wherefore he returned, in a triumphant manner, to his own dominions. After settling his conquests at home, he marched into Thessaly; and, having extirpated the remains of tyranny in the several cities there, he not only confirmed the Thessalians in his interest, but gained over many of their neighbours.

It was upon this occasion that Philip was remarked for an act of private justice, which far outweighs his public celebrity. A certain soldier in the Macedonian army had, in many instances, distinguished himself by extraordinary acts of valour, and had received many marks of Philip's favour and approbation. On some occasion, he embarked on board a vessel, which was wrecked by a violent storm, and he himself cast on the shore, helpless and naked, and scarcely with the appearance of life. A Macedonian, whose lands were contiguous to the sea, came opportunely to be a witness of his distress; and, with all humane and charitable tenderness, flew to the

relief of the unhappy stranger. He bore him to his house, laid him in his own bed, revived, cherished, comforted, and for forty days supplied him freely with all the necessaries and conveniences which his languishing condition could require. The soldier, thus happily rescued from death, was incessant in the warmest expressions of gratitude to his benefactor, assured him of his interest with the king, and of his power and resolution of obtaining for him, from the royal bounty, the noble returns which such extraordinary benevolence had merited. He was now completely recovered, and his kind host supplied him with money to pursue his journey. Some time after, he presented himself before the king; he recounted his misfortunes, magnified his services, and, having looked with an eye of envy on the possessions of the man who had preserved his life, was now so abandoned to every sense of gratitude, as to request the king to bestow upon him the house and lands where he had been so tenderly and kindly entertained. Unhappily, Philip, without examination, inconsiderately and precipitately granted his infamous request; and this soldier now returned to his preserver, repaid his goodness by driving him from his settlement, and taking immediate possession of all the fruits of his honest industry. The poor man, stung with this instance of unparalleled ingratitude and insensibility, boldly determined, instead of submitting to his wrongs, to seek relief; and, in a letter addressed to Philip, represented his own and the soldier's conduct in a lively and affecting manner. The king was instantly fired with indignation; he ordered that justice should be done without delay; that the possessions should be immediately restored to the man whose charitable offices had been thus horribly repaid; and, having seized the soldier, caused these words to be branded on his forehead, The ungrateful Guest: a character infamous in every age, and among all nations; but particularly among the Greeks, who, from the earliest times, were most scrupulously observant of the laws of hospitality.

Having strengthened himself in these parts, he went the next year into Thrace, where he had formed a design against the Chersonese. This peninsula had, with some little interruption, been for many years in the hands of the Athenians; but Cotys, as being king of the country, had lately wrested it from them, and left it in succession to his son Chersobleptes.

He, not being able to defend himself against Philip, gave it back to the Athenians, reserving to himself only Cardia, the capital city. But Philip having soon after spoiled him of the rest of his dominions, the Cardians; for fear of falling again under the power of the Athenians, threw themselves into his protection. Diopithes, who was the chief of the Athenian colony lately sent to the Chersonese, considered this proceeding of Philip, in supporting the Cardians, as an act of hostility against Athens; whereupon he invaded the maritime parts of Thrace, and carried away a great deal of booty. Philip, being at this time in the upper part of the country, was not in a condition to do himself justice: but he wrote to complain of it at Athens, as an infraction of the peace; and his creatures there were not wanting, on their part, to aggravate the charge against Diopithes, as having acted without orders, and having taken it upon himself to renew the war: they likewise accused him of committing acts of piracy, and of laying their allies under contribution. But, whatever grounds there were for this part of the accusation, the government of Athens was principally to blame in it; for, having no proper fund for the wars, they sent out their generals without money or provisions, and left them to shift for themselves, and yet made them answerable for any miscarriages that should happen for want of their being better supplied. This was a great discouragement to the service, and put those who were employed in it upon pillaging and plundering, in such a manner as they would otherwise have been ashamed of. Demosthenes, in an harangue that he made upon the state of the Chersonese, undertook the defence of Diopithes. That harangue throws much light on the state of Athens, and indeed of most of the Grecian territories at that time. It is the foundation of the other orations of Demosthenes, which go by the title of *Philippicos*. The leading arguments in it are, That Diopithes was necessitated to do what he did at Chersonese: and, if blame was due any where, it was to the Athenians, who sent out their commanders so badly provided. That Diopithes was as far from being culpable, that he even merited the thanks of the state, for having been so fruitful in resources, and for having asserted the rights and privileges of the colony which he went to protect. That the colonists had suffered nothing

by his proceedings, but had rather gamed by them, being since taken under the protection of the Athenians, and having their coasts defended against the ravages of pirates. He also insisted, that the drift of the accusation, that had been brought against Diopithes, was not in reality to procure redress for the mischiefs that had been done by that general, but to divert the attention of the state from the deep-laid plots and ruinous machinations of the accuser himself, who was then fabricating chains for all Greece.

Philip, however, was no way intimidated at the words of resistance of his eloquent antagonist; he went on, with artful industry, quelling those by his power who were unable to resist; and those by his presents whom he was unable to oppose. The divisions that then subsisted in Peloponnesus gave him a pretext for intermeddling in the affairs of the Greek confederacy. These divisions were chiefly owing to the Spartans; who, having little to do in the late foreign transactions, were recovering their strength at home; and, according to their usual practice, as they increased in power, making use of it to insult and oppress their neighbours. The Argives and Messenians, being at this time persecuted by them, put themselves under the protection of Philip; and the Thebans joining with them, they all together formed a powerful confederacy. The natural balance against it was a union between Athens and Sparta, which the Spartans pressed with great earnestness, as the only means for their common security; and Philip and the Thebans did all in their power to prevent it. But Demosthenes, exerting himself upon this occasion, roused up the Athenians, and put them so far upon their guard, that, without coming to an open rupture with Philip, they obliged him to desist.

Philip, however, did not continue idle upon this disappointment. Ever restless and enterprising, he turned his views another way. He had long considered the island of Eubœa as proper, from its situation, to favour the designs he meditated against Greece; and, in the very beginning of his reign, he had attempted to possess himself of it. He, indeed, set every engine to work, at that time, in order to seize upon that island, which he called the shackles of Greece. But it nearly concerned the Athenians, on the other side, not to suffer it to

fall into the hands of an enemy, especially as it might be joined to the continent of Attica by a bridge: however, that people, according to their usual custom, continued indolent, whilst Philip pursued his conquests without intermission. The latter, who was continually attentive and vigilant, endeavoured to procure intelligence from the island; and, by dint of presents, bribed those who had the greatest authority in it. At the request of certain of the inhabitants, he sent some troops privately thither, possessed himself of several strong places, dismantled Porthmos, a very important fortress in Euboea, and established three tyrants, or kings, over the country.

The Athenians were conjured, in this distressing juncture, by one Plutarch, who was at that time upon the island, to come and preserve the inhabitants from the yoke which Philip was going to impose upon them. Upon this they dispatched a few troops thither under the command of Phocion, a general of whom great expectations were formed, and whose conduct well deserved the favourable opinion the public had of him.

This man would have done honour to the earliest and least corrupted times of the Athenian state. His manners were formed in the Academy, upon the models of the most exact and rigid virtue. It was said, that no Athenian ever saw him laugh or weep, or deviate, in any instance, from the most settled gravity and composure. He learned the art of war under Chabrias, and frequently moderated the excesses and corrected the errors of that general: his humanity he admired and imitated, and taught him to exert it in a more extensive and liberal manner. When he had received his directions to sail, with twenty ships, to collect the contributions of the allies and dependent cities, "Why that force?" said Phocion: "if I am to meet them as enemies, it is insufficient; if as friends and allies, a single vessel will serve." He bore the severities of a military life with so much ease, that, if Phocion ever appeared warmly clothed, the soldiers at once pronounced it the sign of a remarkably bad season. His outward appearance was forbidding, but his conversation easy and obliging; and all his words and actions expressed the utmost affection and benevolence. In popular assemblies, his lively, close, and natural manner of speaking, seemed, as it were, the echo of the simplicity and integrity of his mind, and had frequently a

greater effect than even the dignity and energy of Demosthenes, who called him the pruner of his periods. He studied only good sense and plain reasoning, and despised every adventitious ornament. In an assembly, when he was to address the people, he was surprised by a friend, wrapped up in thought; "I am considering," said he, "whether I cannot retrench some part of my intended address." He was sensible of the ill conduct of his countrymen, and ever treated them with the greatest severity. He defied their censures; and so far did he affect to despise their applause, that, at a time when his sentiments extorted their approbation, he turned about in surprise, and asked a friend, "If any thing weak or impertinent had escaped him?" His sense of the degeneracy of Athens made him fond of pacific measures. He saw the designs of Philip, but imagined that the state was too corrupted to give him any effectual opposition; so that he was of the number of those men, who, according to Demosthenes, in his third Philippic oration, gave up the interests of the state, not corruptly or ignorantly, but from a desperate purpose of yielding to the fate of a constitution, thought to be irrecoverably lost. He was, of consequence, ever of the party opposite to Demosthenes; and, having been taught by experience to suspect the popular leaders, considered his earnestness to rouse the Athenians to arms as an artifice to embroil the state, and by that means to gain an influence in the assembly. "Phocion," said Demosthenes, "the people, in some mad fit, will certainly sacrifice thee to their fury." "Yes," replied he, "and you will be their victim, if ever they have an interval of reason." Yet they often prevailed on him to act against his judgment, though never to speak against his conscience. He never refused or declined the command, whatever might be his opinion of the expedition. Forty-five times was he chosen to lead their armies, generally in his absence, and ever without the least application. They knew his merit; and, in the hour of danger, forgot that severity with which he usually treated their inclinations and opinions.

It was to him the Athenians gave the command of the forces they sent to the aid of Plutarch of Eretria. But this traitor repaid his benefactors with ingratitude; he set up the standard against them, and endeavoured openly to repulse the

very army he had requested. However, Phocion was not at a loss how to act in consequence of that unforeseen perfidy; for he pursued his enterprise, won a battle, and drove Plutarch from Eretria.

These disappointments, however, no way intimidated Philip, or rendered him the least remiss in prosecuting his original design. He now, therefore, changed the method of his attack, and sought for an opportunity of distressing Athens another way. He knew that this city, from the barrenness of Attica, stood in greater want of foreign corn than any other. To dispose, at discretion, of their transports, and by that means starve the Athenians, he marched towards Thrace, from whence that city imported the greatest part of its provisions, with an intention to besiege Perinthus and Byzantium. To keep his kingdom in obedience during his absence, he left his son Alexander behind with sovereign authority, though he was only fifteen years old. This young prince gave, even at that time, some proofs of his courage; having defeated certain neighbouring states, subject to Macedonia, who had considered the king's absence as a very proper time for executing the design they had formed of revolting. This happy success of Alexander's first expeditions was highly agreeable to his father, and at the same time an earnest of what might be expected from him. But fearing lest, allured by this dangerous bait, he should abandon himself inconsiderately to his vivacity and fire, he sent for him, in order to become his master, and form him, in person, for the profession of war.

In the mean time, Philip opened the campaign with the siege of Perinthus, a considerable city of Thrace, and firmly attached to the Athenians. It was assisted from Byzantium, a neighbouring city, which threw in succours as occasion required. Philip, therefore, resolved to besiege both at the same time. Still, however, he was desirous to appear cautious and tender of displeasing the Athenians, whom he endeavoured to amuse with the most profound respect, mixed with well-timed abuses, and the most flattering submission. Upon this occasion he wrote them a letter, reproaching them, in the strongest terms, for their infraction of treaties, and his own religious observance of them. "In the times of great enmity," says he, "the most you did was to fit out ships of war against

me, and to seize and sell the merchants that came to trade in my dominions ; but now, you carry your hatred and injustice to such prodigious lengths, as even to send ambassadors to the king of Persia, to make him declare against me."

The letter gave the orators, who undertook Philip's defence, a fine opportunity of justifying him to the people. Demosthenes alone stood firm, and still continued to expose his artful designs, and to break down all those laboured schemes which were undertaken to deceive the people. Sensible, on this occasion, how necessary it was to remove the first impressions which the perusal of this letter might make, he immediately ascended the tribunal, and from thence harangued the people, with all the thunder of his eloquence. He told them the letter was written in a style not suitable to the people of Athens ; that it was a plain declaration of war against them ; that Philip had long since made the same declaration by his actions ; and that, by the peace he had concluded with them, he meant nothing farther than a bare cessation of arms, in order to gain time, and to take them more unprepared. From thence he proceeded to his usual topic of reproving them for their sloth, for suffering themselves to be deluded by their orators, who were in Philip's pay. " Convinced by these truths," continued he, " O Athenians ! and strongly persuaded that we can no longer be allowed to affirm that we enjoy peace (for Philip has now declared war against us by his letter, and has long done the same by his conduct), you ought not to spare either the public treasure, or the possessions of private persons ; but, when occasion shall require, haste to your respective standards, and set abler generals at your head than those you have hitherto employed ; for no one among you ought to imagine, that the same men, who have ruined your affairs, will have abilities to restore them to their former happy situation. Think how infamous it is, that a man from Macedon should contemn dangers to such a degree, that, merely to aggrandize his empire, he should rush into the midst of combats, and return from battle covered with wounds ; and that the Athenians, whose hereditary right it is to obey no man, but to impose law on others, sword in hand ; that Athenians, I say, merely through dejection of spirit and indolence, should degenerate from the glory of their ancestors, and abandon the interest of their coun-

try!" To this expostulation, Phocion readily offered his voice and opinion. He urged the incapacity of the generals already chosen; and, in consequence of his advice, he himself was appointed general of the army that was to go against Philip, who was still besieging Byzantium.

Phocion having led his troops to the succour of the Byzantians, the inhabitants, on his arrival, opened their gates to him with joy, and lodged his soldiers in their houses, as their own brothers and children. The Athenian officers and soldiers, struck with the confidence reposed in them, behaved with the utmost prudence and modesty, and were entirely irreproachable in their conduct; nor were they less admired for their courage; and, in all the attacks they sustained, discovered the utmost intrepidity, which danger seemed only to improve. Phocion's prudence, seconded by the bravery of his troops, soon forced Philip to abandon his design upon Byzantium and Perinthus. He was beat out of the Hellespont, which diminished very much his fame and glory; for he hitherto had been thought invincible, and nothing had been able to oppose him. Phocion took some of his ships, recovered many fortresses which he had garrisoned, and, having made several descents into different parts of his territories, he plundered all the open country, till a body of forces assembling to check his progress, he was obliged to retire.

Philip, after having been forced to raise the siege of Byzantium, marched against Atheas, king of Scythia, from whom he had received some personal cause of discontent, and took his son with him in this expedition. Though the Scythians had a very numerous army, he defeated them without any difficulty. He got a very great booty, which consisted not in gold or silver, the use and value of which the Scythians were not as yet so unhappy as to know, but in cattle, in horses, and in a great number of women and children.

At his return from Scythia, the Triballi, a people of Moesia, disputed the pass with him, laying claim to part of the plunder he was carrying off. Philip was forced to come to a battle, and a very bloody one was fought, in which great numbers on each side were killed on the spot; the king himself was wounded in the thigh, and, with the same thrust, had his horse killed under him. Alexander flew to his father's aid, and,

covering him with his shield, killed or put to flight all who attacked him.

The Athenians had considered the siege of Byzantium as an absolute rupture, and an open declaration of war. The king of Macedon, who was apprehensive of the consequences of it, and dreaded very much the power of the Athenians, whose hatred he had drawn upon himself, made overtures of peace, in order to soften their resentment. Phocion, little suspicious, and apprehensive of the uncertainty of military supplies, was of opinion, that the Athenians should accept his offers : but Demosthenes, who had studied more than Phocion the genius and character of Philip, and who was persuaded, that, according to his usual custom, his only view was to impose upon the Athenians, prevented their listening to his pacific proposals. When Philip found the Athenians would not treat with him, and that they were acting offensively against him, especially at sea, where they blocked up his ports, and put an entire stop to his commerce, he began to form new alliances against them, particularly with the Thebans and Thessalians, without whom he knew he could not keep open his passage into Greece. At the same time he was sensible, that his engaging these powers to act directly against Athens, and in his own personal quarrel, would have so bad an aspect, that they would not easily come into it. For which reason he endeavoured, underhand, to create new disturbances in Greece, that he might take such a part in them as would best answer his views ; and, when the flame was kindled, his point was to appear rather to be called in as an assistant, than to act as a principal.

By the result of his machinations, he soon found an opportunity of raising divisions between the Locrians of Amphissa and their capital city. They were accused of having profaned a spot of sacred ground (which lay very near the temple of Delphos) by ploughing it, as the Phocians had done upon a former occasion. In order to produce and widen this breach, Philip employed Æschines, the orator, who by bribes was entirely devoted to him, to harangue at the assembly of the Amphictyons against this outrage upon the religion of their country. Æschines was a man of great abilities, and only second in eloquence to Demosthenes. He had now a fair

opportunity of raising commotions, by appearing interested for his country, and zealous for the glory and defence of Athens. With a passionate warmth, which is frequently the effect of artifice as well as of real patriotism, and which is most likely to deceive, and more particularly in popular assemblies, by being considered as the indication of sincerity, and the overflowings of a heart honestly affected, he boldly delivered his opinions. His sentiments were echoed through the assembly by the friends of Philip; the tumult was kept up to drown all remonstrances of caution and policy, and a resolution was passed, that a deputation should be sent to Philip, king of Macedon, inviting him to assist Apollo and the Amphictyons, and to repel the outrages of the impious Amphissoceans; and farther, to declare that he was constituted, by all the Greeks, member of the council of Amphictyons, and general and commander of their forces, with full and unlimited powers.

This welcome invitation and commission, the fruit of all his secret practices, Philip received in Thrace, while he was yet on his return to Macedon. He bowed with an affectionate reverence to the venerable council, and declared his readiness to execute their orders.

The inferior states of Greece, and all those whose simplicity and weakness rendered them insensible to the designs now forming by Philip, entirely approved of the act of the Amphictyons, and of the nomination of a prince, to the command of their forces, so eminent and illustrious for his piety, and so capable of executing the vengeance of Heaven. At Sparta and at Athens this event was considered in a different manner. The first of these people, though possessed but of a small part of their ancient greatness, yet still retained their pride, and seemed to have looked with a sullen indignation at the honours paid to Macedon. The Athenians had been long taught to dread the policy of Philip, and now their great popular leader repeatedly urged the necessity of suspicion, and represented all the late transactions in the Amphictyonic council as the effects of Philip's intrigues, and a design against Greece in general, but more particularly against the welfare and liberty of Athens.

To counteract the zeal of Demosthenes, and to prevent the effects of his incessant remonstrances, the minds of the people

were alarmed with oracles and predictions, uttered with all solemnity from the sacred tripod, and reported to the Athenians with all the veneration due to the dictates of Apollo. Vengeance was pronounced against all those who should presume to oppose the king of Macedon, the destined instrument of Divine Justice ; and the people were exhorted not to suffer artful and designing orators, and popular leaders, to seduce them to their ruin.

In the mean time, Philip immediately got his troops together, and, with all the show of religious veneration, began to march, in order to chastise the irreverent Locrians : but he had far different aims ; and, instead of proceeding upon so ridiculous a commission, made a sudden turn, and seized upon Elatea, a capital city of Phocis, which was very well situated for awing the Thebans, of whom he began to grow jealous, and for preparing his way to Athens. But by so extraordinary a step as this, he fairly threw off the mask, and bade defiance to the whole body of Grecians. Thus was this enterprising prince, all of a sudden, master of a port of the utmost consequence ; at the head of an army capable of striking terror into his opposers ; at the distance of but two days' march from Attica ; absolute commander, as it were, of the citadel and fortress both of Thebes and Athens ; conveniently situated for receiving succours from Thessaly and Macedon ; and entirely at liberty, either to give battle to those who might presume to appear in arms against him, or to protract the war to any length that might be found convenient.

The news of Philip's recent transaction was quickly spread through the adjacent countries, and received with all the stupid and helpless astonishment of men roused from a long lethargy, and awakened to a dreadful sense of their danger, and of the real designs of their enemy. It was late in the evening, when a courier, arriving at Athens, appeared before the Prytanea, and pronounced the dreadful tidings, that the king of Macedon had taken possession of Elatea. These magistrates, and all the other citizens, were now at supper, indulging themselves in the pleasures and gaieties of the table, when the news, which in an instant rung through all the city, roused them from their state of ease, and put an end to all their festivity. The streets and public places were instantly filled with a dis-

tracted concourse ; every man with terror and confusion in his countenance, and every man solicitous for an immediate consultation on an emergency so important and alarming. At the dawn of the succeeding day the assembly met together, impressed with that consternation, which urgent danger naturally inspires. The whole body of the people flocked to the senate-house, seized their places, and waited with the utmost anxiety for so important a deliberation. The herald, as was the custom at Athens, arose, and cried out with a loud voice, " Who among you will ascend the tribunal ? " All, however, was silence, terror, and dismay. He again repeated the invitation ; but still no one rose up, though all the generals and orators were present. At length Demosthenes, animated with the greatness of the approaching danger, arose, undaunted and unmoved, in this scene of horror. With a countenance of serenity, the firm composure of a patriot, and the sage discernment of a complete statesman, he addressed himself to the assembly in the following manner :—" Athenians, permit me to explain the circumstances of that state which Philip has now seized upon. Those of its citizens whom his gold could corrupt, or his artifice deceive, are all at his devotion. What, then, is his design ? By drawing up his forces, and displaying his powers on the borders of Thebes, he hopes to inspire his adherents with confidence and elevation, and to terrify and control his adversaries, that fear or force may drive them into those measures, which they have hitherto opposed. If then we are resolved, in this conjuncture, to cherish the remembrance of every act of unkindness, which the Thebans have done to Athens ; if we regard them with suspicion, as men who have ranged themselves on the side of our enemy ; in the first place, we shall act agreeably to Philip's warmest wishes ; and then I am apprehensive, that the party who now oppose him may be brought over to his interest ; the whole city submit unanimously to his direction ; and Thebes and Macedon fall, with their united force, on Attica. Grant the due attention to what I shall now propose ; let it be calmly weighed, without dispute or cavil, and I doubt not but that my counsels may direct you to the best and most salutary measures, and dispel the dangers now impending over the state. What, then, do I recommend ?—First, shake off that terror which

hath possessed your minds ; and, instead of fearing for yourselves, let the Thebans be the objects of your apprehensions ; they are more immediately affected ; they are the first to feel the dangers. In the next place, all those of the age for military service, both infantry and cavalry, should march instantly to Eleusis, that Greece may see that you are also assembled in arms ; and your friends in Thebes be emboldened to assert their rights, when they are assured, that, as they who have sold their country to the Macedonians have a force at Elatea to support them, so you are ready to assist the men who bravely contend for liberty. In the last place, I recommend to you to nominate ten ambassadors, who, with the generals, may have full authority to determine the time and all other circumstances of this march. When these ambassadors arrive at Thebes, how are they to conduct this great affair ? This is a point worthy of your most serious attention. Make no demands of the Thebans ; at this conjuncture it would be dishonourable : assure them that your assistance is ready for their acceptance, as you are justly affected by their danger, and have been so happy as to foresee and to guard against it. If they approve of your sentiments, and embrace your overtures, we shall effect our great purpose, and act with a dignity worthy of our state. But should it happen that we are not so successful, whatever misfortunes they may suffer, to themselves shall they be imputed ; while your conduct shall appear, in no one instance, inconsistent with the honour and renown of Athens."

This oration, delivered with ease and resolution, did not want its due effect ; it was received with universal applause, and Demosthenes himself was instantly chosen to head the embassy which he had now proposed. A decree, in pursuance of his advice, was drawn up in form ; with an additional clause, that a fleet of two hundred sail should be fitted out to cruise near Thermopylæ.

In consequence of this, Demosthenes set out for Thebes, making the more haste, as he was sensible that Philip might overrun Attica in two days. Philip, on the other hand, in order to oppose the eloquence of Demosthenes, sent ambassadors to Thebes ; among whom was Python, who particularly distinguished himself by the liveliness of his orations. But

his persuasive powers were far inferior to those of Demosthenes, who overcame all opposition. The masculine eloquence of Demosthenes was irresistible; and kindled in the souls of the Thebans so warm a zeal for their country, and so strong a passion for freedom, that they were no longer masters of themselves; laying aside all fear and gratitude, and all prudential considerations.

That which animated Demosthenes, next to his public safety, was his having to do with a man of Python's abilities; and he some time after took occasion to value himself upon the victory he had obtained over him. "I did not give way," said he, "to the boasting Python, when he would have bore me down with a torrent of words." He gloried more in the success of this negotiation than of any other he had been employed in, and spoke of it as his master-piece in politics.

Philip, quite disconcerted by the union of these two nations, sent ambassadors to the Athenians, to request them not to levy an armed force, but to live in harmony with him. However, they were too justly alarmed and exasperated to listen to any accommodation, and would no longer depend on the word of a prince, whose whole aim was to deceive. In consequence, preparations for war were made with the utmost diligence, and the soldiery discovered incredible ardour. However, many evil-disposed persons endeavoured to extinguish or damp it, by relating fatal omens, and terrible predictions, which the priestess of Delphos was said to have uttered. But Demosthenes, confiding firmly in the arms of Greece, and encouraged wonderfully by the number and bravery of the troops, who desired only to march against the enemy, would not suffer them to be amused with these oracles and frivolous predictions. It was on this occasion he said, that the priestess *Philippised*; meaning, that it was Philip's money that inspired the priestess, opened her mouth, and made the goddess speak whatever he thought proper. He bade the Thebans remember their Epaminondas, and the Athenians their Pericles; who considered these oracles and predictions as idle scare-crows, and consulted only their reason. The Athenian army set out immediately, and marched to Eleusis; and the Thebans, sur-

prised at the diligence of their confederates, joined them, and waited the approach of the enemy.

Philip, on his part, well knowing that the bravery and spirit of his enemies wanted that direction which might enable them to improve their advantages, and conscious also of his own abilities, and the weakness of those generals who commanded the Greeks, determined to bring on a general engagement, where his superior skill must appear of the greatest moment. For this purpose he took a favourable opportunity of decamping, and led his army to the plain of Chæronea, a name rendered famous by the event of this important contest. Here he chose his station, in view of a temple dedicated to Hercules, the author of his race, as if resolved to fight in his presence, to make him witness of the actions of his descendant, and to commit his forces and his cause to the immediate protection of this hero. Some ancient oracles were preserved, which seemed to point out the spot, on which he now encamped, as the scene of some dreadful calamity to Greece.

His army was formed of thirty-two thousand men, warlike, disciplined, and long inured to the toils and dangers of the field; but this body was composed of different nations and countries, who had each their distinct and separate views and interests. The army of the confederates did not amount to thirty thousand complete, of which the Athenians and Thebans furnished the greatest part, the rest was formed of the Corinthians and Peloponnesians. The same motives and the same zeal influenced and animated them. All were equally affected by the event; and all equally resolved to conquer, or die in defence of liberty.

On the eve of this decisive day, Diogenes, the famous cynic, who had long looked with equal contempt on either party, was led by curiosity to visit the camps, as an unconcerned spectator. In the Macedonian camp, where his character and person were not known, he was stopped by the guards, and conducted to Philip's tent. The king expressed surprise at a stranger's presuming to approach his camp; and asked, with severity, whether he came as a spy? "Yes," said Diogenes, "I am come to spy upon your vanity and ambi-

tion, who thus wantonly set your life and kingdom to the hazard of an hour."

And now the fatal morning appeared, which was for ever to decide the cause of liberty and the empire of Greece. Before the rising of the sun both armies were ranged in order of battle. The Thebans, commanded by Theogenes, a man of but moderate abilities in war, and suspected of corruption, obtained the post of honour on the right wing of the confederated Greeks, with that famous body in the front, called the Sacred Band, formed of generous and warlike youths, connected and endeared to each other by all the noble enthusiasms of love and friendship. The centre was formed of the Corinthians and Peloponnesians; and the Athenians composed the left wing, led by their generals, Lysicles and Chares. On the left of the Macedonian army stood Alexander, at the head of a chosen body of noble Macedonians, supported by the famous cavalry of Thessaly. As this prince was then but nineteen years old, his father was careful to curb his youthful impetuosity, and to direct his valour; and, for this purpose, surrounded him with a number of experienced officers. In the centre were placed those Greeks who had united with Philip; and on whose courage he had the least dependance; whilst the king himself commanded on the right wing, where his renowned phalanx stood, to oppose the impetuosity with which the Athenians were well known to begin their onset.

The charge began on each side with all the courage and violence which ambition, revenge, the love of glory, and the love of liberty, could excite in the several combatants. Alexander, at the head of the Macedonian nobles, first fell, with all the fury of youthful courage, on the Sacred Band of Thebes, which sustained his attack with a bravery and vigour worthy of its former fame. The gallant youths, who composed this body, not being timely, or not duly supported by their countrymen, bore up for a while against the torrent of the enemy; till at length, oppressed and overpowered by superior numbers, without yielding or turning their backs on their assailants, they sunk down upon that ground where they had been originally stationed, each by the side of his darling friend, raising up a bulwark by their bodies against the progress of the army. But the young prince and his forces, in all the enthusiast ardour

of valour, animated by success, pushed on through all the carnage, and over all the heaps of slain, and fell furiously on the main body of the Thebans; where they were opposed with obstinate and deliberate courage, and the contest was, for some time, supported with mutual violence.

The Athenians, at the same time, on the right wing, fought with a spirit and intrepidity worthy of the character which they boasted, and of the cause by which they were animated. Many brave efforts were exerted on each side, and success was for some time doubtful; till at length part of the centre, and the left wing of the Macedonians (except the phalanx) yielded to the impetuous attack of the Athenians, and fled with some precipitation. Happy had it been on that day for Greece, if the conduct and abilities of the Grecian generals had been equal to the valour of their soldiers! But those brave champions of liberty were led on by the despicable creatures of intrigue and cabal. Transported by the advantage now obtained, the presumptuous Lysicles cried out, "Come on, my gallant countrymen; the victory is ours; let us pursue these cowards, and drive them to Macedon:" and thus, instead of improving the happy opportunity, by charging the phalanx in flank, and so breaking this formidable body, the Athenians wildly and precipitately pressed forward in pursuit of the flying enemy; themselves in all the tumult and disorder of a rout. Philip saw this fatal error with all the contempt of a skilful general, and the secret exultation arising from the assurance of approaching victory. He coolly observed to those officers that stood round him, "That the Athenians knew not how to conquer;" and ordered his phalanx to change its position, and, by a sudden evolution, to gain possession of an adjacent eminence. From thence they marched deliberately down, firm and collected, and fell, with their united force, on the Athenians, now confident of success, and blind to their danger. The shock was irresistible; they were at once overwhelmed; many of them lay crushed by the weight of the enemy, and expiring by their wounds; while the rest escaped from the dreadful slaughter by a shameful and precipitate flight, bearing down and hurrying away with them those troops which had been stationed for their support. And here the renowned orator and statesman, whose noble sentiments and spirited harangues had raised the

courage on this day so eminently exerted, betrayed that weakness which has sullied his great character. He alone, of all his countrymen, advanced to the charge cold and dismayed; and, at the very first appearance of a reverse of fortune, in an agony of terror, turned his back, cast away that shield which he had adorned with this inscription in golden characters, "To Good Fortune," and appeared the foremost in the general rout. The ridicule and malice of his enemies related, or perhaps invented, another shameful circumstance; that, being impeded in his flight by some brambles, his imagination was so possessed by the presence of an enemy, that he loudly cried out for quarter.

While Philip was thus triumphant on his side, Alexander continued the conflict on the other wing, and at length broke the Thebans, in spite of all their acts of valour, who now fled from the field, and were pursued with great carnage. The centre of the confederates was thus totally abandoned to the fury of a victorious enemy. But enough of slaughter had already been made; more than one thousand of the Athenians lay dead on the field of battle, two thousand were made prisoners, and the loss of the Thebans was not inferior. Philip, therefore, determined to conclude his important victory by an act of apparent clemency, which his ambition and policy really dictated. He gave orders that the Greeks should be spared, conscious of his own designs, and still expecting to appear in the field the head and leader of that body which he had now completely subdued.

Philip was transported with this victory beyond measure; and, having drank to excess at an entertainment which he gave upon that occasion, went into the field of battle, where he exulted over the slain, and upbraided the prisoners with their misfortunes. He leaped and danced about in a frantic manner, and with an air of burlesque merriment sung the beginning of the decree, which Demosthenes had drawn up as a declaration of war against him. Demades, who was of the number of the prisoners, had the courage to reproach him with this ungenerous behaviour, telling him, "That fortune had given him the part of Agamemnon, but that he was acting that of Thersites." He was so struck with the justness of this reproof, that it wrought a thorough change in him, and he was so

far from being offended at Demades, that he immediately gave him his liberty, and showed him afterwards great marks of honour and friendship. He likewise released all the Athenian captives, and without ransom; and when they found him so generously disposed towards them, they made a demand of their baggage, with every thing else that had been taken from them; but to that Philip replied, "Surely they think I have not beat them." This discharge of the prisoners was ascribed, in a great measure, to Demades, who is said to have new-modelled Philip, and to have softened his temper with the Attic graces, as Diodorus expresses it. Indeed, Philip himself acknowledged, upon another occasion, that his frequent converse with the Athenian orators had been of great use to him in correcting his morals. Justin represents his carriage after the battle in a very different light: alleging, that he took abundance of pains to dissemble his joy; that he affected great modesty and compassion, and was not seen to laugh; that he would have no sacrifice, no crowns, no perfumes; that he forbade all kinds of sports, and did nothing that might make him appear to the conquerors to be elated, nor to the conquered to be insolent. But this account seems to have been confounded with others which were given of him, after his being reformed by Demades. It is certain, that after his first transport was over, and that he began to recollect himself, he showed great humanity to the Athenians; and that, in order still to keep measures with them, he renewed the peace. But the Thebans, who had renounced their alliance with him, he treated in another manner. He, who affected to be as much master of his allies as of his subjects, could not easily pardon those who had deserted him in so critical a conjuncture; wherefore, he not only took ransom for their prisoners, but made them pay for leave to bury their dead. After these severities, and after having placed a strong garrison over them, he granted them a peace.

We are told that Isocrates, the most celebrated rhetorician of that age, who loved his country with the utmost tenderness, could not survive the loss and ignominy with which it was covered by the loss of the battle of Chæronea. The instant he received the news of its being uncertain what use Philip would make of his victory, and determined to die a freeman, he has-

temed his end by abstaining from food. He was fourscore and eighteen years of age. This defeat was attributed chiefly to the ill conduct of the generals Lysicles and Chares; the former whereof the Athenians put to death, at the instance of Lycurgus, who had great credit and influence with the people, but was a severe judge, and a most bitter accuser. "You, Lysicles," said he, "were general of the army: a thousand citizens were slain, two thousand taken prisoners; a trophy has been erected to the dishonour of this city, and all Greece is enslaved. You had the command when all these things happened; and yet you dare to live and view the light of the sun, and blush not to appear publicly in the forum: you, Lysicles, who are born the monument of your country's shame!" This Lycurgus was one of the orators of the first rank, and free from the general corruption which then reigned among them. He managed the public treasure for twelve years with great uprightness, and had, throughout his life, the reputation of a man of honour and virtue. He increased the shipping, supplied the arsenal, drove the bad men out of the city, and framed several good laws. He kept an exact register of every thing he did during his administration; and, when that was expired, he caused it to be fixed up to a pillar, that every body might be at liberty to inspect it, and to censure his conduct. He carried this point so far, that, in his last sickness, he ordered himself to be carried to the senate-house to give a public account of all his actions; and, after he had refuted one who accused him there, he went home and died. Notwithstanding the austerity of his temper, he was a great encourager of the stage; which, though it had been carried to an excess that was manifestly hurtful to the public, he still looked upon as the best school to instruct and polish the minds of the people. And to this end he kept up a spirit of emulation among the writers of tragedy, and erected the statues of *Æschylus*, *Sophocles*, and *Euripides*. He left three sons, who were unworthy of him, and behaved so ill, that they were all put in prison; but *Demosthenes*, out of regard to the memory of their father, got them discharged.

It does not appear that *Chares* underwent any prosecution for his share of this action; though, according to his general character, he deserved it as much or more than his colleague;

for he had no talent for command, and was very little different from a common soldier. Timotheus said of him, "That, instead of being a general, he was fitter to carry the general's baggage." His person, indeed, was of that robust kind of make: and it was that which served, in some measure, to recommend him to the people. But he was more a man of pleasure than fatigue. In his military expeditions, he was wont to carry with him a band of music, and he defrayed the expense of it out of the soldiers' pay. Notwithstanding his want of abilities, he had a thorough good opinion of himself. He was vain and positive, bold and boisterous; a great undertaker, and always ready to warrant success; but his performances seldom answered; and hence it was that the promises of Chares became a proverb: and yet, as little as he was to be depended on, he had his partizans among the people, and among the orators, by whose means he got himself to be frequently employed, and others to be excluded who were more capable.

But it was Demosthenes who seemed to have been the principal cause of the terrible shock which Athens received at this time, and which gave its powers such a wound, as it never recovered. However, at the very instant that the Athenians heard of this bloody overthrow, which affected so great a number of families, when it would have been no wonder, had the multitude, seized with terror and alarms, given way to an emotion of blind zeal against the man, whom they might have considered, in some measure, as the author of this dreadful calamity: even at this very instant, I say, the people submitted entirely to the councils of Demosthenes. The precautions that were taken to post guards, to raise the walls, and to repair the ditches, were all in consequence of his advice. He himself was appointed to supply the city with provisions, and to repair the walls, which latter commission he executed with so much generosity, that it acquired him the greatest honour; and for which, at the request of Ctesiphon, a crown of gold was decreed him, as a reward for his having presented the commonwealth with a sum of money out of his own estate, sufficient to defray what was wanting of the expense for repairing the walls.

On the present occasion, that is, after the battle of Chæronea, such orators as opposed Demosthenes, having all risen

up in concert against him, and having cited him to take his trial according to law, the people not only declared him innocent of the several accusations laid to his charge, but conferred more honours upon him than he had enjoyed before; so strongly did the veneration they had for his zeal and fidelity overbalance the efforts of calumny and malice.

But the people did not stop here: the bones of such as had been killed in the battle of Chæronea having been brought to Athens to be interred, they appointed Demosthenes to compose the eulogium of those brave men; a manifest proof, that they did not ascribe to him the ill success of the battle, but to Providence only, who disposes of human events at pleasure.

It was in this year, that Æschines drew up an accusation against Ctesiphon, or rather against Demosthenes, which was the most remarkable that ever appeared before any tribunal; not so much for the object of the contest, as for the greatness, and ability of the speakers. Ctesiphon, a partizan and friend of Demosthenes, brought a cause before the assembly of the people, in which he urged that a decree should be passed, giving a golden crown to Demosthenes. This decree was strongly opposed by Æschines, the rival of Demosthenes, as well in eloquence as in ambition.

No cause ever excited so much curiosity, nor was pleaded with so much pomp. People flocked to it from all parts, and they had great reason for so doing; for what sight could be nobler, than a conflict between two orators, each of them excellent in his way, both formed by nature, improved by art, and animated by perpetual dissensions, and an implacable animosity against each other.

The juncture seemed to favour Æschines very much; for the Macedonian party, whom he always befriended, was very powerful in Athens, especially after the ruin of Thebes. Nevertheless, Æschines lost his cause, and was justly sentenced to banishment for his rash accusation. He thereupon went and settled himself in Rhodes, where he opened a school of eloquence, the fame and glory of which continued for many ages. He began his lectures with the two orations that had occasioned his banishment. Great encomiums were given to that of Æschines; but when they heard that of Demosthenes, the plaudits and acclamations were redoubled. And it was

then he spoke these words, so greatly laudable in the mouth of an enemy and a rival: "Alas! what applauses would you not have bestowed, had you heard Demosthenes speak it himself?"

Demosthenes, thus become victor, made a good use of his conquest. For the instant *Æschines* left Athens, in order to embark for Rhodes, Demosthenes ran after him, and forced him to accept of a purse of money. On this occasion, *Æschines* cried out, "How will it be possible for me not to regret a country, in which I leave an enemy more generous, than I can hope to find friends in any other part of the world?"

In the mean time, Philip had his ambition pleased, but not satisfied, with his last victory; he had one object long in view, and that he never lost sight of: this was to get himself appointed, in the assembly of the Greeks, their chief general against the Persians. It had long been the object, not only of the confederate states, but also of the neighbouring Greek nations, to revenge upon the kingdom of Persia the injuries they had sustained from it, and to work the total destruction of that empire. This was an object which had early inflamed the mind of Philip, and his late victory paved the way, to it. He therefore got himself declared generalissimo of the Greek forces, and accordingly made preparations to invade that mighty empire.

But whilst Philip was thus successful in politics and war, the domestic divisions that reigned in his family embittered his happiness, and at last caused his destruction. He had married *Olympias*, the daughter of the king of Epirus, and the early part of their union was crowned with happiness; but her ill temper soon clouded that dawn which promised so much felicity; she was naturally jealous, vindictive, and passionate; and their dissensions were carried to such a degree, that Philip was often heard to wish for death. But his passion for *Cleopatra*, neice to *Attalus*, his general, completed their separation. As *Cleopatra* was no less amiable in her temper and accomplishments than in the extraordinary graces of her person, Philip conceived that he should consult his own happiness most effectually, by forming an inviolable and perpetual union with this lady; and, without the least hesitation, resolved to

separate himself for ever from the princess, who had long appeared so great an enemy to his tranquillity. In vain did Alexander his son remonstrate, that, by divorcing Olympias, and engaging in a second marriage, he exposed him to the danger of contending with a number of competitors for the crown, and rendered his succession precarious. "My son," said the king, "if I create you a number of competitors, you will have the glorious opportunity of exerting yourself to surpass them in merit. Thus shall their rivalry by no means affect your title." His marriage with Cleopatra was now declared in form, and celebrated with all the grandeur and solemnity which the great occasion demanded. The young prince, however dissatisfied, was yet obliged to attend on these solemnities, and sat in silent indignation at that feast which proclaimed the disgrace of his mother. In such circumstances, his youthful and impetuous mind could not but be susceptible of the slightest irritation. Attalus, the uncle of the new queen, forgetting that just caution, which should have taught him to be scrupulously observant to avoid offending the prince, intoxicated by the honours paid to his kinswoman, as well as by the present festivity, was rash enough to call publicly on the Macedonian nobles, to pour out their libations to the gods, that they might grant the king the happy fruits of the present nuptials, and legitimate heirs to his throne. "Wretch!" cried Alexander, with his eye sparkling with that fury and vexation which he had till now suppressed, "dost thou, then, call me bastard?" and instantly darted his goblet at Attalus, who returned the outrage with double violence. Clamour and confusion arose, and the king, in a sudden fit of rage, snatched his sword, and flew directly towards his son. His precipitation, his lameness, and the quantity of wine in which he had by this time indulged, happily disappointed his rash purpose; he stumbled, and fell on the floor; while Alexander, with an unpardonable insolence, cried out, "Behold, ye Macedonians! this is the king who is preparing to lead you into Asia; see where, in passing from one table to another, he is fallen to the ground."

Philip, however, did not lose sight of the conquest of Asia. Full of the mighty project he had conceived, he consulted the gods, to know what would be the event of it; and the priestess

replied, "The victim is already crowned, his end draws nigh, and he will soon be sacrificed." Philip, hearing this, did not hesitate a moment, but interpreted the oracle in his own favour; the ambiguity of which ought, at least, to have kept him in some suspense. In order, therefore, that he might be in a condition to apply entirely to his expedition against the Persians, and limit himself solely to the conquest of Asia, he dispatched with all possible diligence his domestic affairs. After this, he offered up a solemn sacrifice to the gods; and prepared to celebrate with incredible magnificence in Egæ, a city of Macedonia, the nuptials of Cleopatra, his daughter, whom he gave in marriage to Alexander, king of Epirus, and brother to Olympias, his queen. He had invited to it the most considerable persons of Greece, and heaped upon them friendship and honours of every kind, by way of gratitude for electing him generalissimo of the Greeks. The cities made their court to him in emulating each other, by sending him golden crowns; and Athens distinguished its zeal above all the rest. Neoptolemus, the poet, had written purposely for that festival a tragedy, entitled Cinyras, in which, under borrowed names, he represented this prince as already victor over Darius, and master of Asia. Philip listened to these happy presages with joy, and, comparing them with the answer of the oracle, assured himself of conquest. The day after the nuptials, games and shows were solemnized. As these formed part of the religious worship, there were carried in it, with great pomp and ceremony, twelve statues of the gods, carved with inimitable art; a thirteenth, that surpassed them all in magnificence, represented Philip as a god. The hour for his leaving the palace arrived; he went forth in a white robe; and advanced with an air of majesty, in the midst of unbounded acclamations, towards the theatre, where an infinite multitude of Macedonians, as well as foreigners, waited his coming with impatience.

But this magnificence only served to make the catastrophe more remarkable, and to add splendour to ruin. Some time before, Attalus, inflamed with wine at an entertainment, had insulted, in the most shocking manner, Pausanias, a young Macedonian nobleman. The latter had long endeavoured to revenge the cruel affront, and was perpetually imploring the

king's justice. But Philip, unwilling to disgust Attalus, uncle to Cleopatra, whom, as was before observed, he had married after his divorcing Olympias, his first queen, would never listen to Pausanias's complaints. However, to console him in some measure, and to express the high esteem he had for, and the great confidence he reposed in him, he made him one of the chief officers of his life-guard. But this was not what the young Macedonian required, whose anger now swelling to fury against his judge, he formed the design of wiping out his shame, by imbruing his hands in the blood of his sovereign.

And now, while this unhappy youth continued brooding over those malignant passions, which distracted and corroded his mind, he happened to go into the school of one Hermocrates, who professed to teach philosophy; to whom he proposed the following question: "What shall that man do, who wishes to transmit his name with lustre to posterity?" Hermocrates, either artfully and from design, or the natural malignity of his temper, replied, "He must kill him who hath achieved the greatest actions; thus shall the memory of the hero be joined with his who slew him, and both descend together to posterity." This was a maxim highly agreeable to Pausanias, in the present disposition of his mind; and thus various accidents and circumstances concurred to inflame those dangerous passions which now possessed him, and to prompt him to the dreadful purpose of satiating his revenge.

The present solemnity was the occasion which Pausanias chose for putting his dreadful design in execution. Philip, clothed in a white flowing robe, waving in soft and graceful folds, the habiliments in which the Grecian deities were usually represented, moved forward with a heart filled with triumph and exultation, while the admiring crowds shouted forth their flattering applause. His guards had orders to keep at a considerable distance from his person, to show that the king confided in the affections of his people, and had not the least apprehensions of danger amidst all this mixed concourse of different states and nations. Unhappily, the danger was but too near him. The injured Pausanias had not yet forgot his wrongs, but still retained those terrible impressions, which the sense of the indignity he had received, and the artful and interested representations of others, fixed deeply in his mind.

He chose this fatal morning for the execution of his revenge on the prince, who had denied reparation to his injured honour. His design had been for some time premeditated, and now was the dreadful moment of effecting it. As Philip marched on, in all his pride and pomp, this young Macedonian slipped through the crowd, and, with a desperate and revengeful resolution, waited his approach in a narrow passage, just at the entrance into the theatre. The king advanced towards him, Pausanias drew his poniard, plunged it into his heart, and the conqueror of Greece, and terror of Asia, fell prostrate to the ground, and instantly expired.

The murderer flew towards the gates of the city, where there stood horses ready to favour his escape, which Olympias herself is said to have prepared. The tumult and confusion were such as might be expected from so fatal an event; some of the Macedonians crowded round the fallen king with officious and ineffectual care, while others pursued Pausanias. Among these were Perdiceas, Attalus, and Leonatus; the first, who excelled in swiftness, came up to the assassin where he was just preparing to mount his horse, but being, by his precipitation, entangled in some vines, a violent effort to extricate his foot brought him suddenly to the ground. As he prepared to rise, Perdiceas was upon him, and, with his companions, soon dispatched him by the repeated wounds which their fury inflicted. His body was immediately hung on a gibbet, but in the morning appeared crowned with a golden diadem; the only means by which Olympias could now express her implacable resentment. In a few days, indeed, she took a farther occasion of publishing her triumph and exultation in her husband's fall, by paying the same funeral honours to Pausanias, which were prepared for Philip; both bodies were burnt on the same pile, and the ashes of both deposited in the same tomb. She is even said to have prevailed on the Macedonians to pay annual honours to Pausanias, as if she feared that the share she had taken in the death of Philip should not be sufficiently known to the world. She consecrated to Apollo the dagger which had been the instrument of the fatal deed, inscribed with the name "Myrtalis," the name which she had borne when their loves first began.

Thus died Philip, whose virtues and vices were directed and

proportioned to his ambition. His most shining and exalted qualities were influenced in a great measure by his love of power; and even the most exceptionable parts of his conduct were principally determined by their conveniency and expediency. If he was unjust, he was, like Cæsar, unjust for the sake of empire. If he gloried in the success acquired by his virtues and his intellectual accomplishments, rather than in that which the force of arms could gain, the reason which he himself assigned points out his true principle. "In the former case," said he, "the glory is entirely mine; in the other, my generals and soldiers have their share."

The news of Philip's death was a joyful surprise in Greece, and particularly in Athens, where the people crowned themselves with garlands, and decreed a crown to Pausanias. They sacrificed to the gods for their deliverance, and sung songs of triumph, as if Philip had been slain by them in battle. But this excess of joy did ill become them. It was looked upon as an ungenerous and unmanly insult upon the ashes of a murdered prince, and of one whom they just before had revered, and crouched to in the most abject manner. These immoderate transports were raised in them by Demosthenes, who, having the first intelligence of Philip's death, went into the assembly unusually gay and cheerful, with a chaplet on his head, and in a rich habit, though it was then but the seventh day after the death of his daughter. From this circumstance, Plutarch, at the same time that he condemns the behaviour of the Athenians in general upon this occasion, takes an opportunity to justify Demosthenes, and extols him as a patriot, for not suffering his domestic afflictions to interfere with the good fortune of the commonwealth. But he certainly might have acted the part of a good citizen with more decency, and not have given up to insult what was due to good manners.

CHAPTER XIV.

FROM THE BIRTH OF ALEXANDER TO HIS SETTING OUT FOR ASIA.

A. M. 3648. ALEXANDER, the son of Philip, ascended the **A. J. C. 356.** throne upon the death of his father, and took possession of a kingdom rendered flourishing and powerful by the policy of the preceding reign.

He came into the world the very day the celebrated temple of Diana, at Ephesus, was burnt; upon which occasion the report goes, that Hegesias, the historian, was heard to say, that it was no wonder the temple was burnt, as Diana was that day employed at the delivery of Olympias, to facilitate the birth of Alexander.

The passion, which prevailed most in Alexander, even from his tender years, was ambition, and an ardent desire of glory; but not for every species of glory. Philip, like a sophist, valued himself upon his eloquence and the beauty of his style; and had the vanity to have engraved on his coins the several victories he had won at the Olympic games, in the chariot race. But it was not after such empty honours that his son aspired. His friends asked him one day, whether he would not be present at the games above-mentioned, in order to dispute the prize bestowed on that occasion? for he was very swift of foot. He answered, that he would contend in them, provided kings were to be his antagonists.

Every time news was brought him that his father had taken some city, or gained some great battle, Alexander, so far from sharing in the general joy, used to say, in a plaintive tone of voice, to the young persons that were brought up with him, "Friends, my father will possess himself of every thing, and leave nothing for me to do."

One day, some ambassadors from the king of Persia being

arrived at court during Philip's absence, Alexander gave them so kind and so polite a reception, and regaled them in so noble and generous a manner, as charmed them all; but that which most surprised them was, the good sense and judgment he discovered in the several conversations they had with him. He did not propose to them any thing that was trifling, and like one of his age; such, for instance, as inquiring about the so much boasted gardens suspended in the air; the riches and magnificence of the palace and court of the king of Persia, which excited the admiration of the whole world; the famous golden plantain tree; and that golden vine, the grapes of which were of emeralds, carbuncles, rubies, and all sorts of precious stones, under which the Persian monarch was said frequently to give audience:—Alexander, I say, asked them questions of a quite different nature; inquiring which was the road to Upper Asia; the distance of the several places; in what the strength and power of the king of Persia consisted; in what part of the battle he fought; how he behaved towards his enemies, and in what manner he governed his subjects. These ambassadors admired him all the while; and perceiving, even at that time, how great he might one day become, they observed, in a few words, the difference they found between Alexander and Artaxerxes, by saying one to another, "This young prince is great, and ours is rich: that man must be vastly insignificant, who has no other merit than his riches!"

So ripe a judgment in this young prince was owing as much to the good education which had been given him, as to the happiness of his natural parts. Several preceptors were appointed to teach him all such arts and sciences as are worthy the heir of a great kingdom; and the chief of these was Leonidas, a person of the most severe morals, and a relation to the queen. This Leonidas, in their journeys together, used frequently to look into the trunks where his beds and clothes were laid, in order to see if Olympias, his mother, had not put something superfluous into them, which might administer to delicacy and luxury.

But the greatest service Philip did his son, was appointing Aristotle his preceptor. He was the most famous and the most learned philosopher of his age; and was entrusted with the whole care of Alexander's education. One of the reasons

which prompted Philip to choose him a master of such conspicuous reputation and merit was, as he himself tells us, that his son might avoid committing a great many faults, of which he himself had been guilty.

Philip was sensible how great a treasure he possessed in the person of Aristotle; for which reason he settled a very genteel stipend upon him, and afterwards rewarded his pains and care in an infinitely more glorious manner; for having destroyed and laid waste the city of Stagira, the native place of that philosopher, he rebuilt it, purely out of affection for him; reinstated the inhabitants, who had fled from it, or were made slaves, and gave them a fine park in the neighbourhood of Stagira, as a place for their studies and assemblies. Even in Plutarch's time, the stone seats which Aristotle had placed there were standing; as also spacious vistas, under which those who walked were shaded from the sun-beams.

Alexander likewise discovered no less esteem for his master, whom he believed himself bound to love as much as if he had been his father; declaring, that he was indebted to the one for living, and to the other for living well. The progress of the pupil was equal to the care and abilities of the preceptor. He grew vastly fond of philosophy, and learned the several parts of it; but in a manner suitable to his birth. Aristotle endeavoured to improve his judgment, by laying down sure and certain rules, by which he might distinguish just and solid reasoning from what is but speciously so; and by accustoming him to separate in discourse all such parts as only dazzle, from those which are truly solid, and constitute its chief value. But Alexander applied himself chiefly to morality, which is properly the science of kings, because it is the knowledge of mankind, and of their duties. This he made his serious and profound study, and considered it; even at that time, as the foundation of prudence and wise policy.

The greatest master of rhetoric that antiquity could ever boast, and who has left so excellent a treatise on that subject, took care to make that science part of his pupil's education; and we find that Alexander, even in the midst of his conquests, was often very urgent with Aristotle to send him a treatise on that subject. To this we owe the work entitled *Alexander's Rhetoric*; in the beginning of which, Aristotle proves to him

the vast advantages a prince may reap from eloquence; as it gives him the greatest ascendant over the minds of men, which he ought to acquire as well by his wisdom as authority. Some answers and letters of Alexander, which are still extant, show that he possessed, in its greatest perfection; that strong, that manly eloquence, which abounds with sense and ideas, and which is so entirely free from superfluous expressions, that every single word has its meaning; which, properly speaking, is the eloquence of kings.

His esteem, or rather his passion, for Homer shows, not only with what vigour and success he applied to polite literature, but the judicious use he made of it, and the solid advantages he proposed to himself from it. He was not only prompted to peruse this poet merely out of curiosity, or to unbend his mind, or from a great fondness for poetry; but his view, in studying this admirable writer, was to borrow such sentiments from him as were worthy a great king and conqueror; courage, intrepidity, magnanimity, temperance, prudence; the art of commanding well in war and peace. The verse, which pleased him most in Homer, was that where Agamemnon is represented as a good king and a brave warrior.

After this; it is no wonder that Alexander should have so high an esteem for this poet. Thus when, after the battle of Arbela, the Macedonians had found, among the spoils of Darius, a golden box (enriched with precious stones), in which the excellent perfumes used by that prince were put, Alexander, who was quite covered with dust, and regardless of essences and perfumes, ordered, that this box should be employed to no other use than to hold Homer's poems; which he believed the most perfect, the most complete production of the human mind. He admired particularly the Iliad, which he called the best provision for a warrior. He always had with him that edition of Homer, which Aristotle had revised and corrected, and to which the title of the Edition of the Box was given: and he laid it with his sword every night under his pillow.

Fond, even to excess, of every kind of glory, he was displeased with Aristotle his master, for having published, in his absence, certain metaphysical pieces, which he himself desired

to possess exclusively of all others ; and even at the time when he was employed in the conquest of Asia, and the pursuit of Darius, he wrote to him a letter, which is still extant, wherein he complains upon that very account. Alexander says in it, that he had much rather surpass the rest of men in the knowledge of sublime and excellent things, than in the greatness and extent of his power. He in like manner requested Aristotle not to show the treatise of rhetoric above-mentioned to any person but to himself.

He had also a taste for the whole circle of arts, but in such a manner as became a prince ; that is, he knew the value and usefulness of them. Music, painting, sculpture, architecture, flourished in his reign ; because they found him both a skilful judge and a generous protector, who was able to distinguish and to reward merit.

But he despised certain trifling feats of dexterity, that were of no use. Some Macedonians admired very much a man, who employed himself very attentively in throwing small peas through the eye of a needle ; which he would do at a considerable distance, and without once missing. Alexander, seeing him at this exercise, ordered him, as we are told, a present suitable to his employment ; viz. a basket of peas.

Alexander was of a sprightly disposition, was resolute, and very tenacious of his opinion, which never gave way to force, but at the same time would submit immediately to reason and good sense. It is very difficult to treat with persons of this turn of mind : Philip, accordingly, notwithstanding his double authority of king and father, believed it necessary to employ persuasion rather than force with respect to his son, and endeavoured to make himself beloved rather than feared by him.

An accident made him entertain a very advantageous opinion of Alexander. There had been sent from Thessaly to Philip a war-horse ; a noble, strong, fiery, generous beast, called Bucephalus. The owner would not sell him under thirteen talents ; an immense sum ! The king went into the plains, attended by his couriers, in order to view the perfections of this horse ; but, upon trial, he appeared so very fierce, and pranced about in so furious a manner, that no one dared to mount him. Philip, being angry that so furious and un-

manageable a creature had been sent him; gave orders for their carrying him back again. Alexander, who was present at that time, cried out, "What a noble horse we are going to lose, for want of address and boldness to back him!" Philip at first considered these words as the effect of folly and rashness, so common to young men; but, as Alexander insisted still more upon what he had said, and was very much vexed to see so noble a creature just going to be sent home again, his father gave him leave to try what he could do. The young prince, overjoyed at this permission, goes up to Bucephalus, takes hold of the bridle, and turns his head to the sun, having observed, that the thing which frightened him was his own shadow; Alexander, therefore, first stroked him gently with his hand, and soothed him with his voice; then seeing his fierceness abate, and artfully taking this opportunity, he let fall his cloak, and springing swiftly upon his back, first slackened the rein, without once striking or vexing him; and when he perceived that his fire was cooled, that he was no longer so furious and violent, and wanted only to move forward, he gave him that rein, and spurring him with great vigour, animated him with his voice to his full speed. While this was doing, Philip and his whole court trembled for fear, and did not once open their lips; but when the prince, after having run his first heat, returned with joy and pride, at his having broke a horse which was judged absolutely ungovernable; all the courtiers in general endeavoured to outvie one another in their applauses and congratulations; and we are told, Philip shed tears of joy on this occasion; and embracing Alexander, after he was alighted, and kissing him, he said to him, "My son, seek a kingdom more worthy of thee, for Macedon is below thy merit."

Alexander, upon his accession to the throne, saw himself surrounded with extreme dangers; the barbarous nations, with whom Philip contended during his whole reign, thought this change for their advantage, and, despising the youth and inexperience of the young monarch, resolved to seize this opportunity of regaining their freedom for satiating themselves with plunder: nor had he less to fear from the Greeks themselves, who now thought this a convenient opportunity to restore their ancient form of government, revenge their former

injuries, and reclaim those rights which they had enjoyed for ages.

Alexander, however, resolved to prevent their machinations, and to give them no time to complete their confederacies against him. After taking revenge upon the conspirators against his father, whom he slew upon his tomb, he first conciliated the affections of the Macedonians to him, by freeing them from a vexatious and bodily slavery, only commanding their service in wars.

The Macedonians, reflecting on his precarious situation; advised him to relinquish Greece, and not persist in his resolution of subduing it by force; to recover, by gentle methods, the barbarians who had taken arms; and to sooth, as it were, those glimmerings of revolt and innovation, by prudent reserve, complacency, and insinuations, in order to conciliate their affections. However, Alexander would not listen to those timorous counsels, but resolved to secure and support his affairs by boldness and magnanimity; firmly persuaded, that, should he relax in any point at first, all his neighbours would fall upon him; and that, were he to endeavour to compromise matters, he would be obliged to give up all Philip's conquests, and, by that means, confine his dominions to the narrow limits of Macedon. He therefore made all possible haste to check the arms of the barbarians, by marching his troops to the banks of the Danube, which he crossed in one night. He defeated the king of the Triballi in a great battle; made the Getæ fly at his approach; and subdued several other barbarous nations, some by the terror of his name, and others by the force of his arms; and, notwithstanding the arrogant answers of their ambassadors, he taught them to dread a danger, which they found but too ready to overwhelm them.

Whilst Alexander was thus employed at a distance against the barbarians, all the cities of Greece, and chiefly those who were animated by the eloquence of Demosthenes, formed a powerful alliance against him. A false report which prevailed of his death inspired the Thebans with a boldness, that proved their ruin. They cut to pieces part of the Macedonian garrison in their citadel. Demosthenes, on the other side, was every day haranguing the people; and, fired with contempt for Alexander, whom he called a child and a hair-brained boy, he as-

sured the Athenians, with a decisive tone of voice, that they had nothing to fear from the new king of Macedon, who did not dare to stir out of his kingdom, but would think himself vastly happy, could he sit peaceably on his throne. At the same time he wrote letters upon letters to Attalus, one of Philip's lieutenants in Asia Minor, to excite him to rebel. This Attalus was uncle to Cleopatra, Philip's second wife, and was very much disposed to listen to Demosthenes' proposals. Nevertheless, as Alexander was grown very diffident of him, for which he knew there was but too much reason, he, therefore, to eradicate from his mind all the suspicions he might entertain, and the better to screen his designs, sent all Demosthenes's letters to that prince: but Alexander saw through all his artifices, and thereupon ordered Hecataeus, one of his commanders, whom he had sent into Asia for that purpose, to have him assassinated, which was executed accordingly. Attalus's death restored tranquillity to the army, and entirely destroyed the seeds of discord and rebellion.

The object which seized Alexander's earliest ambition was the conquest of Persia; and he now expected, that he would have leisure and opportunity to prepare for so great an enterprise; but he was soon called to a new undertaking. The Athenians, Thebans, and Lacedæmonians, united against him; hoping, by the assistance of Persia, to recover their former freedom. In order to persuade the Greeks to this, Demosthenes made use of a device, which had more cunning in it than wisdom. He caused it to be reported, that Alexander was slain in a battle against the Triballi; and he produced a man to the assembly, who ventured to affirm, that he was present, and wounded, when his general was slain. These false reports, which serve for a day, are but bad policy; like a false alarm in battle, the people may sometimes be mocked by them; but in the end, the success will prove as ridiculous as the invention; for those that find themselves at one time abused by such, will, at other times, neglect the real call of truth. This unfortunate confederation obliged Alexander to turn his sword from the Persians against the Greeks, of whose assistance he had but just before assured himself.

Expedition and activity were the characteristics of this monarch's conduct. Having heard of the slaughter of the

Macedonian garrison of Thebes, and of the union formed against him by the Athenians, Thebans, and Lacedæmonians, he immediately put his army in motion. He passed over the craggy top of Mount Ossa, to elude the Thessalians, who had possessed themselves of the defiles lying between Thessaly and Macedon, and moved on with such rapidity, that his appearance in Greece gave the first news of his preparation for war. He appeared so suddenly in Boeotia, that the Thebans could scarce believe their eyes; and, being come before their walls, was willing to give them time to repent; and only demanded to have Phoenix and Prothules, the two chief ringleaders of the revolt, delivered up to him; and published, by sound of trumpet, a general pardon to all who should come over to him. But the Thebans, by way of insult, demanded to have Philotas and Antipater delivered to them; and invited, by a declaration, all who were solicitous for the liberty of Greece to join with them in its defence.

Alexander, finding it impossible for him to get the better of their obstinacy by offers of peace, saw with grief that he would be forced to employ his power, and decide the affair by force of arms. A great battle was thereupon fought, in which the Thebans exerted themselves with a bravery and ardour much beyond their strength, for the enemy exceeded them vastly in numbers. But, after a long and vigorous resistance, such as survived of the Macedonian garrison in the citadel coming down from it, and charging the Thebans in the rear, who being surrounded on all sides, the greatest part of them were cut to pieces, and the city taken and plundered.

It would be impossible for words to express the dreadful calamities which the Thebans suffered on this occasion. Some Thracians having pulled down the house of a virtuous lady of quality, Timoclea by name, carried off all her goods and treasures; and their captain, having seized the lady and satiated his brutal lust with her, afterwards inquired, whether she had not concealed gold and silver. Timoclea, animated by an ardent desire of revenge, replying, "That she had hid some," took him with herself only into the garden, and showing him a well, told him, that the instant she saw the enemy enter the city, she herself had thrown into it the most precious things in her possession. The officer, overjoyed at what he heard,

drew near the well, and stooping down to see its depth, Timoclea, who was behind, pushing him with all her strength, threw him in, and afterwards killed him with great stones, which she heaped upon him. She was instantly seized by the Thracians, and, being bound in chains, was carried before Alexander. The prince immediately perceived, by her mien, that she was a woman of quality and great spirit, for she followed those brutal wretches with a very haughty air, and without discovering the least fear. Alexander asking her who she was, Timoclea replied, "I am sister to Theogenes, who fought against Philip for the liberty of Greece, and was killed in the battle of Chæronea, where he commanded." The prince, admiring her generous answer, and still more the action that she had done, gave orders that she should have leave to retire wherever she pleased with her children.

Alexander then debated in council how to act with regard to Thebes. The Phocians, and the people of Plataea, Thespiæ, and Orchomenus, who were all in alliance with Alexander, and shared in his victory, represented to him the cruel treatment they had met with from the Thebans, who also had destroyed their several cities, and reproached them with the zeal which they always discovered in favour of the Persians against the Greeks, who held them in the utmost detestation; the proof of which was, the oath they had all taken to destroy Thebes, after they should have vanquished the Persians.

Cleades, one of the prisoners, being permitted to speak, endeavoured to excuse, in some measure, the revolt of the Thebans; a fault, which, in his opinion, should be imputed to a rash and credulous imprudence, rather than to depravity of will or declared perfidy. He remonstrated, that his countrymen, upon a false report of Alexander's death, had, indeed, too rashly broke out into rebellion; not against the king, however, but against his successors; that what crimes soever they might have committed, they had been punished for them with the utmost severity, by the dreadful calamity which had befallen their city; that there now remained in it none but women, children, and old men, from whom they had nothing to fear, and who were so much the greater objects of compassion, as they had been no ways concerned in the revolt. He concluded with reminding Alexander, that Thebes, which had

given birth to so many gods and heroes, several of whom were that king's ancestors, had also been the seat of his father Philip's rising glory, and like a second native country to him.

These motives, which Cleades urged, were very strong and powerful; nevertheless, the anger of the conqueror prevailed, and the city was destroyed. However, he set at liberty the priests; all such as had a right of hospitality with the Macedonians; the descendants of Pindar, the famous poet, who had done so much to Greece; and such as had opposed the revolt. But all the rest, in number about thirty thousand, he sold; and upwards of six thousand had been killed in battle. The Athenians were so sensibly afflicted at the sad disaster which had befallen Thebes, that being about to solemnize the festival of the Great Mysteries, they suspended them upon account of their extreme grief; and received, with the greatest humanity, all those who had fled from the battle, and the plunder of Thebes, and made Athens their asylum.

Alexander's sudden arrival in Greece had very much abated the haughtiness of the Athenians, and extinguished Demosthenes's vehemence and fire; but the ruin of Thebes, which was still more sudden, threw them into the utmost consternation. They therefore had recourse to entreaties, and a deputation to Alexander to implore his clemency; Demosthenes was among them; but he was no sooner arrived at Mount Cytheron, than, dreading the anger of that prince, he quitted the embassy, and returned home.

Immediately Alexander sent to Athens, requiring the citizens to deliver up to him ten orators, whom he supposed to have been the chief instruments in forming the league which Philip, his father, had defeated at Charonea. It was on this occasion that Demosthenes related to the people the fable of the wolves and the dogs; in which it is supposed, "That the wolves one day told the sheep, that, in case they desired to be at peace with them, they must deliver up to them the dogs, who were their guard." The application was easy and natural; especially with respect to the orators, who were justly compared to dogs, whose duty it was, to watch, to bark, and to fight, in order to save the lives of the flock.

In this afflicting dilemma of the Athenians, who could not prevail with themselves to deliver up their orators to certain

death, though they had no other way to save their city, Demades, whom Alexander had honoured with his friendship, offered to undertake the embassy alone, and intercede for them. The king, whether he had satiated his revenge, or endeavoured to blot out, if possible, by some act of clemency, the barbarous action he had just before committed, or rather to remove the several obstacles which might retard the execution of his grand design, and by that means not leave, during his absence, the least pretence for murmurs, waved his demand with regard to the delivery of the orators, and was pacified by their sending Caridemus into banishment; who, being a native of Oree, had been presented by the Athenians with his freedom, for the services he had done the republic. He was son-in-law to Chersobleptus, king of Thrace; had learned the art of war under Iphicrates; and had himself frequently commanded the Athenian armies. To avoid the pursuit of Alexander, he took refuge with the king of Persia.

As for the Athenians, he not only forgave them the several injuries he pretended to have received, but expressed a particular regard for them, exhorting them to apply themselves vigorously to public affairs, and to keep a watchful eye over the several transactions which might happen; because, in case of his death, their city was to give laws to the rest of Greece. Historians relate, that, many years after this expedition, he was seized with deep remorse for the calamity he had brought upon the Thebans; and that this made him behave with much greater humanity towards many other nations.

So dreadful an example of severity, towards so powerful a city as Thebes, spread the terror of his arms through all Greece, and made all things give way before him. He summoned at Corinth the assembly of the several states and free cities of Greece, to obtain from them the same supreme command against the Persians, which had been granted to his father a little before his death. No assembly ever debated upon a more important subject. It was the western world deliberating upon the ruin of the east; and the methods for executing a revenge which had been suspended more than an age. The assembly held at this time gave rise to events, the relation of which appears astonishing, and almost incredible;

and to revolutions, which contributed to change the disposition of most things in the political world.

To form such a design required a prince bold, enterprising, and experienced in war; one of great views, who, having a great name by his exploits, was not to be intimidated by dangers, nor checked by obstacles; but, above all, a monarch, who had a supreme authority over all the states of Greece, none of which, singly, was powerful enough to make so arduous an attempt; and which required, in order to their acting in concert, to be subject to one chief, who might give motion to the several parts of that great body, by making them all concur to the same end. Such a prince was Alexander. It was not difficult for him to rekindle in the minds of the people their ancient hatred of the Persians, their perpetual and irreconcilable enemies; whose destruction they had more than once sworn, and whom they had determined to extirpate, in case an opportunity should present itself for that purpose; a hatred which the intestine feuds of the Greeks might indeed have suspended, but could never extinguish. The immortal retreat of the ten thousand Greeks, notwithstanding the vigorous opposition of the prodigious army of the Persians, showed plainly what might be expected from an army composed of the flower of the forces of all the cities of Greece, and those of Macedon, commanded by generals and officers formed under Philip, and, to say all in a word, led by Alexander. The deliberations of the assembly were therefore short. The Spartans were the only people who ventured to remonstrate; though several others were inimical to the interests of the Macedonians. Mindful of their former independence and greatness, they told Alexander, that "the Lacedæmonians were accustomed to point out the way to glorious deeds, and not to be directed by others." But they were obliged to submit to the prevailing sense of the assembly; and Alexander was, of course, appointed generalissimo against the Persians.

Immediately a great number of officers and governors of cities, with many philosophers, waited upon Alexander, to congratulate him upon his election. He flattered himself, that Diogenes of Synope, who was then at Corinth, would also come like the rest, and pay his compliments. This philoso-

pher, who entertained a very mean idea of grandeur, thought it improper to congratulate men just upon their exaltation; but that mankind ought to wait till those persons should perform actions worthy of their high stations. Diogenes, therefore, still continued at home; upon which Alexander, attended by all his courtiers, made him a visit. The philosopher was at that time lying down in the sun; but, seeing so great a crowd of people advancing towards him, he sat up, and fixed his eyes on Alexander. This prince, surprised to behold so famous a philosopher living in such extreme poverty, after saluting him in the kindest manner, asked, "Whether he wanted any thing?" Diogenes replied, "Only that you would stand a little out of my sun-shine." This answer raised the contempt and indignation of all the courtiers; but the monarch, struck with the philosopher's greatness of soul, "Were I not Alexander," says he, "I would be Diogenes." In a word, all or nothing presents us with the true image of Alexander and Diogenes. How great and powerful soever that prince might think himself, he could not deny but that he was less happy than a man to whom he could give, and from whom he could take nothing.

Alexander, before he set out for Asia, was determined to consult the oracle of Apollo. He therefore went to Delphos, where he happened to arrive in those days which are called unlucky; a season in which people were forbid consulting the oracle; and accordingly the priestess refused to go to the temple. But Alexander, who could not bear any contradiction to his will, took her forcibly by the arm, and, as he was leading her to the temple, she cried out, "My son, thou art irresistible." This was all he desired; and, catching hold of these words, which he considered as spoken by the oracle, he set out for Macedonia, in order to make preparations for his great expedition.

Alexander, being arrived in his kingdom, held a council with the chief officers of his army, and the nobles of his court, on the expedition he meditated against Persia, and the measures he should take in order to succeed in it. The whole assembly were unanimous, except in one article. Antipater and Parmenio were of opinion, that the king, before he engaged in an enterprise, which would necessarily be a long one, ought to

make choice of a consort, in order to secure himself a successor to his throne. But Alexander, who was of a violent, fiery temper, did not approve of this advice; and believed, that, after he had been nominated generalissimo of the Greeks, and that his father had left him an invincible army, it would be a shame for him to lose his time in solemnizing his nuptials, and waiting for the fruits of it: for which reason he determined to set out immediately.

Accordingly, he offered up very splendid sacrifices to the gods, and caused to be celebrated at *Dia*, a city of *Macedon*, scenical games, that had been instituted by one of his ancestors, in honour of *Jupiter* and the *Muses*. This festival continued nine days, agreeable to the number of those goddesses. He had a tent raised large enough to hold a hundred tables, on which, consequently, nine hundred covers might be laid. To this feast the several princes of his family, all the ambassadors, generals, and officers, were invited.

Before he set out upon his great expedition, he settled the affairs of *Macedon*, over which he appointed *Antipater* his viceroy, with twelve thousand foot, and near the same number of horse. He also inquired into the domestic affairs of his friends, giving to one an estate in land, to another a village, to a third the revenues of a town, to a fourth the toll of a harbour. As all the revenues of his demesnes were already employed and exhausted by his donations, *Perdiccas* said to him, "My lord, what is it you reserve for yourself?" Alexander replied, "Hope:" upon which *Perdiccas* said, "The same hope ought therefore to satisfy us;" and so refused very generously to accept of what the king had appointed him.

After having completely settled his affairs in *Macedonia*, and used all the precautions imaginable to prevent any troubles from arising in it during his absence, he set out for *Asia* in the beginning of the spring. His army consisted of little more than thirty thousand foot, and four or five thousand horse; but then they were all brave men, well disciplined, and inured to fatigue. They had made several campaigns under *Philip*, and were each of them, in case of necessity, capable of commanding; most of the officers were near threescore years of age, and the common men fifty; and when they were either assembled or drawn up at the head of a camp, they had the air of a

valuable senate. Parmenio commanded the infantry; Philotas, his son, had eighteen hundred horse under him; and Gallas, the son of Harpalus, the same number of Thessalian cavalry. The rest of the horse were composed of natives of the several states of Greece; they amounted to six hundred, and had a separate commander. The Thracians and Pæonians, who were always in front, were headed by Cassander. Such was the army which was to decide the fortune, not only of Greece, but of all the eastern world. Alexander began his march along the lake Cercinuzi, towards Amphipolis; crossed the river Strymon near its mouth, afterwards the Hebrus, and arrived at Sestos after twenty days' march. He then commanded Parmenio to cross over from Sestos to Abydos, with all the horse and part of the foot; which he accordingly did with the assistance of a hundred and threescore galleys, and several flat-bottomed vessels, while he himself crossed over the Hellespont, steering his galley with his own hands: when he arrived near the shore, as if to take possession of the continent, he leaped from his ship in complete armour, and testified sunny transports of joy.

This confidence soon began to diffuse itself over all the rest of his army; it inspired his soldiers with so much courage and security, that they fancied themselves marching, not to a precarious war, but a certain victory.

It has often been thought strange, that no measures were adopted by the Persians to stop the progress of the Macedonian army; more especially, as they had been apprised of Alexander's intentions a considerable time before he quitted Macedonia. Persia was, at that time, in possession of a very numerous and powerful fleet, while that of the Macedonians was small, and their seamen unaccustomed to naval evolutions. It would therefore appear, that, if the Persian fleet had repaired speedily to the Hellespont, and there brought the enemy to an engagement, they might have checked their aspiring foe in the outset, and so have saved both their honour and their empire. What could be their reason, for omitting so fair an opportunity of averting the blow that was soon to crush them, is not a question of easy solution. Perhaps Darius and his ministers thought themselves secure, on account of the great superiority of their troops in point of number; or were

so sunk in luxury and effeminacy, that their ruin was well-nigh effected before they were roused from their lethargy. From whatever cause their supineness arose, they seem to have been infatuated. They seem to have been, from the beginning, the devoted victims of Alexander's resentment and ambition.

Being arrived at the city of Lampsacus, which Alexander was determined to destroy, in order to punish the rebellion of its inhabitants, Anaximenes, a native of that place, came to him. This man, who was a famous historian, had been very intimate with Philip his father; and Alexander, himself, had a great esteem for him, having been his pupil. The king, suspecting the business he came upon, to be beforehand with him, swore, in express terms, that he would never grant his request. "The favour I have to desire of you," says Anaximenes, "is, that you will destroy Lampsacus." By this witty evasion the historian saved his country.

From thence Alexander went to Troy, where he paid great honours to the shade of Achilles, and caused games to be celebrated round his tomb. He admired and envied the felicity of that Grecian hero, in having found, during life, a faithful friend in Patroclus, and, after death, a noble panegyrist in Homer.

When the news of Alexander's landing in Asia was brought to Darius, he testified the utmost contempt for the Macedonian army, and indignation at the presumption of their generals. In a letter which he wrote, he reprehended this audacious insolence, and gave orders to his various governors in the different parts of his dominions, that if they took Alexander alive, to whip him with rods, make prisoners of his whole army, and send them as slaves to one of the most deserted parts of his dominions. Thus confiding in the glittering but barbarous multitude which he commanded, he disposed of the enemy as already vanquished. But confidence goes but a short part of the road to success: the great numbers which he had gathered only brought unwieldy splendour into the field, and, instead of procuring him security, increased his embarrassments.

Alexander being at length arrived on the banks of the Granicus, a river of Phrygia, found the Persians disposed to dispute his passage. The Persian satrap, taking possession of the higher banks, at the head of an army of one hundred

thousand foot, and upwards of ten thousand horse, seemed to promise himself victory. Memnon, who was a Rhodian, and commanded under Darius all the coast of Asia, had advised the generals not to venture a battle, but to lay waste the plains, and even the cities, thereby to starve Alexander's army, and oblige him to return back into Europe. Memnon was the best of all Darius's generals, and had been the principal agent in his victories. It is not easy to determine what we ought to admire most in him; whether his great wisdom in council, his courage and capacity in the field, or his zeal and attachment to his sovereign. The counsel he gave on this occasion was excellent, when we consider that his enemy was fiery and impetuous; had neither town, magazine, nor place of retreat; that he was entering a country to which he was absolutely a stranger, and inhabited by enemies; that delays alone would weaken and ruin him; and that his only hopes lay in giving battle immediately. But Aristes, a Phrygian satrap, opposed the opinion of Memnon, and protested he would never suffer the Grecians to make such havock in the territories he governed. This ill counsel prevailed over that of the Rhodian, whom the Persians, to their great prejudice, suspected of a design to protract the war, and by that means of making himself necessary to Darius.

Alexander, in the mean time, marched on at the head of his heavy-armed infantry, drawn up in two lines, with the cavalry in the wings, and the baggage following in the rear. Being arrived upon the banks of the Granicus, Parmenio advised him to encamp there in battle array, in order that his forces might have time to rest themselves, and not to pass the river till very early next morning, because the enemy would then be less able to prevent him; he added, that it would be too dangerous to attempt crossing a river in sight of an enemy, especially as that before them was deep, and its banks very craggy; so that the Persian cavalry, who waited their coming in battle array on the other side, might easily defeat them before they were drawn up; that, besides the loss which would be sustained on this occasion, this enterprise, in case it should prove unsuccessful, would be of dangerous consequence to their future affairs; the fame and glory of arms depending on the first actions.

However, these reasons were not able to make the least impression on Alexander, who declared, that it would be a shame, should he, after crossing the Hellespont, suffer his progress to be retarded by a rivulet, for so he called the Granicus out of contempt; that they ought to take advantage of the terror which the suddenness of his arrival and the boldness of his attempt had spread among the Persians, and answer the high opinion the world conceived of his courage and the valour of the Macedonians. The enemy's horse, which were very numerous, lined the whole shore, and formed a large front, in order to oppose Alexander wherever he should endeavour to pass; and the foot, which consisted chiefly of Greeks in Darius's service, were posted behind, upon an easy ascent.

The two armies continued a long time in sight of each other, on the banks of the river, as if dreading the event. The Persians waited till the Macedonians should enter the river, in order to charge them to advantage upon their landing, and the latter seemed to be making choice of a place proper for crossing, and to survey the countenance of their enemies. Upon this, Alexander ordered his horse to be brought, commanded the noblemen of the court to follow him, and behave gallantly. He himself commanded the right wing, and Parmenio the left. The king first caused a strong detachment to march into the river, himself following it with the rest of the forces. He made Parmenio advance afterwards with the left wing; he himself led on the right wing into the river, followed by the rest of the troops; the trumpets sounding, and the whole army raising cries of joy.

The Persians, seeing this detachment advance forward, began to let fly their arrows, and march to a place where the declivity was not so great, in order to keep the Macedonians from landing. But now the horse engaged with great fury, one part endeavouring to land, and the other striving to prevent them. The Macedonians, whose cavalry was vastly inferior in number, besides the disadvantage of the ground, were wounded with the darts that were shot from the eminence; not to mention that the flower of the Persian horse were drawn together in this place, and that Memnon, in concert with his sons, commanded there. The Macedonians, there-

fore, at first gave ground, after having lost the first ranks, which made a vigorous defence. Alexander, who followed them close, and reinforced them with his best troops, headed them himself, animated them by his presence, pushed the Persians, and routed them; upon which the whole army followed after, crossed the river, and attacked the enemy on all sides.

Alexander first charged the thickest part of the enemy's horse, in which the generals fought. He himself was particularly conspicuous by his shield, and the plume of feathers that overshadowed his helmet, on the two sides of which there rose two wings; as it were, of a great length, and so vastly white, that they dazzled the eyes of the beholder. The charge was very furious about his person; and though only the horse engaged, they fought like foot, man to man, without giving way on either side; every one striving to repulse his adversary, and gain ground of him. Spithrobates, lieutenant-governor of Ionia, and son-in-law to Darius, distinguished himself above the rest of the generals by his superior bravery. Being surrounded by forty Persian lords, all of them his relations, of experienced valour, and who never moved from his side, he carried terror wherever he went. Alexander, observing in how gallant a manner he signalized himself, clapt spurs to his horse, and advanced towards him. Immediately they engaged, and each having thrown a javelin, wounded the other slightly. Spithrobates falls furiously, sword in hand, upon Alexander, who, being prepared for him, thrust his pike into his face, and laid him dead at his feet. At that very moment Rasaces, brother to that nobleman, charging him on the side, gave him so furious a blow on the head with his battle-axe, that he beat off his plume, but went no deeper than the hair. As he was going to repeat his blow on the head, which now appeared through his fractured helmet, Citus cut off Rasaces's hand with one stroke of his cimeter, and by that means saved his sovereign's life. The danger to which Alexander had been exposed greatly animated the courage of his soldiers, who now performed wonders! The Persians in the centre of the horse, upon whom the light-armed troops, who had been posted in the intervals of the horse, poured a perpetual discharge of darts, being unable to sustain any longer

the attack of the Macedonians, who struck them all in the face, the two wings were immediately broke, and put to flight. Alexander did not pursue them long, but turned about immediately to charge the foot.

These at first stood their ground, but when they saw themselves attacked at the same time by the cavalry and the Macedonian phalanx, which had crossed the river, and that the battalions were now engaged, those of the Persians did not make either a long or a vigorous resistance, and were soon put to flight; the Grecian infantry in Darius's service excepted. This body of foot, retiring to a hill, demanded a promise from Alexander to let them march away unmolested; but, following the dictates of his wrath, rather than those of reason, he rushed into the midst of this body of foot, and presently lost his horse, who was killed with the thrust of a sword. The battle was so hot round him, that most of the Macedonians, who lost their lives on this occasion, fell here; for they fought against a body of men who were well disciplined; had been inured to war, and fought in despair. They were all cut to pieces, two thousand excepted, who were taken prisoners.

A great number of the Persian commanders lay dead on the spot. Aristes fled into Phrygia, where, it is said, he laid violent hands on himself, for having been the cause that the battle was fought. Twenty thousand foot, and two thousand five hundred horse, were killed in this engagement, on the side of the barbarians; and of the Macedonians, twenty-five of the royal horse were killed at the first attack. Alexander ordered Lysippus to make their statues in brass, all of which were set up in a city of Macedon, called Dia, from whence they were, many years after, carried to Rome, by Metellus. About threescore of the other horse were killed, and near thirty foot, who, the next day, were all laid with their arms and equipage in one grave; and the king granted an exemption to their fathers and children from every kind of tribute, and service.

He also took the utmost care of the wounded, visited them, and saw their wounds dressed. He inquired very particularly into their adventures, and permitted every one of them to relate his actions in the battle, and boast of his bravery. He

also granted the rights of sepulture to the principal Persians, and did not even refuse it to such Greeks as died in the Persian service; but all those whom he took prisoners he laid in chains, and sent to work as slaves in Macedonia, for having fought under the barbarian standard against their country, contrary to the express prohibition made by Greece upon that head.

Alexander made it his duty and pleasure to share the honour of his victory with the Greeks; and sent to the Athenians three hundred shields, being part of the plunder taken from the enemy, and caused the glorious inscription following to be inscribed on the rest of the spoils:—"Alexander, son of Philip, with the Greeks (the Lacedæmonians excepted), gained these spoils from the barbarians, who inhabit Asia." The greatest part of the gold and silver plate, the purple carpets, and other articles of Persian luxury, he sent to his mother.

This victory not only impressed the Persians with consternation, but served to excite the ardour of the invading army. The Persians, perceiving that the Greeks were able to overcome them, though possessed of manifest advantages, supposed that they never could be able to face them upon equal terms; and thus, from the first mischance, they gave up all hopes of succeeding by valour. Indeed, in all invasions, where the nations invaded have been once beaten, with great advantages of situation on their side, such as defensive rivers, straits, and mountains, they have always persuaded themselves, that, upon equal terms, such an enemy must be irresistible. It is the opinion of Machiavel, that he, who resolves to defend a passage, should do it with his ablest forces; for few regions of any circuit are so well defended by nature, that armies, of such force as may be thought sufficient to conquer them, cannot break through the natural difficulties of the entrance; one passage or other is commonly left unguarded; and some place weakly defended, will be the cause of a fatal triumph to the invaders. How often have the Alps given way to armies breaking into Italy? and though they produced dreadful difficulties and dangers among those that scaled them, yet they were never found to give security to those that lay behind. It was therefore wisely done of Alexander to pass the river in the face of the enemy, without marching higher to seek an

easier passage, or labouring to convey his men over it by some safer method. Having beaten the enemy upon their own terms, he no less destroyed their reputation than their strength, leaving the wretched subjects of such a state no hopes of succour from such unable protectors.

Soon after the battle of Granicus, he recovered Sardis from the enemy, which was in a manner the bulwark of the Barbarian empire on the side next the sea. He took the inhabitants under his protection, received their nobles with the utmost condescension, and permitted them to be governed by their own laws and maxims; observing to his friends around him, that such as lay the foundations of a new dominion, should always endeavour to have the fame of being merciful. Four days after, he arrived at Ephesus, carrying with him those who had been banished from thence for being his adherents, and restored its popular form of government. He assigned to the temple of Diana the tributes which were paid to the kings of Persia. Before he left Ephesus, the deputies of the cities of Trallis and Magnesia waited upon him with the keys of those places.

He afterwards marched to Miletus; which city, flattered with the hopes of a sudden and powerful support, shut their gates against him; and, indeed, the Persian fleet, which was very considerable, made a show, as if it would succour that city; but, after having made several fruitless attempts to engage that of the enemy, it was intimidated, and forced to retire. Memnon had shut himself up in this fortress, with a great number of his soldiers, who had escaped from the battle, and was determined to make a vigorous defence. Alexander, who would not lose a moment's time, attacked it, and planted scaling ladders on all sides. The scalade was carried on with great vigour, and opposed with no less intrepidity, though Alexander sent fresh troops to relieve those that had been on duty, without the least intermission; and this lasted several days. At last, finding his soldiers were everywhere repulsed, and that the city was provided with every thing for a long siege, he planted all his machines against it, made a great number of breaches, and, whenever these were attacked, a new scalade was attempted. The besieged, after sustaining all these efforts with prodigious bravery, capitulated, to prevent being taken by storm. Alexander treated the Milesians with

the utmost humanity, but sold all the foreigners who were found in it.

After possessing himself of Miletus, he marched into Caria, in order to lay siege to Halicarnassus. This city was of prodigiously difficult access, from its happy situation, and had been strongly fortified. Besides Memnon, the ablest, as well as the most valiant, of all Darius's commanders, had got into it, with a body of choice soldiers, with a design to signalize his courage and fidelity for his sovereign. He accordingly made a very noble defence, in which he was seconded by Ephialtes, another general of great merit. Whatever could be expected from the most intrepid bravery, and the most consummate knowledge in the science of war, was conspicuous on both sides on this occasion. Memnon, finding it impossible for him to hold out any longer, was forced to abandon the city. As the sea was open to him, after having put a strong garrison into the citadel, which was well stored with provisions, he took with him the surviving inhabitants, with all their riches, and conveyed them into the island of Cos, which was not far from Halicarnassus. Alexander did not think proper to besiege the citadel, it being of little importance after the city was destroyed, which he demolished to the very foundations. He left it, after having encompassed it with strong walls, and stationed some good troops in the country.

Soon after this, he restored Ada, queen of Caria, to her kingdom, of which she had been dispossessed some time before: and, as a testimony of the deep sense she had of the favours received from Alexander, she sent him every day meats dressed in the most exquisite manner, and the most excellent cooks of every kind. Alexander answered the queen on this occasion, that all this train was of no service to him, for that he was possessed of much better cooks, whom Leonidas his governor had given him; one of whom prepared him a good dinner, and the other an excellent supper, and those were Temperance and Exercise.

Several kings of Asia Minor submitted voluntarily to Alexander. Mithridates, king of Pontus, was one of these, who afterwards adhered to this prince, and followed him in his expeditions. He was son to Ariobarzanes, governor of Phrygia, and king of Pontus, of whom mention has been made else-

where. He is computed to be the sixteenth king from Artabanus, who is considered as the founder of that kingdom, of which he was put in possession by Darius, son of Hystaspes, his father. The famous Mithridates, who so long employed the Roman armies, was one of his successors.

The year ensuing, Alexander began the campaign very early. He had debated whether it would be proper for him to march directly against Darius, or first subdue the rest of the maritime provinces. The latter opinion appeared the safest, since he thereby would not be molested by such nations as he should leave behind him. This progress was a little interrupted at first. Near Phaselis, a city situated between Lycia and Pamphylia, is a defile along the sea shore, which is always dry at low water, so that travellers may pass it at that time; but when the sea rises, it is all under water. As it was now winter, Alexander, whom nothing could daunt, was desirous of passing it before the waters fell. His forces were therefore obliged to march a whole day in the water, which came up to their waists.

Alexander, after having settled affairs in Cilicia and Pamphylia, marched his army to Celsene, a city of Phrygia, watered by the river Marsyas, which the fictions of poets have made so famous. He summoned the garrison of the citadel, whither the inhabitants were retired, to surrender; but these, believing it impregnable, answered haughtily, "That they would first die." However, finding the attack carried on with great vigour, they desired a truce of sixty days, at the expiration of which they promised to open their gates, in case they were not succoured. And accordingly, no aid arriving, they surrendered themselves upon the day fixed.

From thence he marched into Phrygia, the ancient dominion of the celebrated king Midas; having taken the capital city, he was desirous of seeing the famous chariot to which the Gordian knot was tied. This knot, which fastened the yoke to the beam, was tied with so much intricacy, that it was impossible to discover where the ends began, or how they were concealed. According to an ancient tradition of the country, an oracle had foretold, that the man who could untie it should possess the empire of Asia. Alexander being firmly persuaded that the oracle was meant for him, after many

fruitless trials, instead of attempting to untie it in the usual manner, drew his sword, and cut it to pieces, crying out, that that was the only way to untie it. The priest hailed the omen, and declared that Alexander had fulfilled the oracle.

Darius, who now began to be more alarmed than before, used all the art in his power to raise an army, and encourage his forces. He sent Memnon into Greece to invade Macedonia; in order to make a diversion of the Grecian forces: but this general, dying upon that expedition, Darius's hopes vanished on that quarter; and, instead of invading the enemy, he was obliged to consult for the protection of his empire at home.

In the mean time, Alexander, having left Gordion, marched into Paphlagonia and Cappadocia, which he subdued. It was there he heard of Memnon's death; the news whereof confirmed him in the resolution he had taken, of marching immediately into the provinces of Upper Asia. Accordingly he advanced, by heavy marches, into Cilicia, and arrived in the country called Cyrus's Camp. From thence there is no more than fifty stadia (two leagues and a half each) to the pass of Cilicia, which is a very narrow strait, through which travellers are obliged to go from Cappadocia to Tarsus. The officer who guarded it in Darius's name had left but few soldiers in it; and these fled the instant they heard of the enemy's arrival. Upon this, Alexander entered the pass, and, after viewing very attentively the situation of the place, admired his own good fortune, and confessed, he might have been very easily stopped and defeated there, merely by the throwing of stones; for, not to mention that this pass was so narrow, that four men, completely armed, could scarcely walk abreast in it, the top of the mountain hung over the road, which was not only straight, but broke in several places, by the fall of torrents from the mountains.

Alexander marched his whole army to the city of Tarsus, where it arrived the instant the Persians were setting fire to that place, to prevent his plundering the great riches of so flourishing a city. But Parmenio, whom the king had sent thither with a detachment of horse, arrived very seasonably to stop the progress of the fire, and marched into the city, which

he saved, the barbarians having fled the moment they heard of his arrival.

Through this city the Cydnus runs; a river not so remarkable for the breadth of its channel as for the beauty of its waters, which are vastly limpid; but at the same time excessively cold, because of the tufted trees with which its banks are overshadowed. It was now about the end of the summer, which is excessively hot in Cilicia, and in the hottest part of the day; when the king, who was quite covered with sweat and dirt, arriving on its banks, had a mind to bathe, invited by the beauty and clearness of the stream. However, the instant he plunged into it, he was seized with so violent a shivering, that all the bystanders fancied he was dying. Upon this he was carried to his tent, after fainting away. The physicians, who were sensible they should be answerable for the event, did not dare to hazard violent and extraordinary remedies. However, Philip, one of his physicians, who had always attended upon him from his youth, and loved him with the utmost tenderness, not only as his sovereign, but his child; raising himself (merely out of affection to Alexander) above all prudential considerations, offered to give him a dose, which, though not very violent, would nevertheless be speedy in its effects; and desired three days to prepare it. At this proposal every one trembled, but he only whom it most concerned; Alexander being afflicted upon no other account, than because it would keep him three days from appearing at the head of his army.

Whilst these things were doing, Alexander received a letter from Parmenio, who was left behind in Cappadocia, in whom Alexander put greater confidence than in any other of his courtiers; the purport of which was, to bid him beware of Philip, his physician, for that Darius had bribed him, by the promise of a thousand talents, and his sister in marriage. This letter gave him great uneasiness; for he was now at full leisure to weigh all the reasons he might have to hope or fear. But confidence in a physician, whose sincere attachment and fidelity he had proved from his infancy, soon prevailed, and removed all suspicions. He folded up the letter, and put it under his bolster, without acquainting his attendants with the contents; in the mean time his physician entered, with a the-

dixine in his hand, and offered the cup to Alexander. The hero, upon this, took the cup from him, and, holding out the letter, desired the physician to read, while he drank off the draught with an intrepid countenance, without the least hesitation, or discovering the least suspicion or uneasiness. The physician, as he perused the letter, showed greater signs of indignation than of fear; he bid him, with a resolute tone, harbour no uneasiness, and that the recovery of his health would, in a short time, wipe off all suspicion. In the mean time the physic wrought so violently, that the symptoms seemed to strengthen Parmenio's accusation; but, at last, the medicine having gained the ascendant, he began to assume his accustomed vigour; and in about three days he was able to show himself to his longing soldiers, by whom he was equally beloved and respected.

In the mean time, Darius was on his march, filled with a vain security in the superiority of his numbers, and confident, not in the valour, but in the splendour of his forces. The plains of Assyria, in which he was encamped, gave him an opportunity of extending his horse as he pleased, and of taking the advantage which the great difference between the number of soldiers in each army gave him. But, instead of this, he resolved to march to narrow passes, where his cavalry, and the multitude of his troops, so far from doing him any service, could only encumber each other; and accordingly advanced towards the enemy, for whom he should have waited; and thus ran visibly on his destruction.

His courtiers and attendants, however, whose custom it was to flatter and applaud all his actions, congratulated him upon an approaching victory, as if it had been certain and inevitable. There was at that time, in the army of Darius, one Caridemus, an Athenian; a man of great experience in war, who personally hated Alexander, for having caused him to be banished from Athens. Darius, turning to this Athenian, asked whether he believed him powerful enough to defeat his army. Caridemus, who had been brought up in the bosom of liberty, forgetting that he was in a country of slavery, where to oppose the inclinations of the prince is of the most dangerous consequence, replied as follows: "Permit me, sir, to speak truth now, when only my sincerity can be of service; your present splendour,

your prodigious numbers, which have drained the East, may be terrible indeed to your effeminate neighbours, but can be no way dreadful to a Macedonian army. Discipline, close combat, courage, is all their care: every single man among them is almost himself a general. These men are not to be repulsed by the stones of slingers, or stakes burnt at the end; none but troops armed like themselves can stop their career; let, therefore, the gold and silver, which glitters in your camp, be exchanged for soldiers and steel, for weapons and for hearts, that are able to defend you." Darius, though naturally of a mild disposition, had all his passions roused at the freedom of this man's advice: he ordered him at once to be executed; Caridemus all the time crying out, that his avenger was at hand; Darius too soon repented his rashness, and experienced, when it was too late, the truth of all that had been told him.

The emperor now advanced with his troops towards the river Euphrates; over his tent was exhibited, to the view of his whole army, the image of the sun in jewels; while wealth and magnificence shone in every quarter of the army.

First they carried silver altars, on which lay fire, called by them Sacred and Eternal; and these were followed by the Magi, singing hymns, after the manner of their country; they were accompanied by three hundred and sixty-five youths (equalling the number of days in a year) clothed in purple robes. Afterwards came a chariot consecrated to Jupiter, drawn by white horses, and followed by a courser of a prodigious size, to whom they gave the name of the Sun's Horse; and the equerries were dressed in white, each having a golden rod in his hand.

Ten chariots, adorned with sculptures in gold and silver, followed after. Then marched a body of horse, composed of twelve nations, whose manners and customs were various, and all armed in a different manner. Next advanced those whom the Persians called the Immortals, amounting to ten thousand, who surpassed the rest of the barbarians in the sumptuousness of their apparel. They all wore golden collars, were clothed in robes of gold tissue, with vestments having sleeves to them quite covered with precious stones.

Thirty paces from them followed those called the king's relations, to the number of fifteen thousand, in habits very

much resembling those of women; and more remarkable for the vain pomp of their dress than the glitter of their arms.

Those called the Doriphori came after; they carried the king's cloak, and walked before his chariot, in which he seemed to sit, as on a high throne. This chariot was enriched on both sides with images of the gods, in gold and silver; and from the middle of the yoke, which was covered with jewels, rose two statues, a cubit in height, the one representing War, the other Peace, having a golden eagle between them, with wings extended, as ready to take its flight.

But nothing could equal the magnificence of the king; he was clothed in a vest of purple, striped with silver, and over it a long robe, glittering all over with gold and precious stones, that represented two falcons rushing from the clouds, and pecking at one another. Around his waist he wore a golden girdle, after the manner of women, whence his cimeter hung, the scabbard of which flamed all over with gems; on his head he wore a tiara, or mitre, round which was a fillet of blue mixed with white.

On each side of him walked two hundred of his nearest relations, followed by two thousand pikemen, whose pikes were adorned with silver, and tipped with gold; and, lastly, thirty thousand infantry, who composed the rear-guard. These were followed by the king's horses, four hundred in number, all which were led.

About one hundred, or a hundred and twenty paces from thence, came Sysigambis, Darius's mother, seated on a chariot, and his consort on another; with the several female attendants of both queens, riding on horseback. Afterwards came fifteen large chariots, in which were the king's children, and those who had the care of their education, with a band of eunuchs, who are to this day in great esteem among those nations. Then marched the concubines, to the number of three hundred and sixty, in the equipage of queens, followed by six hundred mules and three hundred camels, which carried the king's treasure, and guarded by a great body of archers.

After these came the wives of the crown officers, and of the greatest lords of the court; then the suttlers, and servants of the army, seated also in chariots.

In the rear were a body of light-armed troops, with their commanders, who closed the whole march.

Such was the splendour of this pageant monarch: he took the field encumbered with an unnecessary train of concubines, attended with troops of various nations, speaking different languages, for their numbers impossible to be marshalled, and so rich and effeminate in gold and in garments, as seemed rather to invite than deter an invader.

Alexander, after marching from Tarsus, arrived at Bactriana; from thence, still earnest in coming up with his enemy, he came to Solæ, where he offered sacrifice to *Æsculapius*; from thence he went forward to Pyramus, to Malles, and at last to Cartabala: it was here that he first received advice that Darius, with his whole army, was encamped at Socus in Assyria, two days' journey from Cilicia. He therefore resolved, without delay, to meet him there, as the badness of the weather obliged him to halt.

In the mean time, Darius led on his immense army into the plains of Assyria, which they covered to a great extent; there he was advised by the Grecian commanders, who were in his service, and who composed the strength of his army, to halt, as he would there have sufficient room to expand his forces, and surround the invader. Darius rejected their advice; and, instead of waiting Alexander's approach, vainly puffed up with pride by his surrounding courtiers, he resolved to pursue the invader, who wished for nothing more ardently than to come to an engagement.

Accordingly, Darius, having sent his treasures to Damascus, a city of Assyria, he marched with the main body of his army towards Cilicia, then turned short towards Issus; and, quite ignorant of the situation of the enemy, supposed he was pursuing Alexander, when he had actually left him in the rear. There is a strange mixture of pride, cruelty, splendour, and magnanimity, in all the actions of this Persian prince. At Issus he barbarously put to death all the Greeks who were sick in that city, a few soldiers only excepted, whom he dismissed, after having made them view every part of his camp, in order to report his numbers and strength to the invader; these soldiers accordingly brought Alexander word of the ap-

approach of Darius, and he now began to think seriously of preparing for battle.

Alexander fearing, from the numbers of the enemy, that they would attack him in his camp, fortified it with a ditch and a rampart; but at the same time discovered great joy to see the enemy hastening to their own destruction, and preparing to attack him in a place which was but wide enough for a small army to act and move at liberty in. Thus the two armies were, in some measure, reduced to an equality: the Macedonians had space sufficient to employ their whole force, while the Persians had not room for the twentieth part of theirs.

Nevertheless, Alexander, as frequently happens to the greatest captains, felt some emotion, when he saw that he was going to hazard all at one blow. The more fortune had favoured him hitherto, the more he now dreaded her frowns; the moment approaching, which was to determine his fate. But, on the other side, his courage revived, from the reflection, that the rewards of his toils exceeded the dangers of them; and, though he was uncertain with regard to the victory, he at least hoped to die gloriously, and like Alexander. However, he did not divulge these thoughts to any one; well knowing, that, upon the approach of a battle, a general ought not to discover the least marks of sadness or perplexity; and that the troops should read nothing but resolution and intrepidity in the countenance of their commander.

Having made his soldiers refresh themselves, and ordered them to be ready for the third watch of the night, which began at twelve, he went to the top of a mountain, and there, by torch-light, sacrificed, after the manner of his country, to the gods of the place. As soon as the signal was given, his army, which was ready to march and fight, being commanded to make great speed, arrived by day-break at the several posts assigned them. But now the spies bringing word that Darius was not above thirty furlongs from them, the king caused his army to halt, and then drew it up in battle array. The peasants, in the greatest terror, came also, and acquainted Darius with the arrival of the enemy; which he would not at first believe, imagining, as we have observed, that Alexander fled before him, and was endeavouring to escape. This news threw his

troops into the utmost confusion; who, in their surprise, ran to their arms with great precipitation and disorder.

The spot where the battle was fought lay near the city of Issus, which the mountains bounded on one side, and the sea on the other. The plain that was situated between them both must have been considerably broad, as the two armies encamped in it; and I before observed, that Darius's army was vastly numerous. The river Pinarius ran through the middle of this plain, from the mountain to the sea, and divided it very nearly into two equal parts. The mountain formed a hollow kind of gulph, the extremity of which, in a curved line, bounded part of the plain.

Alexander drew up his army in the following order. He posted at the extremity of the right wing, which stood near the mountains, the Argyraspides, commanded by Nicenor; then the phalanx of Ocnus, and afterwards that of Peirdiecas, which terminated in the centre of the main army. On the extremity of the left wing he posted the phalanx of Amyntas, then that of Ptolemy, and lastly that of Meleager. Thus the famous Macedonian phalanx was formed, which we find was composed of six distinct bodies. Each of these was headed by able generals; but Alexander, being always generalissime, had consequently the command of the whole army. The horse were placed on the two wings; the Macedonians, with the Thessalians, on the right; and the Peloponnesians, with the other allies, on the left. Graterus commanded all the foot, which composed the left wing; and Parmenio the whole wing. Alexander had reserved to himself the command of the right. He had desired Parmenio to keep as near the sea as possible, to prevent the barbarians from surrounding him; and Nicenor, on the contrary, was ordered to keep at some distance from the mountains, to keep himself out of the reach of the arrows discharged by those who were posted on them. He covered the horse on his right wing with the light horse of Protomachus and the Pœnians, and his foot with the bowmen of Antiochus. He reserved the Agrians (commanded by Attalus, who was greatly esteemed), and some forces that were newly arrived from Greece, to oppose those Darius had posted on the mountains.

As for Darius's army, it was drawn up in the following order. Having heard that Alexander was marching towards

him in battle array, he commanded thirty thousand horse, and twenty thousand bowmen, to cross the river Pinarius, that he might have an opportunity to draw up his army in a commodious manner on the hither side. In the centre he posted the thirty thousand Greeks in his service, who, doubtless, were the flower and chief strength of his army, and were not at all inferior in bravery to the Macedonian phalanx, with thirty thousand barbarians on their right, and as many on their left; the field of battle not being able to contain a great number: these were all heavily armed. The rest of the infantry, distinguished by their several nations, were ranged behind the first line. It is a pity Arrian does not tell us the depth of each of those two lines; but it must have been prodigious, if we consider the extreme narrowness of the pass, and the amazing multitude of the Persian forces. On the mountain which lay to their left, against Alexander's right wing, Darius posted twenty thousand men, who were so ranged (in the several windings of the mountains), that some were behind Alexander's army, and others before it.

Darius, after having put his army in battle array, made his horse cross the river again, and dispatched the greatest part of them towards the sea against Parmenio, because they could fight on that spot with the greatest advantage. The rest of his cavalry he sent to the left, towards the mountain. However, finding that these would be of no service on that side, because of the too great narrowness of the spot, he caused a great part of them to wheel about to the right. As for himself, he took his post in the centre of his army, pursuant to the custom of the Persian monarchs.

The two armies being thus drawn up in order of battle, Alexander marched very slowly, that his soldiers might take a little breath: so that it was supposed they would not engage till very late. For Darius still continued with his army on the other side of the river, in order not to lose the advantageous situation which he had gained; and he even caused such parts of the shore as were not craggy, to be secured with palisadoes, whence the Macedonians concluded that he was already afraid of being defeated. The two armies being come in sight, Alexander, riding along the ranks, called by their several names the principal officers, both of the Macedonians and

foreigners, and exhorted the soldiers to signalize themselves, speaking to each nation according to its peculiar genius and disposition. The whole army set up a shout, and eagerly desired to be led on directly against the enemy.

Alexander had advanced at first very slowly, to prevent the ranks on the front of the phalanx from breaking, and halted by intervals. But when he was got within bow-shot, he commanded all his right wing to plunge impetuously into the river, purposely that he might surprise the barbarians, come sooner to a close engagement, and be less exposed to the enemy's arrows: in all which he was very successful. Both sides fought with the utmost bravery and resolution; and being now forced to fight close, they charged both sides sword in hand, when a dreadful slaughter ensued; for they engaged man to man, each aiming the point of his sword at the face of his opponent. Alexander, who performed the duty both of a private soldier and of a commander, wished nothing so ardently as the glory of killing with his own hand Darius, who, being seated on a high chariot, was conspicuous to the whole army; and by that means was a powerful object both to encourage his own soldiers to defend, and the enemy to attack him. And now the battle grew more furious and bloody than before, so that a great number of Persian noblemen were killed. Each side fought with incredible bravery. Oxathres, brother to Darius, observing that Alexander was going to charge that monarch with the utmost vigour, rushed before his chariot with the horse under his command, and distinguished himself above the rest. The horses that drew Darius's chariot lost all command, and shook the yoke so violently, that they were upon the point of overturning the king; who, seeing himself going to fall alive into the hands of his enemies, leaped down, and mounted another chariot. The rest, observing this, fled as fast as possible, and, throwing down their arms, made the best of their way. Alexander had received a slight wound in his thigh, but happily it was not attended with ill consequences. Whilst part of the Macedonian cavalry (posted to the right) were improving the advantages they had gained against the Persians, the remainder of them, who engaged the Greeks, met with greater resistance. These, observing that the body of infantry in question were no longer covered by the right

wing of Alexander's army, which was pursuing the enemy, came and attacked it in flank. The engagement was very bloody, and victory a long time doubtful. The Greeks endeavoured to push the Macedonians into the river, and to recover the disorder into which the left wing had been thrown. The Macedonians also signalized themselves by the utmost bravery, in order to preserve the advantage which Alexander had just before gained, and support the honour of their phalanx, which had always been considered as invincible. There was also a perpetual jealousy between the Greeks and Macedonians, which greatly increased their courage, and made the resistance on each side very vigorous. On Alexander's side, Ptolemy, the son of Seleucus, lost his life, with a hundred and twenty more considerable officers, who had all behaved with the utmost gallantry.

In the mean time the right wing, which was victorious under its monarch, after defeating all who opposed it, wheeled to the left against those Greeks who were fighting with the rest of the Macedonian phalanx, whom they charged very vigorously; and, attacking them in flank, entirely routed them.

At the very beginning of the engagement, the Persian cavalry, which was in the right wing (without waiting for their being attacked by the Macedonians) had crossed the river, and rushed upon the Thessalian horse, several of whose squadrons they broke. Upon this the remainder of the latter, in order to avoid the impetuosity of the first charge, and oblige the Persians to break their ranks, made a feint of retiring, as terrified by the prodigious number of the enemy. The Persians seeing this, were filled with boldness and confidence; and thereupon the greatest part of them advancing, without order or precaution, as to a certain victory, had no thoughts but of pursuing the enemy. Upon this the Thessalians, seeing them in such confusion, faced about on a sudden, and renewed the fight with fresh ardour. The Persians made a brave defence, till they saw Darius put to flight, and the Greeks cut to pieces by the phalanx, when they fled in the utmost disorder.

With regard to Darius, the instant he saw his left wing broke, he was one of the first who fled in his chariot; but getting afterwards into craggy, rugged places, he mounted on horseback, throwing down his bow, shield, and royal mantle.

Alexander, however, did not attempt to pursue him till he saw his phalanx had conquered the Greeks, and that the Persian horse were put to flight; which were of great advantage to the prince that fled.

Syogambis, Darius's mother, and that monarch's queen (who was also his sister), were found remaining in the camp, with two of the king's daughters, his son (yet a child), and some Persian ladies; for the rest had been carried to Damascus, with part of Darius's treasure, and all such things as contributed only to the luxury and magnificence of his court. No more than three thousand talents were found in his camp; but the rest of the treasure fell afterwards into the hands of Parmenio, at the taking of the city of Damascus.

As for the barbarians, having exerted themselves with bravery enough in the first attack, they afterwards gave way in the most shameful manner; and, being intent upon nothing but saving themselves, they took different ways to effect their safety. Some struck into the high road, which led directly to Persia: others ran into woods and lonely mountains; and a small number returned to their camp, which the victorious enemy had already taken and plundered. In this battle, threescore thousand of the Persian infantry, and ten thousand horsemen were slain; forty thousand were taken prisoners; while of Alexander's army there fell but two hundred and fourscore in all.

The evening after the engagement, Alexander invited his chief officers to a feast, at which himself presided, notwithstanding he had been wounded that day in battle. The festivity, however, had scarce begun, when they were interrupted by sad lamentations from a neighbouring tent, which at first they considered as a fresh alarm; but they were soon taught that it came from the tent in which the wife and mother of Darius were kept, who were expressing their sorrow for the supposed death of Darius. A eunuch, who had seen his cloak in the hands of a soldier, imagining he was killed, brought them these dreadful tidings. Alexander, however, sent Leonatus, one of his officers, to undeceive them, and to inform them, that the emperor was still alive. The women, little used to the appearance of strangers, upon the arrival of the Macedonian soldier, imagining he was sent to put them to

death, throw themselves at his feet, and entreated him to spare them a little while. They were ready, they said, to die; and only desired to bury Darius before they should suffer. The soldier assured them, that he came rather to comfort than afflict them: that the monarch, whom they deplored, was still living; and he gave Sysigambis his hand to raise her from the ground.

The next day, Alexander, after visiting the wounded, caused the last honours to be paid to the dead, in the presence of the whole army, drawn up in the most splendid order of battle. He treated the Persians of distinction in the same manner, and permitted Darius's mother to bury whatever persons she pleased, according to the customs and ceremonies practised in her country. After this, he sent a message to the queens, informing them that he was coming to pay them a visit; and accordingly, commanding all his train to withdraw, he entered the tent, accompanied only by Hephæstion, who made so cautious and discreet a use of the liberty granted him, that he seemed to take it not so much out of inclination, as from a desire to obey the king, who would have it so. They were both of the same age, but Hephæstion was taller, so that the queens took him first for the king, and paid him their respects as such. But some captive eunuchs pointing out Alexander, Sysigambis fell prostrate before him, and entreated pardon for her mistake; but the king, raising her from the ground, assured her, that his friend also was an Alexander; and, after comforting her and her attendants, and assuring her that no part of the state she had formerly enjoyed should be withheld, he took the son of Darius, that was yet but a child, in his arms. The infant, without discovering the least terror, stretched out his arms to the conqueror, who, being affected with its confidence, said to Hephæstion—"Oh! that Darius had some share, some portion of this infant's generosity." That he might prevent every suspicion of design on the chastity of the consort of Darius, and, at the same time, remove every cause of fear or anxiety from her mind, he resolved never to visit her tent more, although she was one of the most engaging women of her time. This moderation, so very becoming in a royal conqueror, gave occasion to that noted observation of Plutarch:—"That the princesses of Persia lived in an enemy's

camp, as if they had been in some sacred temple, unseen, unapproached, and unmolested." Sysigambis was distinguished by extraordinary marks of Alexander's favour: Darius himself could not have treated her with more respect than did that generous prince. He allowed her to regulate the funerals of all the Persians of the royal family, who had fallen in battle; and, through her intercession, he pardoned several of Darius's nobles, who had justly incurred his displeasure. This magnanimous conduct has done more honour to Alexander's character than all his splendid conquests: the gentleness of his manners to the suppliant captives, his chastity and continence, when he had the power to enforce obedience, were setting an example to heroes, which it has been the pride of many since to imitate.

After this overthrow, all Phœnicia, the capital city, Tyre, only excepted, was yielded to the conqueror, and Parmenio was made governor. Good fortune followed him so fast, that it rewarded him beyond his expectations. Antigonus, his general in Asia, overthrew the Cappadocians, Paphlagonians, and others lately revolted. Aristodemus, the Persian admiral, was overcome at sea, and a great part of his fleet taken. The city of Damascus also, in which the treasures of Darius were deposited, was given up to Alexander. The governor of this place, forgetting the duty he owed his sovereign, informed Alexander by letter, upon a certain day, that he would lead out his soldiers laden with spoil from the city, as if willing to secure a retreat; and these, with all their wealth, might be taken, with a proper body of troops to intercept them. Alexander punctually followed the governor's instruction, and thus became possessed of an immense plunder. Besides money and plate, which was afterwards coined, and amounted to immense sums, thirty thousand men, and seven thousand beasts laden with baggage, were taken. We find by Parmenio's letter to Alexander, that he found in Damascus three hundred and twenty-nine of Darius's concubines; all admirably well skilled in music; and also a multitude of officers, whose business it was to regulate and prepare every thing relating to that monarch's entertainment.

In the mean time, Darius, having travelled on horseback the whole night, struck with terror and consternation, arrived

in the morning at Soebus, where he assembled the remains of his army: still, however, his pride did not forsake him with his fortune: he wrote a letter to Alexander, in which he rather treated him as an inferior: he commanded, rather than requested, that Alexander would take a ransom for his mother, wife, and children. With regard to the empire, he would fight with him for it upon equal terms, and bring an equal number of troops into the field. To this Alexander replied: "That he disdained all correspondence with a man whom he had already overcome; that in case he appeared before him in a supplicating posture, he would give up his wife and mother without ransom; that he knew how to conquer, and to oblige the conquered."

Thus coming to no issue, the king marched from thence into Phœnicia, the citizens of Byblos opening their gates to him. Every one submitted as he advanced, but no people did this with greater pleasure than the Sidonians. We have seen in what manner Ochus had destroyed their city eighteen years before, and put all the inhabitants of it to the sword. After he was returned into Persia, such of the citizens as, upon account of their traffic, or for some other cause, had been absent, and by that means had escaped the massacre, returned thither, and rebuilt their city. But they had retained so violent a hatred to the Persians, that they were overjoyed at this opportunity of throwing off their yoke; and, indeed, they were the first in that country who submitted to the king by their deputies, in opposition to Strato, their king, who had declared in favour of Darius. Alexander dethroned him, and permitted Hephæstion to elect in his stead whomsoever of the Sidonians he should judge worthy of so exalted a station.

This favourite was quartered at the house of two brothers, who were young, and of the most considerable family in the city: to these he offered the crown. But they refused it; telling him, that, according to the laws of their country, no person could ascend the throne unless he were of the blood royal. Hephæstion, admiring this greatness of soul, which could contain what others strive to obtain by fire and sword;—"Continue," says he to them, "in this way of thinking, you who seem sensible that it is much more glorious to refuse a diadem than to accept it. However, name me some person of

the royal family, who may remember, when he is king, that it was you that set the crown on his head." The brothers, observing that several, through excessive ambition, aspired to this high station, and to obtain it paid a servile court to Alexander's favourites, declared, that they did not know any person more worthy of the diadem than one Abdolonymus, descended, though at a great distance, from the royal family; but who, at the same time, was so poor, that he was obliged to get his bread by day labour, in a garden without the city; his honesty and integrity had reduced him, as well as many more, to such extreme poverty. Solely intent upon his labour, he did not hear the clashing of the arms, which had shaken all Asia.

Immediately the two brothers went in search of Abdolonymus, with the royal garments, and found him weeding in his garden. When they saluted him king, Abdolonymus looked upon the whole as a dream; and, unable to guess the meaning of it, asked if they were not ashamed to ridicule him in that manner? But as he made a greater resistance than suited their inclinations, they themselves washed him, and threw over his shoulders a purple robe, richly embroidered with gold; then, after repeated oaths of their being in earnest, they conducted him to the palace.

The news of this was immediately spread over the whole city. Most of the inhabitants were overjoyed at it, but some murmured, especially the rich; who, despising Abdolonymus's former abject state, could not forbear showing their resentment upon that account, in the king's court. Alexander commanded the new-elected prince to be sent for, and, after surveying him attentively a long time, he spoke thus:—"Thy air and mien do not contradict what is related of thy extraction; but I should be glad to know with what frame of mind thou didst bear thy poverty?"—"Would to the gods," replied he, "that I may bear this crown with equal patience. These hands have procured me all I desired; and whilst I possessed nothing, I wanted nothing." This answer gave Alexander a high idea of Abdolonymus's virtue; so that he presented him not only with the rich furniture, which had belonged to Strato, and part of the Persian plunder, but likewise annexed one of the neighbouring provinces to his dominions.

Syria and Phœnicia were already subdued by the Macedo-

nians, the city of Tyre excepted. This city was justly called "The Queen of the Sea," that element bringing to it the tribute of all nations. She boasted her having first invented navigation, and taught mankind the art of braving the winds and waves, by the assistance of a frail bark. The happy situation of Tyre, the conveniency and extent of its ports, the character of its inhabitants, who were industrious, laborious, patient, and extremely courteous to strangers, invited thither merchants from all parts of the globe; so that it might be considered not so much a city belonging to any particular nation, as the common city of all nations, and the centre of their commerce.

Alexander thought it necessary, both for his pride and his interest, to take this city. The spring was now coming on. Tyre was, at that time, seated in an island of the sea, about a quarter of a league from the continent. It was surrounded with a strong wall, a hundred and fifty feet high, which the waves of the sea washed; and the Carthaginians (a colony from Tyre), a mighty people, and sovereigns of the ocean, whose ambassadors were at that time in the city, offering to Hercules, according to ancient custom, an annual sacrifice, had engaged themselves to succour the Tyrians. It was this made them so haughty; firmly determined not to surrender, they fix machines on the ramparts and on the towers, arm their young men, and build workhouses for the artificers, of whom there were great numbers in the city, so that every part resounded with the noise of warlike preparations. They likewise cast iron grapples to throw on the enemy's works, and tear them away; as also cramp irons, and such like instruments, formed for the defence of cities. So many difficulties opposing such a hazardous design, and so many reasons, should have made Alexander decline the siege.

It was impossible to come near this city, in order to storm it, without making a bank, which would reach from the continent to the island; and an attempt of this kind would be attended with difficulties that were seemingly insurmountable. The little arm of the sea, which separated the island from the continent, was exposed to the west wind, which often raised such dreadful storms there, that the waves would in an instant sweep away all works. Besides, as the city was surrounded on all

sides by the sea, there was no fixing scaling ladders, nor throwing up batteries, but at a distance in the ships; and the wall, which projected into the sea towards the lower part, prevented people from landing; not to mention that the military engines, which might have been put on board the galleys, could not do much execution, the waves were so very tumultuous.

These obstacles, however, by no means retarded the enterprising resolutions of Alexander; but, willing to gain a place rather by treaty than by the sword, he sent heralds into the place, proposing a peace between the Tyrians and him. The citizens, however, a tumultuous, ungovernable body, instead of listening to his proposals, instead of endeavouring to avert his resentment, contrary to the law of nations, killed his heralds, and threw them from the top of the walls into the sea. This outrage inflamed Alexander's passions to the highest degree; he resolved upon the city's destruction, and sat down before it, filled with persevering resentment. His first endeavour was to form a pier, jutting from the continent, and reaching to the city, which was built upon an island. From the foundations of an ancient city upon the shore he dug stones and rubbish; from Mount Lebanon, that hung over the city, he cut down cedars, that served for piles; and thus he began his work without interruption. But the farther they went from shore, the greater difficulties they met with, because the sea was deeper, and the workmen were much annoyed by the darts discharged from the top of the walls. The enemy also, who were masters at sea, coming in great boats, prevented the Macedonians from carrying on their work with vigour. At last, however, the pile appeared above water, a level of considerable breadth: then the besieged, at last, perceived their rashness; they saw, with terror, the vastness of the work, which the sea had, till then, kept from their sight, and now began to attack the workmen with javelins, and wound them at a distance. It was therefore resolved, that skins and sails should be spread to cover the workmen, and that two wooden towers should be raised at the head of the bank, to prevent the approaches of the enemy. Yet these were burned soon after, through means of a fire-ship sent in by the besieged, together with all the wood-work composing the pile, that could be touched by the fire.

Alexander, though he saw most of his designs defeated, and his works demolished, was not at all dejected upon that account. His soldiers endeavoured, with redoubled vigour, to repair the ruins of the bank; and made and planted new machines with such prodigious speed, as quite astonished the enemy. Alexander himself was present on all occasions, and superintended every part of the works. His presence and great abilities advanced them still more than the multitude of hands employed in them. The whole was near finished, and brought almost to the wall of the city, when there arose, on a sudden, an impetuous wind, which drove the waves with so much fury against the mole, that the cement, and other things that barred it, gave way, and the water, rushing through the stones, broke it in the middle. As soon as the great heap of stones, which supported the earth, was thrown down, the whole sunk at once, as into an abyss.

Any warrior but Alexander would that instant have quite laid aside his enterprise; and, indeed, he himself debated, whether he should not raise the siege. But a superior Power, who had foretold and sworn the ruin of Tyre, and whose orders this prince only executed, prompted him to continue the siege; and, dispelling all his fear and anxiety, inspired him with courage and confidence, and fired the breasts of his whole army with the same sentiments. Neither Alexander, however, nor his troops, knew from whence that animating Power came. Agreeably to the superstitious notions of their times, they imputed the perseverance and strength with which they had been armed to the kind interposition of the gods of their country. Alexander, though a king, a conqueror, a scholar, and a man of the world, had not been able to overcome the absurdities which he had imbibed with his religion: in him, however, they were not very palpable. But knowing, from experience, what valour and resource he had in the dominion which the ancients had usurped over the minds of his people, he always endeavoured to secure an implicit obedience to their dictates. On this occasion, therefore, he added artifice to his own feelings, in order to encourage his soldiers. At one time he gave out, that Apollo was about to abandon the Tyrians to their doom; and that to prevent his flight, they had bound him to his pedestals with a golden chain: at another, that Hercules, the

tutelar deity at Macedon, had appeared to him, and, having opened prospects of the most flattering success, had invited him to proceed to take possession of Tyre. These favourable circumstances were announced by the augurs as intimations from above; and every heart was of consequence cheered. The soldiers, as if but that moment arrived before the city, now forgetting all the toils they had undergone, began to raise a new mole, at which they worked incessantly.

In the mean time, Alexander, being convinced that while the enemy remained masters at sea the city could not be taken, with great diligence procured a fleet from various parts, and embarking himself, with some soldiers from among his guard, he set sail towards the Tyrian fleet, forming a line of battle. The Tyrians were at first determined to oppose him openly; but perceiving the superiority of his forces, they kept all the galleys in their harbour, to prevent the enemy from entering there. Alexander, therefore, was contented to draw up his ships near the bank, along the shore, where they rode in safety, and kept the enemy from annoying his workmen, who were employed upon the bank.

The besiegers, thus protected, went on with great vigour. The workmen throw into the sea whole trees, with all their branches on them; and laid great stones over these, on which they put other trees, and the latter they covered with clay, which served instead of mortar: afterwards, heaping more trees and stones on these, the whole, thus joined together, formed one entire body. This bank was made wider than the former one, in order that the towers that were built in the middle might be out of the reach of such arrows as should be shot from those ships, which might attempt to break down the edges of the bank. Thus, after many delays, the porticoes of the workmen surmounting every obstacle, it was at last finished in the utmost perfection. The Macedonians placed military engines of all kinds on the bank, in order to shake the walls with battering-rams, and hurl on the besieged arrows, stones, and burning torches. Thus, by degrees, approaching to the foot of the wall, the Tyrians were attacked in close combat, and invested on all sides, both by sea and land.

A general attack was now, therefore, thought necessary; and the king manning his galleys, which he had joined to each

other, ordered them to approach the walls about midnight, and attack the city with resolution. The Tyrians now gave themselves over for lost; when, on a sudden, the sky was over-spread with such thick clouds, as quite took away the faint glimmerings of light which before darted through the gloom; the sea rose by insensible degrees, and the billows being swelled by the fury of the winds, increased to a dreadful storm; the vessels dashed one against the other with so much violence, that the cables, which before fastened them together, were either loosened or broke to pieces; the planks split, and, making a horrible crash, carried off the soldiers with them; for the tempest was so furious, that it was not possible to manage or steer the galleys thus fastened together. At last, however, they brought them near the shore, but the greatest part were in a shattered condition.

This good fortune of the Tyrians was counter-balanced by an unexpected calamity; they had long expected succour, from Carthage, a flourishing colony of their own, but they now received advice from thence, that the Carthaginians were absolutely unable to give them any assistance, being overawed themselves by a powerful army of Syracusans, who were laying waste their country. The Tyrians, therefore, frustrated in their hopes, still maintained their resolution of defending themselves to the last extremity; and accordingly sent off their women and children to Carthage, as being of no use in the defence of their city.

And now, the engines playing, the city was warmly attacked on all sides, and as vigorously defended. The besieged, taught and animated by imminent danger, and the extreme necessity to which they were reduced, invented daily new arts, to defend themselves, and repulse the enemy. They warded off all the darts discharged from the balistas against them by the assistance of turning wheels, which either broke them to pieces, or carried them another way. They deadened the violence of the stones that were hurled at them, by setting up sails and curtains, made of a soft substance, which easily gave way. To annoy the ships, which advanced against their walls, they fixed grappling-irons and scythes to joists, or beams; then straining their catapultas (an enormous kind of cross-bow), they laid these great pieces of timber upon them, instead of arrows; and

shot them off on a sudden at the enemy; these crushed some to pieces by their great weight; and the hooks, or pennisceythes, with which they were armed, tore others to pieces, and did considerable damage to their ships. They also had brazen shields, which they drew red-hot out of the fire; and, filling these with burning sand, hurled them in an instant from the top of the wall upon the enemy. There was nothing the Macedonians so much dreaded as this last invention; for the moment this burning sand got to the flesh, through the crevices in the armour, it pierced to the very bone, and stuck so close, that there was no pulling it off; so that the soldiers, throwing down their arms, and tearing their clothes to pieces, were in this manner exposed, naked and defenceless, to the shot of the enemy. It was now thought that Alexander, quite discouraged with his loss, was determined to relinquish the siege; but he resolved to make the last effort, with a great number of ships, which he manned with the flower of his army. Accordingly, a second naval engagement was fought, in which the Tyrians, after fighting with intrepidity, were obliged to draw off their whole fleet towards the city. The king pursued their rear very close, but was not able to enter the harbour, being repulsed by arrows shot from the walls. However, he either took or sunk a great number of their ships.

Both the attack and defence were now more vigorous than ever. The courage of the combatants increased with the danger; and each side, animated by the most powerful motives, fought like lions. Wherever the battering-rams had beat down any part of the wall, and the bridges were thrown out, instantly the Argyraspides mounted the breach with the utmost valour, being headed by Admetus, one of the bravest officers in the army, who was killed by the thrust of a spear as he was encouraging his soldiers. The presence of the king, and especially the example he set, fired his troops with unusual bravery. He himself ascended one of the towers, which was of a prodigious height, and there was exposed to the greatest dangers his courage had ever made him hazard; for, being immediately known, by his insignia and the holiness of his armour, he served as a mark for all the arrows of the enemy. On this occasion he performed wonders; killing with javelins several of those who defended the wall; then, ad-

vancing nearer to them, he forced some with his sword, and others with his shield, either into the city or the sea; the tower on which he fought almost touching the wall. He soon ascended the wall by the assistance of floating-bridges; and, followed by the principal officers, possessed himself of two towers, and the space between them. The battering-rams had already made several breaches; the fleet had been forced into the harbour; and some of the Macedonians had possessed themselves of the towers which were abandoned. The Tyrians, seeing the enemy master of their rampart, retired towards an open place, called Agenor, and there stood their ground; but Alexander, marching up with his regiment of body-guards, killed part of them, and obliged the rest to fly. At the same time, Tyre being taken on that side which lay towards the harbour, the Macedonians ran up and down every part of the city, sparing no person who came in their way, being highly exasperated at the long resistance of the besieged, and the barbarities they had exercised towards some of their comrades, who had been taken in their return to Sidon, and thrown from the battlements, after their throats had been cut, in the sight of the whole army. The Tyrians, thus reduced to the last extremity, shut themselves up in their houses, to avoid the sword of the conqueror; others rushed into the midst of the enemy, to sell their lives as dearly as they could; and some threw stones from the tops of the houses to crush the assailants below: the old men waited at their doors, expecting every instant to be sacrificed, from the rage of the soldiers. In this general carnage, the Sidonian soldiers alone, that were in Alexander's army, seemed touched with pity for the fate of the wretched inhabitants: they gave protection to many of the Tyrians, whom they considered as countrymen, and carried great numbers of them privately on board their ships. The numbers that were thus slaughtered by the enraged soldiers were incredible; even after conquest, the victor's resentment did not subside; he ordered no less than two thousand men, that were taken in the storm, to be nailed to crosses along the shore. The number of prisoners amounted to thirty thousand; and were all sold as slaves in different parts of the world. Thus fell Tyre, that had been for many ages the most flourish-

ing city in the world, and had spread the arts of commerce into the remotest regions.

While Alexander was carrying on the siege of Tyre, he received a second letter from Darius, in which that monarch seemed more sensible of his power than before: he now gave him the title of king, and offered him ten thousand talents as a ransom for his captive mother and wife; he offered him his daughter, Statira, in marriage, with all the country he had conquered, as far as the river Euphrates; he hinted to him the inconstancy of fortune, and described at large the powers he was still possessed of, to oppose. These terms were so considerable, that, when the king debated upon them in council, Parmenio, one of his generals, could not help observing, that if he were Alexander, he would agree to such a proposal; to which Alexander nobly replied, "And so would I, were I Parmenio." He, therefore, treated the proposals of Darius with haughty contempt, and refused to accept of treasures which he already considered as his own.

From Tyre, Alexander marched to Jerusalem, fully resolved to punish that city, for having refused to supply his army with provisions during the late siege; but the resentment of the conqueror was averted, by meeting a procession of the inhabitants of that city on his way, marching out to receive him, dressed in white, with Jaddus, a Jewish high-priest, before them, with a mitre on his head, on the front of which the name of God was written. The moment the king perceived the high-priest, he advanced towards him with an air of the most profound respect, bowed his body, adored the august name upon his front, and saluted him who wore it with religious veneration. Then the Jews, surrounding Alexander, raised their voices to wish him every kind of prosperity: all the spectators were seized with inexpressible surprise: they could scarcely believe their eyes; and did not know how to account for a sight so contrary to their expectation, and so vastly improbable.

Parmenio, who could not yet recover from his astonishment, asked the king how it came to pass, that he, who was adored by every one, adored the high-priest of the Jews: "I do not," replied Alexander, "adore the high-priest; but the God, whose mi-

nister he is ; for whilst I was at Dion in Macedonia, my mind wholly fixed on the great design of the Persian war, as I was revolving the methods how to conquer Asia, this very man, dressed in the same robes, appeared to me in a dream, exhorted me to banish my fear, bade me cross the Hellespont boldly, and assured me, that God would march at the head of my army, and give me the victory over that of the Persians." This speech, delivered with an air of sincerity, no doubt, had its effect in encouraging the army, and establishing an opinion, that Alexander's mission was from Heaven. Alexander, having embraced the high-priest, was conducted by him to the temple, where, after he had explained to him many prophecies in different parts of the Old Testament, concerning his invasion, he taught him to offer up a sacrifice in the Jewish manner.

Alexander was so much pleased with his reception upon this occasion, that, before he left Jerusalem, he assembled the Jews, and bade them ask any favour they should think proper. Their request was, to be allowed to live according to their ancient laws and maxims ; to be exempted from tribute every seventh year, as they were, by their laws, exempted from labour, and could, consequently, have no harvests : they requested, that such of their brethren as were settled in Asia should be indulged in the same privileges. Thus, being gratified in all their desires, great numbers of them offered to enlist themselves in his army. Soon after, the Samaritans demanded the same favours ; but he gave them an evasive answer, and promised to take the matter into consideration upon his return.

From this city he went on to Gaza, where he found a more obstinate resistance than he had expected ; but, at length, taking the town by storm, and having cut the garrison, consisting of ten thousand men, to pieces, with brutal ferocity, he ordered Beeth, the governor, to be brought before him ; and having, in vain, endeavoured to intimidate him, commanded, at last, that holes should be bored through his heels, and thus to be tied by cords to the back of his chariot, and in this manner to be dragged round the walls of the city. This he did in imitation of Achilles, whom Homer describes as having dragged Hector round the walls of Troy in the same manner : but it was reading the poet to very little advantage,

to imitate his hero in the most unworthy part of his character.

As soon as Alexander had ended the siege of Gaza, he left a garrison there, and turned the whole power of his arms towards Egypt. In seven days' march he arrived before Pelusium, whither a great number of Egyptians had assembled, with all imaginable diligence, to own him for their sovereign, being heartily displeased with the Persian government, as likewise the Persian governors; as the one destroyed their liberty, the other ridiculed their religion. Masæus, the Persian governor, who commanded in Memphis, finding it would be to no purpose for him to resist so triumphant an army, and that Darius, his sovereign, was not in a condition to succour him, threw open the gates of the city to the conqueror, and gave up eight hundred talents (about one hundred and forty thousand pounds), and all the king's furniture. Thus Alexander possessed himself of all Egypt, without meeting with the least opposition.

He now, therefore, formed a design of visiting the temple of Jupiter. This temple was situated at a distance of twelve days' journey from Memphis, in the midst of the sandy deserts of Lybia. Alexander, having read in Homer, and other fabulous authors of antiquity, that most of the heroes were represented as the son of some deity, was willing himself to pass for a hero, and knew that he could bribe the priests to compliment him as of celestial origin. Setting out, therefore, along the river Memphis, after having passed Canopus, opposite the island of Pharos, he there laid the foundation of the city of Alexandria, which in a little time became one of the most flourishing towns for commerce in the world. From thence he had a journey of three hundred and forty miles to the temple of Jupiter; the way leading through inhospitable deserts and plains of sand. The soldiers were patient enough for the two first days' march, before they arrived amidst the dreadful solitudes; but as soon as they found themselves in vast plains, covered with sands of a prodigious depth, they were greatly terrified. Surrounded as with a sea, they gazed round as far as their sight could extend, to discover, if possible, some place that was inhabited; but all in vain, for they could not perceive so much as a single tree, nor the least appearance

of any land that had been cultivated. To increase their salubrity, the water that they had brought in goat-skins, upon camels, now failed, and there was not so much as a single drop in all that sandy desert. They were, however, greatly refreshed by the accidental falling of a shower, which served to encourage them in their progress, till they came to the temple of the deity. Nothing can be more fanciful than the description the historians have given us of this gloomy retreat: it is represented as a small spot of fertile ground, in the midst of vast solitudes of sand; it is covered with the thickest trees, which exclude the rays of the sun, and watered with several springs, which preserve it in perpetual verdure. Near the grove where the temple stood was the fountain of the sun, which at day-break was lukewarm, at noon cold; then towards evening it insensibly grew warmer, and was boiling hot at midnight. The god worshipped in this place had his statue made of emeralds, and other precious stones, and from the head to the navel resembled a ram. No sooner had Alexander appeared before the altar, than the high-priest, who was no stranger to Alexander's wishes, declared him to be the son of Jupiter. The conqueror, quite intoxicated with adulation, asked, "Whether he should have success in his expedition?" the priest answered, "That he should be monarch of the world:" the conqueror inquired, "If his father's murderers were punished?" the priest replied, "That his father Jupiter was immortal, but that the murderers of Philip had been all extirpated."

Alexander, having ended his sacrifice, and rewarded the priests, who had been so liberal of their titles, from that time supposed himself, or would have it supposed, that he was the son of Jupiter. Upon his return from the temple, and during his stay in Egypt, he settled the government of that country upon the most solid foundation: he divided it into districts, over each of which he appointed a lieutenant, who received orders from himself alone. And thus having settled affairs there, he set out, in the beginning of spring, to march against Darius, who was now preparing to oppose him. He made some stay at Tyre, to settle the various affairs of the countries he had left behind, and then advanced to make new conquests. On his march, Statira, the wife of Darius, died in child-bed.

and was honoured with a funeral ceremony, due to her exalted character and station. The news of that melancholy event was brought to Darius by Tircus, one of Statira's eunuchs, who had effected his escape from the Macedonian camp. When the king recollected the captivating charms, the engaging manners, and gentle virtues of his unfortunate queen; and above all, when he considered that she had died in captivity, with hardly a friend to soothe her miseries or to close her dying eyes, and that she must be interred without those honours which ought to grace the funeral rites of the consort of the Persian monarch, his mind was overwhelmed with the deepest sorrow. He had begun to give a loose to his feelings, when Tircus said, " Lament not for these things, O king! for neither did Statira, while she yet lived, nor do any of the royal family who are yet captives, experience any diminution of their former splendour, or any species of suffering, except that thy countenance shineth not upon them; with which, however, the great Oromasdes will again bless them. Far from being deprived of her due obsequies, Statira was buried with pomp, and honoured with the tears of her enemies; for, terrible as Alexander is in battle, he knows how to exercise humanity towards the vanquished." The eunuch's words filled the mind of Darius with the most painful apprehensions. Taking him aside, he demanded of the eunuch, in a familiar and friendly tone of voice, " to tell him, as he revered the light of Mithra, and the right hand of his king, whether the death of Statira was not the least misfortune he had to lament; and whether the disgrace of his family and empire would not have been less, had she fallen into the hand of a more barbarous foe? For what," added he, " but the tenderest of all connections, could induce a youthful and triumphant prince so to honour the wife of his greatest enemy!" Tircus, falling upon the ground, beseeched the king not to entertain a notion, equally unworthy of himself, and injurious to the character of Statira and Alexander. Statira's own virtue, he said, was to her a wall of defence. But Darius had another source of consolation, and that was, the magnanimity of Alexander; which, he protested, appeared more conspicuous in conquering his passions, than in conquering his enemies. Darius, touched with gratitude and joy, is said to have lift up his eyes to Heaven, and to have

spoken thus: "Ye gods, the guardians of our births, and who decree the fate of nations, grant that I may be enabled to leave the Persian state rich and flourishing as I found it; that I may have it in my power to make Alexander a proper return for his generosity to the dearest pledges of my affection. But if the duration of this empire is near at an end, and the greatness of Persia about to be forgotten, may none but Alexander be permitted to sit on the throne of Cyrus." Such sentiments in a despotic prince must give a very favourable idea of the liberality of his mind. Alexander continued his journey towards the Tigris, where he at last expected to come up with the enemy, and to strike one blow, which should decide the fate of nations.

Darius had already made overtures of peace to him twice; but finding, at last, that there were no hopes of their concluding one, unless he resigned the whole empire to him, prepared himself again for battle. For this purpose, he assembled in Babylon an army half as numerous again as that at Issus, and marched it towards Nineveh. His forces covered all the plains of Mesopotamia. Advice being brought, that the enemy was not far off, he caused Satropates, colonel of the cavalry, to advance at the head of a thousand chosen horse; and likewise gave six thousand to Mazæus, governor of the province; all of whom were to prevent Alexander from crossing the river, and to lay waste the country through which that monarch was to pass. But he arrived too late.

The Tigris is the most rapid river in the east; and it was with some difficulty that Alexander's soldiers were able to stem the current, carrying their arms over their heads. The king walked on foot among the infantry, and pointed out with his hand the passage to his soldiers; he commanded them with a loud voice, "to save nothing but their arms, and to let their baggage, that retarded them in the water, float away with the stream." At length they were drawn up in battle array on the opposite shore, and encamped two days near the river, still prepared for action. An eclipse of the moon, which happened about that time, gave Alexander's soldiers great uneasiness; but he brought forward some Egyptian soothsayers, who assured the army, that the moon portended calamities, not to the Greeks, but the Persians. By this artifice, the

hopes and the courage of the soldiers, being revived once more, the king led them on to meet the enemy, and began his march at midnight. On his right hand lay the Tigris, and on his left the Gordylean mountains. At break of day, news was brought that Darius was but twenty miles from the place in which they then were. All things now, therefore, threatened an approaching battle; when Darius, who had already twice sued for peace, sent new conditions, still more advantageous than the former. But Alexander refused his offers; proudly replying, "That the world would not admit of two suns, nor of two sovereigns." Thus, all negotiation being at an end, both sides prepared for battle, equally irritated, and equally ambitious. Darius pitched his camp near a village called Gangamela, and the river Bumala, in a plain at a considerable distance from Arbela. He had before levelled the spot which he pitched upon for the field of battle, in order that his chariots and cavalry might have full room to move; knowing, that his fighting in the straits of Cilicia had lost him the battle fought there.

Alexander, upon hearing this news, continued five days in the place he then was, to rest his army, and surrounded his camp with trenches and palisades; for he was determined to leave all his baggage, and the useless soldiers in it, and march the remainder against the enemy, with no other equipage than the arms they carried. Accordingly, he set out about midnight in the evening, in order to fight Darius at day-break; who, upon this advice, had drawn up his army in order of battle. Alexander also marched in battle array; for both armies were within two or three leagues of each other. When he was arrived at the mountains, where he could discover the enemy's army, he halted; and having assembled his general officers, his well Macedonians as foreigners, he debated, whether they should engage immediately, or pitch their camp in that place. The latter opinion being followed, because it was judged proper for them to view the field of battle, and the manner in which the enemy was drawn up, the army encamped in the same order in which it marched; during which, Alexander, at the head of his infantry, lightly armed, and his royal regiments, marched round the plain in which the battle was to be fought. Being returned, he assembled his general officers; a second

time, and told them, that there was no occasion for making a speech, because their courage and great actions were alone sufficient to excite them to glory; and he desired them only to represent to the soldiers, that they were not to fight on this occasion for Phœnicia or Egypt, but for all Asia, which would be possessed by him who should conquer; and that, after having gone through so many provinces, and left behind them so great a number of rivers and mountains, they could secure their retreat no otherwise than by gaining a complete victory. After this speech, he ordered them to take some repose.

It is said, Parmenio advised him to attack the enemy in the night-time, alleging, that they might easily be defeated, if fallen upon by surprise, and in the dark; but the king answered so loud, that all present might hear him, that it did not become Alexander to steal a victory, and therefore he was resolved to fight and conquer in broad day-light. This was a haughty, but, at the same time, a prudent answer; for it was running great hazard to fall upon so numerous an army in the night-time, and in an unknown country. Darius, fearing he should be attacked unawares, because he had not intrenched himself, obliged his soldiers to continue the whole night under arms, which proved of the highest prejudice to him in the engagement; for it occasioned his men to go into action fatigued, and worn out with watching. In the mean time, Alexander went to bed, to repose himself the remaining part of the night. As he revolved in his mind, not without some emotion, the consequence of the battle which was upon the point of being fought, he could not sleep immediately. But his body being oppressed in a manner by the anxiety of his mind, he slept soundly the whole night, contrary to his usual custom; so that when his generals were assembled at day-break before his tent, to receive his orders, they were greatly surprised to find he was not awake; upon which they themselves commanded the soldiers to take some refreshment. Parmenio having at last awaked him, and seeming surprised to find him in so calm and sweet a sleep, just as he was going to fight a battle in which his whole fortune lay at stake; "How could it be possible," said Alexander, "for me not to be calm, since the enemy is coming to deliver himself into my hands?" Upon this he immediately took up his arms, mounted his

horse, and rode up and down the ranks, exhorting the troops to behave gallantly, and, if possible, to surpass their ancient fame, and the glory they had hitherto acquired.

There was a great difference between the two armies in respect to numbers, but much more with regard to courage. That of Darius consisted at least of six hundred thousand foot, and forty thousand horse; and the other of no more than forty thousand foot, and seven or eight thousand horse; but the latter was all fire and strength; whereas, on the side of the Persians, it was a prodigious assemblage of men, not of soldiers; an empty phantom, rather than a real army. Both sides were disposed in very near the same array. The forces were drawn up in two lines, the cavalry on the two wings, and the infantry in the middle; the one and the other being under the particular conduct of the chiefs of each of the different nations that composed them, and commanded in general by the principal crown officers. The front of the battle (under Darius) was covered with two hundred chariots, armed with scythes, and with fifteen elephants, that king taking his post in the centre of the first line. Besides the guards, which were the flower of his forces, he also had fortified himself with the Grecian infantry, whom he had drawn up near his person, believing this body only capable of opposing the Macedonian phalanx. As his army spread over a much greater space of ground than that of the enemy, he intended to surround, and to charge them at one and the same time both in front and flank, which, from Alexander's disposition, he soon after found impossible.

Darius being afraid lest the Macedonians should draw him from the spot of ground he had levelled, and carry him into another that was rough and uneven, commanded the cavalry in his left wing, which spread much farther than that of the enemy's right, to march directly forward, and wheel about upon the Macedonians in flank, to prevent them from extending their troops farther. Upon which, Alexander dispatched against them the body of horse in his service, commanded by Menidas; but as these were not able to make head against the enemy, because of their prodigious numbers, he reinforced them with the Pæonians, whom Aretas commanded, and with the foreign cavalry. Besides the advantage of numbers, the

Persians had that also of coats of mail, which secured themselves and their horses much more, and by which Alexander's cavalry was prodigiously annoyed. However, the Macedonians marched to the charge with great bravery, and at last put the enemy to flight.

Upon this, the Persians opposed the chariots armed with scythes against the Macedonian phalanx, in order to break it, but with little success. The noise which the soldiers, who were lightly armed, made by striking their swords against their bucklers, and the arrows which flew on all sides, frightened the horses, and made a great number of them turn back against their own troops. Others, laying hold of the horses' bridles, pulled the riders down, and cut them to pieces. Part of the chariots drove between the battalions, which opened to make way for them, as they had been ordered to do, by which means they did little or no execution.

Alexander, seeing Darius set his whole army in motion, in order to charge him, employed a stratagem to encourage his soldiers. When the battle was at the hottest, and the Macedonians were in the greatest danger, Aristander, the soothsayer, clothed in his white robes, holding a branch of laurel in his hand, advances among the combatants, as he had been instructed by the king; and crying, that he saw an eagle hovering over Alexander's head (a sure omen of victory), he showed with his finger the pretended bird to the soldiers, who, relying upon the sincerity of the soothsayer, fancied they also saw it, and thereupon renewed the attack with greater cheerfulness and ardour than ever. Alexander now pressed to the place in which Darius was stationed, and the presence of the two opposing kings inspired both sides with vigour. Darius was mounted on a chariot, and Alexander on horseback, both surrounded with their bravest officers and soldiers, whose only endeavours were to save the lives of their respective princes, at the hazard of their own. The battle was obstinate and bloody. Alexander having wounded Darius's squerry with a javelin, the Persians, as well as Macedonians, imagined that the king was killed; upon which, the former breaking aloud into the most dismal sounds, the whole army was seized with the greatest consternation. The relations of Darius, who were at his left hand, fled away with the guards, and so ap-
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doned the chariot; but these who were at his right took him into the centre of their body. Historians relate, that this prince, having drawn his cimeter, reflected, whether he ought not to lay violent hands upon himself, rather than fly in an ignominious manner. But perceiving from his chariot that his soldiers still fought, he was ashamed to forsake them; and, as divided between hope and despair, the Persians retired insensibly, and thinned their ranks, when it could no longer be called a battle, but a slaughter. Then Darius, turning about his chariot, fled with the rest, and the conqueror was now wholly employed in pursuing him. But, in the mean time, finding that the left wing of his army, which was commanded by Parmenio, was in great danger, Alexander was obliged to desist from pursuing Darius, whom he had almost overtaken, and wheeled round to attack the Persian horse, that, after plundering the camp, were retiring in good order; then he cut in pieces; and the scale of battle turning in favour of the Macedonians, a total rout of the Persians ensued. The pursuit was warm, and the slaughter amazing. Alexander rode as far as Arbela after Darius, hoping every moment to come up with that monarch: he had just passed through when Alexander arrived; but he left his treasure, with his bow and shield, as a prey to the enemy.

Such was the success of this famous battle, which gave empire to the conqueror. According to Arrian, the Persians lost three hundred thousand men, besides those who were taken prisoners; which at least is a proof that the loss was very great on their side. That of Alexander's was very inconsiderable; he not losing, according to the last mentioned author, above twelve hundred men, most of whom were horse. This engagement was fought in the month of October, about the same time that, two years before, the battle of Issus was fought. As Gangamela, in Assyria, the spot where the two armies engaged, was a small place, of very little note, this was called the battle of Arbela, that city being nearest to the field of action.

Darius, after this dreadful defeat, rode towards the river Lycus, with a very few attendants. He was advised to break down the bridges, to secure his retreat; but he refused, saying, "He would not save his life at the expense of thousands of

his subjects. After riding a great number of miles full speed, he arrived at midnight at Arbela; from thence he fled towards Media, over the Armenian mountains, followed by his satraps, and a few of his guards, expecting the worst, despairing of fortune, a wretched survivor of his country's ruin.

In the mean time, Alexander approached near Babylon; and Mazæus, the governor, who had retired thither after the battle of Arbela, surrendered it to him without striking a blow. Alexander, therefore, entered the city at the head of his whole army, as if he had been marching to a battle. The walls of Babylon were lined with people, notwithstanding the greatest part of the citizens were gone out before, from the impatient desire they had to see their new sovereign, whose renown had far outstripped his march. Bagophanes, governor of the fortress, and guardian of the treasure, unwilling to discover less zeal than Mazæus, strewed the streets with flowers, and raised on both sides of the way silver altars, which smoked not only with frankincense, but the most fragrant perfumes of every kind. Last of all came the presents which were to be made to the king, viz. herds of cattle, and a great number of horses; as also lions and panthers, which were carried in cages. After these the Magi walked, singing hymns after the manner of their country; then the Chaldeans, accompanied by the Babylonish soothsayers and musicians. The rear was brought up by the Babylonish cavalry; of which both men and horses were so sumptuous, that imagination can scarcely reach their magnificence. The king caused the people to walk after the infantry; and himself, surrounded with his guards, and seated on a chariot, entered the city, and from thence rode to the palace, as in a kind of triumph. The next day he took a view of all Darius's money and moveables, which amounted to incredible sums, and which he distributed with generosity among his soldiers. He gave the government of the province to Mazæus; and the command of the forces he left there to Apollodorus, of Amphipolis.

From Babylon, Alexander marched to the province of Cyrceni, afterwards to Susa, where he arrived after a march of twenty days, and found treasures to an infinite amount. These also he applied to the purposes of rewarding merit and courage among his troops. In this city he left the mother

and children of Darius; and from thence he went forward till he came to a river called Pasitigris. Having crossed it, with nine thousand foot, and three thousand horse, consisting of Agrians, as well as of Grecian mercenaries, and a reinforcement of three thousand Thracians, he entered the country of Uxii. This region lies near Susa, and extends to the frontiers of Persia, a narrow pass only lying between it and Súsiana. Madathes commanded this province. He was not a time-server, nor a follower of fortune; but, faithful to his sovereign, he resolved to hold out to the last extremity; and for this purpose had withdrawn into his own city, which stood in the midst of craggy rocks, and was surrounded with precipices. Having been forced from thence, he retired into the citadel, whence the besieged sent thirty deputies to Alexander, to sue for quarter, which they obtained at last by the interposition of Sysigambis. The king not only pardoned Madathes, who was a near relation of that princess, but likewise set all the captives, and those who had surrendered themselves, at liberty; permitted them to enjoy their several rights and privileges; would not suffer the city to be plundered; but let them plough their lands without paying any tribute. From thence he passed on to the pass of Susa, defended by mountains almost inaccessible, and by Ariobarzanes, with a body of five thousand men; he there stopped for a while; but, being led by a different route among the mountains, he came over the pass, and so cut the army that defended it in pieces.

Alexander, from an effect of the good fortune which constantly attended him in all his undertakings, having extricated himself happily out of the danger to which he was so lately exposed, marched immediately towards Persia. Being on the road, he received letters from Tiridates, governor of Persopolis, which informed him, that the inhabitants of that city, upon the report of his advancing towards him, were determined to plunder Darius's treasures, with which he was entrusted; and, therefore, that it was necessary for him to make all the haste imaginable to seize them himself; that he had only the Araxes to cross, after which the road was smooth and easy. Alexander, upon this news, leaving his infantry behind, marched the whole night at the head of his cavalry, who were very much harassed by the length and swiftness of his march,

and passed the Araxes on a bridge, which, by his order, had been built some days before.

But as he drew near the city, he perceived a large body of men, who exhibited a memorable instance of the greatest misery. These were about four thousand Greeks, very far advanced in years, who, having been made prisoners of war, had suffered all the torments which the Persian tyranny could inflict. The hands of some had been cut off, the feet of others; and others, again, had lost their noses and ears. They appeared like so many shadows, rather than like men; speech being almost the only thing by which they were known to be such. Alexander could not refrain from tears at this sight; and as they irresistibly besought him to commiserate their condition, he bade them, with the utmost tenderness, not to despond; and assured them that they should again see their wives and country. They chose, however, to remain in a place where misfortune now became habitual; wherefore he rewarded them liberally for their sufferings, and commanded the governor of the province to treat them with mildness and respect. The day following he entered the city of Persepolis, at the head of his victorious soldiers; who, though the inhabitants made no resistance, began to cut in pieces all those who still remained in the city. However, the king soon put an end to the massacre, and forbade his soldiers to commit any farther violence. The riches he had found in other places were but trifling, when compared to those he found here. This, however, did not save the city; for, being one day at a banquet among his friends, and happening to drink to excess, the conversation ran upon the various cruelties exercised by the Persians in Greece, particularly at Athens. Thais, an Athenian courtesan, urged the pusillanimity of not taking revenge for such repeated slaughters. These were her words—words which reflect no honour either on the sensibility of her sex, or the delicacy of Alexander's manners, who could enjoy the company of such a wretch. "This day," cried she, "has fully repaid all my wanderings and troubles in Asia, by putting it in my power to humble the pride of Persia's insolent kings. To wrap the palace of Persepolis in flames will be a noble deed; but how much more glorious would it be to fire the palace of that Xerxes, who laid the city of Athens in ruins

and to have it told, in future times, that 'a single woman of Alexander's train' had taken more signal vengeance on the enemies of Greece, than all her former generals had been able to do." All the guests applauded the discourse; when immediately the king rose from table (his head being crowned with flowers), and, taking a torch in his hand, he advanced forward, to execute his mad exploit. The whole company followed him, breaking into loud acclamations, and, after singing and dancing, surrounded the palace. All the rest of the Macedonians, at this noise, ran in crowds, with lighted tapers, and set fire to every part of it. However, Alexander was sorry not long after for what he had done, and thereupon gave orders for extinguishing the fire, but it was too late.

While Alexander was thus triumphing in all the exultation of success, the wretched Darius was by this time arrived at Ecbatana, the capital of Media. There remained still with this fugitive prince thirty thousand foot; among whom were four thousand Greeks, that were faithful to him to the last. Besides these, he had four thousand slingers, and upwards of three thousand Bactrian horse, whom Bessus, their governor, commanded. Darius, even with so small a force, still conceived hopes of opposing his rival, or at least of protracting the war; but he was surrounded with traitors; his want of success had turned all mankind against him: but Nabarranes, one of the greatest lords of Persia, and general of the horse, had conspired with Bessus, general of the Bactrians, to commit the blackest of all crimes; and that was, to seize upon the person of the king, and lay him in chains, which they might easily do, as each of them had a great number of soldiers under his command. Their design was, if Alexander should pursue them, to secure themselves, by giving up Darius alive into his hands; and in case they escaped, to murder that prince, and afterwards usurp his crown, and begin a new war. These traitors soon won over the troops, by representing to them, that they were going to their destruction; that they would soon be crushed under the ruins of an empire which was just ready to fall; at the same time, that Bactriana was open to them, and offered them immense riches. These promises soon prevailed upon the perfidious army, the Greek mercenaries excepted, who rejected all their proposals with disdain. These brave and

glib-tongued men gave Darius the strongest proofs of their fidelity and attachment. Thus betrayed by his generals, and pursued by his enemies, they solicited the honour of protecting his person; assuring him they would do so, at the expense of the last drop of their blood. But his noble spirit would not suffer him to accept the offer. "If my own subjects," said he, "will not grant me protection, how can I submit to receive it from the hands of strangers?" Perhaps he thought that his avowing his distrust of Beasus would have hastened the calamities which he and his accomplices were meditating. His faithful Grecian soldiers, finding it beyond their power to grant him any relief, threw themselves upon the mercy of Alexander; who, in consideration of their noble spirit, forgave them, and employed them in his own service. The traitors seized and bound their monarch in chains of gold, under the appearance of honour, as he was a king; then, inclosing him in a covered chariot, they set out towards Bactriana. In this manner they carried him with the utmost dispatch, until, being informed that the Grecian army was still hotly pursuing them, they found it impossible either to conciliate the friendship of Alexander, or to secure a throne for themselves; they, therefore, once more gave Darius his liberty, and desired him to make the best of his escape with them from the conqueror; but he replied, that the gods were ready to revenge the evils he had already suffered; and, appealing to Alexander for justice, refused to follow a band of traitors. At these words they fell into the utmost fury, thrusting him with their darts and their spears, and left him to linger in this manner, unattended, the remains of his wretched life. The traitors then made their escape different ways; while the victorious Macedonians, at length coming up, found Darius in a solitude, lying in his chariot, and drawing near his end. However, he had strength enough, before he died, to call for drink, which a Macedonian, Belysatius by name, brought him. The generosity of the unfortunate monarch shone forth, on this melancholy occasion, in the address he made to this stranger. "Now, indeed," said he, "I suffer the extremity of misery, since it is not in my power to reward thee for this act of humanity." He had a Persian prisoner, whom he employed as his interpreter. Darius, after drinking the liquor that had been given him,

turned to the Macedonian, and said, that in the deplorable state to which he was reduced, he, however, should have the comfort to speak to one who could understand him, and that his last words would not be lost. He, therefore, charged him to tell Alexander, that he had died in his debt; that he gave him many thanks for the great humanity he had exercised towards his mother, his wife, and his children, whose lives he had not only spared, but restored to their former splendour; that he besought the gods to give victory to his arms, and make him monarch of the universe; that he thought he need not entreat him to revenge the execrable murder committed on his person, as this was the common cause of kings.

After this, taking Polystratus by the hand—"Give him," said he, "thy hand, as I give thee mine; and carry him, in my name, the only pledge I am able to give of my gratitude and affection." Saying these words, he breathed his last.

Alexander coming up a moment after, and seeing Darius's body, he wept bitterly; and, by the strongest testimonies of affection that could be given, proved how intimately he was affected with the unhappiness of a prince who deserved a better fate. He immediately pulled off his military cloak, and threw it on Darius's body; then causing it to be embalmed, and his coffin to be adorned with royal magnificence, he sent it to Sigeambis, to be interred with the honours usually paid to the deceased Persian monarchs, and entombed with his ancestors. Thus died Darius, in the fiftieth year of his age, six of which he reigned with felicity. In him the Persian empire ended, after having existed, from the time of Cyrus the Great, a period of two hundred and ninety-nine years.

The traitor, Bessus, did not escape the fate due to his crime. Alexander pursued him, to avenge on the murderer the death of his royal master; for he did not consider Darius so much in the capacity of an enemy, as Bessus in that of a friend to the person he had basely slain. After wandering, in anxiety and horror, from province to province, he was delivered by the associates of his guilt into the hands of Alexander, by whom he was put to a cruel death.

The death of Darius only served to inflame the spirit of ambition in Alexander to pursue farther conquests. After having, in vain, attempted to pursue Bessus, who now assumed the

name of king, he desisted, in order to cross Parthia, and in three days arrived on the frontiers of Hyrcania, which submitted to his arms. He afterwards subdued the Mandii, the Arii, the Drangæ, the Arachosii, and several other nations; into which his army marched with greater speed than people generally travel. He frequently would pursue an enemy for whole days and nights together, almost without suffering his troops to take any rest. By this prodigious rapidity, he came unawares upon nations who thought him at a great distance, and subdued them before they had time to put themselves in a posture of defence.

It was upon one of these excursions, that Thalestris, queen of the Amazons, came to pay him a visit. A violent desire of seeing Alexander had prompted that princess to leave her dominions, and travel through a great number of countries to gratify her curiosity. Being come pretty near his camp, she sent word, that a queen was come to visit him; and that she had a prodigious inclination to cultivate his acquaintance, and accordingly was arrived within a little distance from that place. Alexander having returned a favourable answer, she commanded her train to stop, and herself came forward, with three hundred women; and the moment she perceived the king, she leaped from her horse, having two lances in her right hand. She looked upon the king without discovering the least sign of admiration, and surveying him attentively, did not think his stature answerable to his fame; for the barbarians are very much struck with a majestic air, and think those only capable of mighty achievements, on whom nature has bestowed bodily advantages. She did not scruple to tell him, that the chief motive of her journey was to have posterity by him; adding, that she was worthy of giving heirs to his empire. Alexander, upon this request, was obliged to make some stay in this place; after which Thalestris returned to her kingdom, and the king into the province inhabited by the Parthians.

Alexander, now enjoying a little repose, abandoned himself to sensuality; and he, whom the arms of the Persians could not conquer, fell a victim to their vices. Nothing was now to be seen but games, parties of pleasure, women, and excessive feasting, in which he used to revel whole days and nights. Not satisfied with the buffoons, and the performers on in-

strumental music, whom he had brought with him out of Greece; he obliged the captive women, whom he carried along with him, to sing songs, after the manner of their country. It happened, among these women, to perceive one who appeared in deeper affliction than the rest; and who, by a modest, and at the same time a noble confusion, discovered a greater reluctance than the others to appear in public. She was a perfect beauty, which was very much heightened by her bashfulness; whilst she threw her eyes to the ground, and did all in her power to conceal her face. The king soon imagined, by her air and mien, that she was not of vulgar birth; and inquiring himself into it, the lady answered, that she was grand-daughter to Ochus, who not long before had swayed the Persian sceptre, and daughter of his son; that she had married Hyastepes, who was related to Darius, and general of a great army. Alexander being touched with compassion, when he heard the unhappy fate of a princess of the blood-royal; and the sad condition to which she was reduced, not only gave her liberty, but returned all her possessions; and caused her husband to be sought for, in order that she might be restored to him.

But now the veteran soldiers who had fought under Philip, not having the least idea of sensuality, inveighed publicly against the prodigious luxury, and the numerous vices, which the army had learned in Susa and Echataa. The king, therefore, thought, that the safest remedy would be to employ them, and for that purpose led them against Bactra. But as the army was encumbered with booty and a useless train of baggage, so that it could scarcely move, he first caused all his own baggage to be carried into a great square, and afterwards that of his army (such things excepted as were absolutely necessary); then ordered the whole to be carried from thence in carts to a large plain. Every one was in great pain to know the meaning of all this; but, after he had sent away the horses, he himself set fire to his own things, and commended every one to follow his example.

Hitherto, we have seen Alexander triumphing by a course of virtue; we are now to behold him swollen up by success, spoiled by flattery, and enervated by vices, exhibiting a very despicable character, and mixing the tyrant with the hero. A conspiracy was formed against him by one Dymachus; this was

communicated by a Macedonian soldier to Philotas, one of Alexander's favourites. Philotas neglected divulging it to his master, and thus became suspected himself as being concerned in the conspiracy. Parmenio also, the father of this young favourite, became equally obnoxious; and as the suspicion of tyrants is equally fatal with a conviction, Alexander doomed both to destruction.

In the beginning of the night, various parties of guards having been posted in the several places necessary, some entered the tent of Philotas, who was then in a deep sleep, when starting from his slumbers, as they were putting manacles on his hands, he cried, "Alas! my sovereign, the inveteracy of my enemies has got the better of your goodness." After this they covered his face, and brought him to the palace without uttering a single word. His hands were tied behind him, and his head covered with a coarse worn-out piece of cloth. Lost to himself, he did not dare to look up, or open his lips; but the tears streaming from his eyes, he fainted away in the arms of the man who held him. As the standers-by wiped off the tears in which his face was bathed, recovering his speech and his voice by insensible degrees, he seemed desirous of speaking.

The result of this interview was, that Philotas should be put to the rack. The persons, who presided on that occasion, were his most inveterate enemies, and they made him suffer every kind of torture. Philotas, at first, discovered the utmost resolution and strength of mind; the torments he suffered not being able to force from him a single word, nor even so much as a sigh. But, at last, conquered by pain, he acknowledged himself to be guilty, named several accomplices, and, as his tormentors would have it, accused his own father. The next day, the answers of Philotas were read in full assembly, he himself being present. Upon the whole, he was unanimously sentenced to die; immediately after which he was stoned, according to the custom of Macedonia, with some other of the conspirators.

The condemnation of Philotas brought on that of Parmenio; whether it was, that Alexander really believed him guilty, or was afraid of the father, now he had put the son to death. Polydamas, one of the lords of the court, was appointed to see

the execution performed. He had been one of Parmenio's most intimate friends, if we may give that name to courtiers, who study only their own fortunes. This was the very reason of his being nominated, because no one could suspect that he was sent with any such orders against Parmenio. He therefore set out for Media, where that general commanded the army, and was entrusted with the king's treasure, which amounted to a hundred and fourscore thousand talents, about twenty-seven millions sterling. Alexander had given him several letters for Cleander, the king's lieutenant in the province, and for the principal officers. Two were for Parmenio; one of them from Alexander, and the other sealed with Philotas's seal, as if he had been alive, to prevent the father from harbouring the least suspicion. Polydamus was but eleven days on his journey, and alighted in the night-time at Cleander's. After having taken all the precautions necessary, they went, together with a great number of attendants, to meet Parmenio, who, at this time, was walking in a park of his own. The moment Polydamus spied him, though at a great distance, he ran to embrace him with an air of the utmost joy; and, after compliments, intermixed with the strongest indications of friendship, had passed on both sides, he gave him Alexander's letter, which opening, and afterwards that under the name of Philotas, he seemed pleased with the contents. At that very instant Cleander thrust a dagger into his side, then made another thrust in his throat; and the rest gave him several wounds, even after he was dead. He was at the time of his death threescore and ten years of age, and had served his master with a fidelity and zeal, which in the end was thus rewarded.

In the three great battles which made Alexander master of Persia, Parmenio had the honour of commanding the left wing. Alexander had felt the good effects both of his military skill, and of his zeal for his welfare and success; he, therefore, respected him, and all his soldiers revered and loved him. Philotas, whom we have found even forced to become the accuser of his innocent father, and cruelly put to death, was the last of three brothers. The other two had been bred to arms; they were both men of valour, and had fallen in supporting the mad ambition of their father's murderer.

In order to prevent the ill consequences that might arise

from the contemplation of these cruelties, Alexander set out upon his march, and continued to pursue Bessus, upon which occasion he exposed himself to great hardships and dangers. Bessus, however, was treated by his followers in the same manner he had treated the king, his master: Spitamenes, his chief confidant, having formed a conspiracy against him, seized his person, put him in chains, forced the royal robes from his back; and, with a chain round his neck, he was delivered up in the most ignominious manner to Alexander. The king caused this man to be treated with his usual cruelty; after reproaching him for his treachery, and causing his nose and ears to be cut off, he sent him to Ecbatana, there to suffer whatever punishment Darius's mother should think proper to inflict upon him. Four trees were bent by main force, one towards the other, and to each of these trees one of the limbs of this traitor's body was fastened. Afterwards, these trees being let return to their natural position, they flew back with so much violence, that each tore away the limb that was fixed to it, and so quartered him.

Thus uniting in his person at once great cruelty and great enterprise, Alexander still marched forward in search of new nations whom he might subdue. A city inhabited by the Branchidæ he totally overturned, and massacred all the inhabitants in cold blood, only for being descended from some traitorous Greeks, that had delivered up the treasures of a temple with which they had been entrusted. He then advanced to the river Jaxarthes, where he received a wound in the leg. From thence he went forward, and took the capital of Sogdiana; at which place he received an embassy from the Scythians, who lived free and independant, but now submitted to him. It is supposed, however, by some, that this was only the submission of some bordering tribes: for it appears, from the united testimony of Arrian and Q. Curtius, that the renowned discipline and courage of the Macedonian army had so small an effect on the untractable but free spirits of the Scythians, that Alexander was forced to retire, covered with disgrace, and to turn his arms on a foe less capable of resistance. Curtius says, that the Macedonians sustained such a loss in one particular battle, that death was the consequence of making the least mention of the event of that battle. If we consider

the abrupt manner in which those barbarians attacked, the rapidity with which they retreated, and that they were in their own country, and surrounded by forests impenetrable to all but to themselves, we shall not find it difficult to credit what historians have said.

Alexander then marched to Cyropolis, and besieged it. This was the last city of the Persian empire, and had been built by Cyrus, after whom it was called; and taking the place, he abandoned it to plunder. In this manner he went on, capriciously destroying some towns and building others, settling colonies in some places, and laying whole provinces waste at his pleasure. Among his other projects, an invasion of the kingdom of Scythia was one; but the crossing of the river Jaxartes was by no means an easy task; however, Alexander, being always foremost in encountering dangers, led on his troops across the stream, which was very rapid, and gained a signal victory over the Scythians, who vainly attempted to oppose him on the other side.

A strong hold, called Petra Oxiani, defended by a garrison of thirty thousand soldiers, with ammunition and provision for two years, was still considered as impregnable. However, as difficulties only seemed to excite his ambition, his soldiers scaled the cliff; and the barbarians, supposing that the whole Macedonian army was got over their heads, surrendered, upon condition that their lives should be spared; but Alexander, forgetting the faith of a treaty, and the humanity which became a soldier on this occasion, caused them all to be scourged with rods, and afterwards to be fixed to crosses at the foot of the same rock.

After this, having subdued the Massagetæ and Dahæ, he entered the province of Barsaria; from thence he advanced to Maracanda, and appointed Clitus governor of that province. This was an old officer, who had fought under Philip, and signalized himself on many occasions. At the battle of the Granicus, as Alexander was fighting bare-headed, and Rhanaces had his arm raised, in order to strike him behind, Clitus covered the king with his shield, and cut off the barbarian's hand. Hellanice, his sister, had nursed Alexander, and he loved her with as much tenderness as if she had been his own mother.

This favour, however, only advanced Clitus to a post of greater danger. One evening, at an entertainment, the king, after drinking immoderately, began to celebrate his own exploits; his boasting even shocked those very persons who knew that he spoke truth, but particularly the old generals of his army, whose admirations were engrossed, in some measure, by the actions of his father. Clitus was intoxicated, and, turning about to those who sat below him at table, quoted to them a passage from Euripides, but in such a manner, that the king could only hear his voice, and not the words distinctly. The sense of the passage was, that the Greeks had done very wrong in ordaining, that, in the inscriptions engraved on trophies, the names of kings only should be mentioned; because, by these means, brave men were robbed of the glory they had purchased with their blood. The king, suspecting Clitus had let drop some disobliging expressions, asked those who sat nearest him what he had said. As no one answered, Clitus, raising his voice by degrees, began to relate the actions of Philip, and his wars in Greece, preferring them to whatever was doing at that time; which created a great dispute between the young and old men. Though the king was prodigiously vexed in his mind, he nevertheless stifled his resentment, and seemed to listen very patiently to all Clitus spoke to his prejudice. It is probable he would have quite suppressed his passion, had Clitus stopped there; but the latter growing more and more insolent, as if determined to exasperate and insult the king, he went such lengths as to defend Parmenio publicly; and to assert, that the destroying of Thebes was but trifling, in comparison of the victory which Philip had gained over the Athenians; and that the old Macedonians, though sometimes unsuccessful, were greatly superior to those who were so rash as to despise them.

Alexander telling him, that in giving cowardice the name of ill success, he was pleading his own cause; Clitus rises up, with his eyes sparkling with wine and anger. "It is, nevertheless, this hand," said he to him, extending it at the same time, "that saved your life at the battle of Granicus. It is the blood and wounds of these very Macedonians, who are accused of cowardice, that raised you to this grandeur; but

the tragical end of Parmenio shows what rewards they and myself may expect for all our services." This last reproach stung Alexander: however, he still restrained his passion, and only commanded him to leave the table. "He is in the right," says Clitus, as he rose up, "not to bear free-born men at his table, who can only tell him truth. He will do well to pass his life among barbarians and slaves, who will be proud to pay their adoration to his Persian girdle and his white robe." But now the king, no longer able to suppress his rage, snatched a javelin from one of his guards, and would have killed Clitus on the spot, had not the courtiers withheld his arm, and Clitus been forced, but with great difficulty, out of the hall. However, he returned into it that moment by another door, singing, with an air of insolence, verses reflecting highly on the prince, who, seeing the general near him, struck him with his javelin, and laid him dead at his feet, crying out at the same time—"Go now to Philip, to Parmenio, and to Attalus."

The king had no sooner murdered his faithful servant than he perceived the atrociousness of the act: he threw himself upon the dead body, forced out the javelin, and would have destroyed himself, had he not been prevented by his guards, who seized and carried him forcibly to his own apartment, where the flattery and the persuasion of his friends, at length, served to alleviate his remorse. In order to divert his melancholy, Alexander having drawn his army out of the garrisons, where they had wintered three months, marched towards a country called Gabana. In his way he met with a dreadful storm, in which his army suffered greatly: from thence he went into the country of Sace, which he soon overran, and laid waste. Soon after this, Axertes, one of its monarchs, received him in his palace, which was adorned with barbarous magnificence. He had a daughter, called Roxana, a young lady whose exquisite beauty was heightened by the charms of wit and good sense. Alexander found her charms irresistible, and made her his wife; covering his passion with the specious pretence of uniting the two nations in such bonds as should improve their mutual harmony, by blending their interests, and throwing down all distinctions between the conquerors and the conquered. This marriage displeased the Macedonians

very much, and exasperated his chief courtiers, when it was seen that he made one of his slaves his father-in-law. But after murdering Clitus, no one dared to speak to him with freedom, they applauded what he did with their eyes and countenances, for they had nothing else left that was free.

Alexander having thus conquered all the Persian provinces, now, with boundless ambition, resolved upon a perilous march into India. This country was considered as the richest in the world, not only in gold, but in pearls and precious stones, with which the inhabitants adorned themselves; but, being willing either to impress his soldiers with an idea of his authority, or to imitate the barbarians in the magnificence of their titles, he was resolved not only to be called, but to be believed, the son of Jupiter; as if it had been possible for him to command as absolutely over the mind as over the tongue, and that the Macedonians would condescend to fall prostrate and adore him, after the Persian manner.

To sooth and cherish these ridiculous pretensions, there were not wanting flatterers, those common pests of a court, who are more dangerous to princes than the arrows of their enemies. But the Macedonians, indeed, would not stoop to this base adulation; all of them, to a man, refusing to vary in any manner from the customs of their country. Among the number who disdained to offer these base adulations was Callisthenes, the philosopher; but his integrity cost him his life; he was accused of being privy to a conspiracy formed by Hermolaus, a young officer, upon the life of the king, and for this reason he was thrown into a dungeon, and loaded with irons. He soon found, that he had no mercy to expect, the most grievous tortures were inflicted upon him, in order to extort a confession of guilt; but he persisted in his innocence to the last, and expired in the midst of his torments.

The kingdom of India, for which Alexander now set out, was an extensive territory, which has been usually divided into two parts, India, on this side, and India on the other side of the Ganges. All the Indians at that time were free, nor did they even adopt the base custom of the Greeks, in purchasing slaves to do the common offices of life. The people of that country were then divided into seven classes: the first and most honourable, though the smallest, were the guardians of

religion; the second and the greatest was that of the husbandmen, whose only employment was to cultivate the ground; the third was that of herdsmen and shepherds, who led the herds and flocks among the mountains; the fourth consisted of tradesmen and merchants, among whom pilots and seamen were included; the fifth was of soldiers, whose only employment was war; the sixth was of magistrates, who superintended the actions of others, either in cities or in the country, and reported the whole to the king; the seventh class consisted of persons employed in the public councils, and who shared the cares of government with their sovereign. These orders of state never blended nor intermarried with each other; none of them were permitted to follow two professions at the same time, nor quit one class for another.

Alexander, having entered India, all the petty kings of the country came to meet him, and make their submissions. On his march he took the city of Nyssa: he then marched towards Dardana, and dispersed his army over the whole country, and took possession of it without resistance. He afterwards went forward towards the city of Hagosa, which, after being besieged in form, surrendered at discretion. He next attacked the rock of Aornos, which was deemed inaccessible, and which it was said Hercules himself was not able to take; but the garrison, struck with the vastness of his warlike preparations, in a panic delivered it up to his army. He was said to have been very much elated with his success in reducing this fortress, which had bid defiance to the might of the great founder of his race. From thence he marched to Acetina; and, after a march of sixteen days, arrived on the banks of the great river Indus, where he found that Hephæstion had got all things ready for his passage, pursuant to the orders he had before received. Here he was met by Omphis, a king of the country, who did homage to Alexander, and made him a present of fifty-six elephants, and other animals of prodigious size. The ambassadors from Abisares, a neighbouring monarch, came with the same offers, sent presents, and promised fidelity. There was still a third monarch, whose name was Porus, from whom Alexander expected similar submission; he even went to require it of him; but Porus answered with great coldness, that while he could fight, he should disdain to obey.

In pursuance of this message Alexander resolved to enforce obedience; and giving the superintendence of the elephants to Omphis, who had now changed his name to Taxilus, he advanced as far as the borders of the Hydaspes. Porus was encamped on the other side of it, in order to dispute the passage with him, and had posted at the head of his army eighty-five elephants of a prodigious size, and behind them three hundred chariots, guarded by thirty thousand foot, not having, at most, above seven thousand horse. This prince was mounted upon an elephant of a much larger size than any of the rest, and he himself exceeded the usual stature of men: so that, clothed in his armour glittering with gold and silver, he appeared at the same time terrible and majestic. The greatness of his courage equalled that of his stature; and he was as wise and prudent as it was possible for the monarch of so barbarous a people to be.

The Macedonians dreaded not only the enemy, but the river they were obliged to pass. It was four furlongs wide (about four hundred fathoms), and so deep in every part, that it looked like a sea, and was nowhere fordable. It was vastly impetuous; notwithstanding its great breadth, for it rolled with as much violence as if it had been confined to a narrow channel; and its raging, foaming waves, which broke in many places, discovered that it was full of stones and rocks. However, nothing was so dreadful as the appearance of the shore, which was quite covered with men, horses, and elephants. Those hideous animals stood like so many towers, and the Indians exasperated them, in order that the horrid cry they made might fill the enemy with great terror. However, this could not intimidate an army of men, whose courage was proof against all attacks, and who were animated by an uninterrupted series of prosperities; but then they did not think it would be possible for them, as the banks were so crowded, to surmount the rapidity of the stream, or land with safety.

Alexander was in great perplexity with the difficulties that attended the passage of this narrow river; however, he resolved to attempt it by night, and chose one, whose lightning, thunder, and impetuous winds, conspired to drown the noise of his troops in their embarkation. He did not, however, venture to cross with them in the very face of the enemy;

but led them a few miles higher up the river, where the jutting out of a rock favoured his design. In this situation, scarce any person appeared to oppose their descent; and the moment Alexander was landed, he drew up the forces that had passed with him, consisting of six thousand foot, and five thousand horse, in order of battle.

Porus, upon hearing that Alexander had passed the river, had sent against him a detachment, commanded by one of his sons, of two thousand horse, and one hundred and twenty chariots. Alexander imagined them at the first to be the enemy's van-guard, and that the whole army was behind them; but being informed it was but a detachment, he charged them with such vigour, that Porus's son was killed on the spot, with four hundred horses, and all the chariots were taken.

Porus, upon receiving advice of the death of his son, the defeat of the detachment, and of Alexander's approach, resolved to go and meet Alexander, whom he justly supposed to be at the head of the choicest troops of his army. Accordingly, leaving only a few elephants in his camp, to amuse those who were posted on the opposite shore, he set out with thirty thousand foot, four thousand horse, three thousand chariots, and two hundred elephants. Being come into a firm, sandy soil, in which his horses and chariots might wheel about with ease, he drew up his army in battle array, with an intent to wait the coming up of the enemy. He posted in front, and on the first line, all the elephants, at a hundred feet distance one from the other, in order that they might serve as a bulwark to his foot, who were behind. It was his opinion, that the enemy's cavalry would not dare to engage in these intervals, because of the fear those horses would have of the elephants; and much less the infantry, when they should see that of the enemy posted behind the elephants, and in danger of being trod to pieces. He had posted some of his foot on the same line with the elephants, in order to cover their right and left; and this infantry was covered by his two wings of horse, before which the chariots were posted. Such was the order and disposition of Porus's army.

Alexander, being come in sight of the enemy, waited the coming up of his foot, which marched with the utmost diligence, and arrived a little after: and, in order that they might

have time to take breath, and not to be led so much fatigued as they were against the enemy, he caused his horse to make a great many evolutions, in order to gain time. But now every thing being ready, and the infantry having sufficiently recovered their vigour, Alexander gave the signal of battle. He did not think proper to begin by attacking the enemy's main body, where the infantry and the elephants were posted; for the very reason which had made Porus draw them up in that manner. But his cavalry being stronger, he drew out the greatest part of them, and marching against the left wing; sent Coenus with his own regiment of horse, and that of Demetrius, to charge them at the same time, ordering him to attack their cavalry on the left behind, during which he himself would charge them both in front and flank. Seleucus, Antigonus, and Tauron, who commanded the foot, were ordered not to stir from their posts, till Alexander's cavalry had put that of the enemy, as well as their foot, into disorder.

Being come within arrow-shot, he detached a thousand bowmen on horseback, with orders for them to make their discharge on the horse of Porus's left wing, in order to throw it into disorder, whilst he himself would charge this body in flank, before it had time to rally. The Indians having joined again their squadrons, and drawn them up into a narrower compass, advanced against Alexander. At that instant Coenus charged them in the rear, according to the orders given him; insomuch, that the Indians were obliged to face about on all sides, to defend themselves from the thousand bowmen, and against Alexander and Coenus. Alexander, to make the best advantage of the confusion into which this sudden attack had thrown them, charged with great vigour those that had made head against him; who being no longer able to stand so violent an attack, were soon broke, and retired behind the elephants, as to an impregnable rampart. The leaders of the elephants made them advance against the enemy's horse; but that very instant the Macedonian phalanx moving on a sudden, surrounded those animals, and charged with their pikes the elephants themselves, and their leaders. This battle was very different from all those which Alexander had hitherto fought; for the elephants rushing upon the battalions, broke; with inexpressible fury, the thickest of them;

when the Indian horse, seeing the Macedonian foot stopped by the elephants, returned to the charge: however, that of Alexander being stronger, and having greater experience in war, broke this body a second time, and obliged it to retire towards the elephants; upon which the Macedonian horse, being all united in one body, spread terror and confusion wherever they attacked. The elephants, being all covered with wounds, and the greatest part having lost their leaders, did not observe their usual order; but, distracted, as it were with pain, no longer distinguished friends from foes; but running about from place to place, they overthrew every thing that came in their way. The Macedonians, who had purposely left a greater interval between their battalions, either made way for them whenever they came forward, or charged with darts those that fear and the tumult obliged to retire. Alexander, after having surrounded the enemy with his horse, made a signal to his foot to march up with all imaginable speed, in order to make a last effort, and to fall upon them with his whole force; all which they executed very successfully. In this manner the greatest part of the Indian cavalry were cut to pieces; and a body of their foot, which sustained no less loss, seeing themselves charged on all sides, at last fled. Gatorus, who had continued in the camp with the rest of his army, seeing Alexander engaged with Porus, crossed the river, and charging the routed soldiers with his troops, who were cool and vigorous, by that means killed as many enemies in the retreat as had fallen in the battle.

The Indians lost, on this occasion, twenty thousand foot, and three thousand horse; not to mention the chariots, which were all broken to pieces, and the elephants, that were either killed or taken. Porus's two sons fell in this battle, with Spitacus, governor of the province, all the colonels of horse and foot, and those who guided the elephants and chariots. As for Alexander, he lost but fourscore of the six thousand soldiers who were at the first charge, ten bowmen of the horse, twenty of his horse-guards, and two hundred common soldiers.

Porus, after having performed all the duty both of a soldier and a general in the battle, and fought with incredible bravery, seeing all his horse defeated, and the greatest part of his foot,

did not behave like the great Darius, who, in a like disaster, was the first that fled: on the contrary, he continued in the field as long as one battalion or squadron stood their ground; but at last, having received a wound in the shoulder, he retired upon his elephant, and was easily distinguished from the rest, by the greatness of his stature, and his unparalleled bravery. Alexander, finding who he was by these glorious marks, and being desirous of saving this king, sent Taxilus after him, because he was of the same nation. The latter, advancing as near to him as he might without any danger of being wounded, called to him to stop, in order to hear the message he had brought from Alexander. Porus turning back, and seeing it was Taxilus, his old enemy, "How!" says he, "is it not Taxilus that calls, that traitor to his country and kingdom!" Immediately after which, he would have transfixed him with his dart, had he not instantly retired. Notwithstanding this, Alexander was still desirous to save so brave a prince; and thereupon dispatched other officers, among whom was Meroe, one of his intimate friends, who besought him, in the strongest terms, to wait upon a conqueror altogether worthy of him: after much entreaty, Porus consented, and accordingly set forward. Alexander, who had been told of his coming, advanced forwards, in order to receive him, with some of his train. Being come pretty near, Alexander stopped, purposely to take a view of his stature and noble mien, he being about five cubits in height. Porus did not seem dejected at his misfortune, but came up with a resolute countenance, like a valiant warrior, whose courage in defending his dominions ought to acquire him the esteem of the brave prince who had taken him prisoner. Alexander spoke first; and, with an august and gracious air, asked him how he desired to be treated? "Like a king," replied Porus. "But," continued Alexander, "do you ask nothing more?" "No," replied Porus, "all things are included in that single word." Alexander, struck with this greatness of soul, the magnanimity of which seemed heightened by distress, did not only restore him his kingdom, but annexed other provinces to it, and treated him with the highest testimonies of honour, esteem, and friendship. Porus was faithful to him till his death. It is

hard to say whether the victor or the vanquished best deserved praise on this occasion.

Alexander built a city on the spot where the battle had been fought, and another in that place where he had crossed the river. He called the one Nicaea, from his victory; and the other Bucephalus, in honour of his horse, who died there, not of his wounds, but of old age. After having paid the last duties to such of his soldiers as had lost their lives in battle, he solemnized games, and offered up sacrifices of thanks in the place where he had passed the Hydaspes.

Alexander, having now conquered Porus, advanced into India; which, having never been a warlike nation, he subdued with the rapidity rather of a traveller than a conqueror. Numberless petty states submitted to him, sensible that his stay would be short, and his conquests evanescent.

Alexander, passing near a city where several Brachmans, or Indian priests, dwelt, was very desirous to converse with them, and, if possible, to prevail with some of them to follow him. Being informed that these philosophers never made visits, but that those who had an inclination to see them must go to their houses, he concluded that it would be beneath his dignity to go to them; and not just to force these sages to any thing contrary to their laws and usages. Onesicritus, the philosopher, who had been a disciple of Diogenes, the cynic, was deputed to them. He met, not far from the city, fifteen Brachmans, who, from morning till evening, stood always naked in the same posture in which they at first had placed themselves, and afterwards returned to the city at night. He addressed himself first to Calanus, an Indian reputed the wisest man of his country, who, though he professed the practice of the most severe philosophy, had, however, been persuaded, in his extreme old age, to attend upon the court, and to him he told the occasion of his coming. The latter, gazing upon Onesicritus's clothes and shoes, could not forbear laughing; after which he told him, "That anciently the earth had been covered with barley and wheat, as it was at that time with dust; that, besides water, the rivers used to flow with milk, honey, oil, and wine; that man's guilt had occasioned a change of this happy condition; and that Jupiter, to punish their in-

gratitude, had sentenced them to a long, painful labour. That their repentance afterwards moving him to compassion, he had restored them their former abundance; however, that, by the course of things, they seemed to be returning to their ancient confusion." This relation shows evidently, that these philosophers had some notion of the felicity of the first man, and of the evil to which he had been sentenced for his sins.

Onesicritus was very urgent with both of them to quit their austere way of life, and follow the fortune of Alexander, saying, "That they would find in him a generous master and benefactor, who would heap upon them honour and riches of all kinds." Then Mandanis, assuming a haughty, philosophical tone, answered, "That he did not want Alexander, and was the son of Jupiter as well as himself; that he was exempted from want, desire, or fear: that so long as he should live, the earth would furnish him with all things necessary for his subsistence, and that death would rid him of a troublesome companion (meaning his body), and set him at full liberty." Calanus appeared more tractable, and notwithstanding the opposition, and even the prohibition of his superior, who reproached him for his abject spirit, in stooping so low as to serve another master besides God, he followed Onesicritus, and went to Alexander's court, who received him with great demonstrations of joy. As it was Alexander's chief ambition to imitate Bucephalus and Hercules in their expeditions into the east, he resolved, like them, to penetrate as long as he could find new nations to conquer. However, his soldiers, satiated with spoil, and fatigued with repeated encounters, at last began to open their eyes to the wildness of his ambition. Some bewailed their calamities in such terms as raised compassion; others insolently cried out, "That they would march no farther." The chief object of the king's wishes was to invade the territories of Agramenes, a prince who lived beyond the great river Ganges, and who was able to bring into the field two hundred thousand foot, two thousand elephants, twenty thousand horse, and two thousand armed chariots. The soldiers, however, refused to wander over those great deserts that lay beyond the Ganges, and more terrible to them than the greatest army the East could muster. He addressed them in the most persuasive terms not to leave their general behind:

he threatened them that he would take his Scythians and his Persian soldiers, and with them alone make conquests worthy of his name and of his glory; but still the Macedonian soldiers persisted, sullen and inflexible, and at last complied, after many persuasive orations, only to follow him towards the south, to discover the nearest ocean, and to take the course of the river Indus as their infallible guide.

For this expedition, he embarked in a fleet consisting of eight hundred vessels, as well galleys as boats, which carried the troops and provisions. After five days' sailing, the fleet arrived where the Hydaspes and the Acesines mixed their streams. There the ships were very much shattered, because these rivers unite with prodigious rapidity. At last he came to the country of the Oxydraci and the Malli, the most valiant people in the East: however, Alexander defeated them in several engagements, dispossessed them of their strong holds, and at last marched against their capital city, where the greatest part of their forces were retired. It was upon this occasion, that, seizing a scaling ladder, himself first mounted the wall followed only by two of his officers: his attendants, believing him to be in danger, mounted swiftly to succour him, but the ladder breaking, he was left alone. It was now that his rashness became his safety; for, leaping from the wall into the city, which was crowded with enemies, sword in hand, he surprised such as were nearest, and even killed the general, who advanced in the throng. Thus, with his back to a tree that happened to be near, he received all the darts of the enemy in a shield, and kept even the boldest at a distance. At last an Indian discharging an arrow of three feet long, it pierced his coat of mail and his right breast, and so great a quantity of blood issued from the wound, that he dropped his arms, and lay as dead. The Indian came to strip him, supposing him really what he appeared; but Alexander that instant recalled his spirits, and plunged a dagger in his side. By this time a part of the king's attendants came to his succour, and fanning themselves round his body, till his soldiers without found means of bursting the gates, saved him, and put all the inhabitants, without distinction, to the sword.

The wound, which at first seemed dangerous, having in the space of six or seven days a most favourable appearance,

Alexander mounted his horse, and showed himself to the army, who seemed to view him with insatiable pleasure. Thus continuing his voyage, and subduing the country on each side as he passed along, the pilots perceived from the swell of the river that the sea could not be far distant; and they informed the king that they already felt the breezes of the ocean. Nothing so much astonished the Macedonian soldiers as the ebbing and flowing of the tide. Accustomed to the gentle floods of the Mediterranean, they were amazed when they saw the Indus rise to a great height, and overflow the country, which they considered as a mark of divine resentment; they were no less terrified, some hours after, when they saw the river forsake its banks, and leave those lands uncovered which it had so lately overflowed. Thus, after a voyage of nine months, he at last stood upon the shore; and, after having offered sacrifices to Neptune, and having looked wistfully on the broad expanse of waters before him, he is said to have wept for having no more worlds left to conquer. Here he put an end to his excursions: and having appointed Nearchus admiral of his fleet, with orders to coast along the Indian shore as far as the Persian gulph, he set out with his army for Babylon.

Nothing could exceed the hardships which his army sustained in their return: passing through a country destitute of all sorts of provisions, they were obliged to feast on the beasts of burthen, and were forced to burn those rich spoils, for the sake of which they had encountered so many dangers; those diseases also, that generally accompany famine, completed their calamity, and destroyed them in great numbers. The king's fortitude appeared to great advantage on this trying occasion. The army being in absolute want of water, some soldiers were sent to endeavour to find out a spring. They fortunately fell upon one; but it yielded them but a very small quantity of water. With what they had got, the soldiers returned rejoicing to the king, who, instead of drinking it, poured it upon the ground; unwilling that his soldiers should sustain a calamity in which he refused to bear a part. This generous act inspired the soldiery with fresh spirits. After a march of three score days, they arrived in the province of Chelrosia, the fertility of which soon banished from the minds

of the soldiery all their former difficulties. Alexander passed through the country, not with the military pomp of a conqueror; but in the licentious disguise of an enthusiast: still willing to imitate Bacchus, he was drawn by eight horses, on a scaffold in the form of a square stage, where he passed the days and nights in feasting. Along the roads where he passed were placed casks of wine in great abundance, and these the soldiery drained in honour of their mock deity. The whole country echoed with the sound of instruments and the howling of bacchanals, who, with their hair dishevelled, with frantic mirth ran up and down, abandoning themselves to every kind of lewdness. This vice produced one of a much more formidable nature in the king's mind; for it always inflamed his passions to cruelty, and the executioner generally crowned the feast.

While he refreshed his army in these parts, Nearchus was returned from his expedition along the coast, and brought him strange accounts of the gold to be found in some islands, and of the wonders that were to be seen in others; he was therefore commanded to make some farther discoveries; and then enter the mouth of the river Euphrates, to meet the king at Babylon. He here also executed an act of rigorous justice upon Cleander and others, who had formerly been the ministers of his vengeance in cutting off Parmenio. Against these murderers great complaints had been made by the deputies of the provinces in which they had commanded; and such was the complexion of their crimes, that nothing but the certain expectation of Alexander's never returning from India could encourage them to commit such. All men were glad to see them delivered over to justice. Cleander, with six hundred soldiers, whom he had employed, were publicly executed; every one rejoicing that the anger of the king was at last turned against the ministers of his vengeance. As Alexander drew nearer to Babylon, he visited the tomb of Cyrus, in the city of Pasargada; and here he put a Persian prince, whose name was Orsines, to death, at the instigation of Bagoas, a eunuch, who falsely accused Orsines of robbing the tomb. Here also Calanus, the Indian, having lived fourscore and three years, without ever having been afflicted with sickness, now feeling the approaches of disorder, resolved to put him-

self to death. Alexander imagined he might easily be dissuaded from his design; but finding, in opposition to all the arguments he could use, that Calanus was inflexible, he gave orders for erecting a funeral pile for him, upon which the Indian was resolved to die.

Calanus rode on horseback to the foot of the funeral pile; offered up his prayers to the gods; caused libations to be performed, and the rest of the ceremonies to be observed which are practised at funerals; cut off a tuft of his hair, in imitation of victims; embraced such of his friends as were present; entreated them to be merry that day, and to feast and carouse with Alexander; assuring them at the same time, that he would soon see that prince in Babylon. After saying these words, he ascended with the utmost cheerfulness the funeral pile, laid himself down upon it, and covered his face; and, when the flame reached him, he did not make the least motion, but, with a patience and constancy that surprised the whole army, continued in the same posture in which he at first had laid himself, and completed his sacrifice, by dying agreeably to the strange superstitions of the enthusiasts of his country. Alexander punctually obeyed him in his admonitions to debauchery. A banquet followed the night after, in which Pro-machus received a talent as a prize, for having drank the largest quantity of wine: he survived his victory, however, but three days; and of the rest of the guests, forty-one died of their intemperance. From Pasargada, Alexander proceeded to Susa, where he married Statira, the eldest daughter of Darius, and gave her youngest sister in marriage to his favourite Hephæstion. Fourscore Persian ladies of rank were given to the principal favourites among his captains. The nuptials were solemnized after the Persian manner. He likewise feasted all the Macedonians who had married before in that country. It is related, that there were nine thousand guests at this feast, and that he gave each of them a golden cup for their libations. Upon this occasion there appeared at Susa three hundred young soldiers, dressed in the Macedonian manner, whom Alexander intended particularly to favour, in order to check the unruliness of his veterans, who had but too just reason to murmur.

While Alexander was thus employed in Persia, a new com-

motion was carrying on in Greece. Harpalus, when Alexander had appointed governor of Babylon, being disgusted with his master's cruelty, and ambitious of power himself, went over into Greece with immense sums, which he raised from the plundered prisoners of Persia. He had credit enough to assemble a body of six thousand soldiers, and with these he landed at Athens. Money, at that time, being thought all-powerful in Greece, he lavished immense sums among the mercenary orators, whose business it was to inflame the minds of the people. Of all these, Phocion alone, to whom he offered seven hundred talents, preserved his well-known integrity, and remained inflexible: his disinterestedness had long been an object of admiration, even in the time of Philip. Being offered a great sum of money, if not for his own acceptance, at least for the benefit of his children:—"If my children," cried Phocion, "resemble me, the little spot of ground, with the produce of which I have hitherto lived, and which has raised me to the glory you mention, will be sufficient to maintain them; if it will not, I do not intend to leave them wealth, merely to stimulate and heighten their luxury." Alexander having likewise sent him a hundred talents, Phocion asked those who brought them, why Alexander sent him so great a sum, and did not remit any to the rest of the Athenians? "It is," replied they, "because Alexander looks upon you as the only just and virtuous man." Phocion replied, "Let him suffer me still to enjoy that character, and be really what I am taken for." This, therefore, was not a character to be corrupted; on the contrary, he used all his influence to prevent the success of Harpalus, who, being ordered by the assembly to depart the city, lost all hopes of success.

This commotion was scarcely quelled, when another ensued, in consequence of a declaration, by which all the Macedonians, who, from their age or infirmities, were unable to bear the fatigues of war, should be sent back to Greece. They, with seditious cries, unanimously demanded to be entirely discharged from his service, murmuring against him as a despoiler of his bravest troops, and as a cruel king, who wanted not their absence, but their destruction. Alexander, however, noted with that resolution upon this occasion, which always marked his character. Being seated on his tribunal of justice, he rushed

among the principal mutineers, seized thirteen, and ordered them to be immediately punished. The soldiers, amazed at his intrepidity, withheld their complaints, and, with downcast eyes, seemed to beg for mercy.—“ You desired a discharge,” cried he : “ go, then, and publish to the world that you have left your prince to the mercy of strangers : from henceforth the Persians shall be my guards.” This menace served only to increase the misery and the consternation of his troops ; they attended him with tears and lamentations ; till at last, softened by their penitence, he once more took them into favour and affection.

Now, secure from insurrection, he gave himself up to mirth and feasting ; his army was followed by all the ministers of pleasure ; he spent whole nights and days in immoderate drinking, and in one of those excesses Hephæstion lost his life. This courtier was the most intimate friend of Alexander. Craterus alone, of all the Macedonians, seemed to dispute this honour with him. “ Craterus,” as the king used to say, “ loves the king, but Hephæstion loves Alexander.” The death of this favourite threw the monarch into excessive sorrow ; he seemed to receive no consolation ; he even put to death the physician who attended him ; and the extraordinary funeral honour, celebrated at his arrival in Babylon, marked the greatness of his affliction.

After various combats, conquests, cruelties, follies, and excesses, Alexander arrived at Babylon. On his approach to the city, many sinister omens were observed ; on which account, the Chaldeans, who pretended to foresee future events, attempted to persuade him not to enter that city. The Greek philosophers, on the other hand, displayed the fatuity of their predictions. Babylon was a theatre for him to display his glory on ; and ambassadors, from all the nations he had conquered, were there in readiness to celebrate his triumphs. After making a most magnificent entry, he gave audience to the ambassadors, with a grandeur and dignity suitable to his power, yet with the affability and politeness of a private courtier.

At that time he wrote a letter, which was to have been read publicly in the assembly at the Olympic games, whereby the several cities of Greece were commanded to permit all exiles

to return into their native country, those excepted, who had committed sacrilege, or any other crime deserving death; ordering Antipater to employ an armed force against such cities as should refuse to obey. This letter was read in the assembly; but the Athenians and Ætolians did not think themselves obliged to put orders in execution which seemed to interfere with their liberty.

Finding Babylon, in extent and conveniency, superior to all the other cities in the East, he resolved to make it the seat of his empire; and for that purpose was desirous of adding to it all the ornaments possible. Though he was much employed in projects of this kind, and in schemes even beyond human power to execute, he spent the greatest part of his time in such pleasures as this magnificent city afforded. But his pleasures often terminated in licentiousness and riot. The recent loss of Hephæstion; the sad remembrance which he still had of the iniquitous death of the virtuous Callisthenes, and of the gallant Clitus; but, above all, of the barbarities exercised on Parmenio and his innocent son; the idea of these shocking events festering his mind, had cast a thick gloom over his spirits; to dissipate which required the application of some very powerful remedy. The remedy to which he had recourse was *intemperance*. He was, of course, often invited to banquets, at which he drank immoderately. On a particular occasion, having spent the whole night in a debauch, a second was proposed: he accepted the invitation, and drank to such excess, that he fell upon the floor, to appearance dead; and in this lifeless manner was carried, a sad spectacle of debauchery, to his palace. The fever continued, with some intervals, in which he gave the necessary orders for the sailing of the fleet, and the marching of his land forces, being persuaded he should soon recover. But, at last, finding himself past all hopes, and his voice beginning to fail, he gave his ring to Perdicas, with orders to convey his corpse to the temple of Ammon. He struggled, however, with death for some time; and raising himself upon his elbow, he gave his hand to the soldiers, who pressed to kiss it. Being then asked, "To whom he would leave his empire?" he answered, "To the most worthy." Perdicas inquiring at what time he should pay him divine honours, he replied, "When you are happy." With these words

he expired, being thirty-two years and eight months old, of which he had reigned twelve, with more fortune than virtue.

By the death of this illustrious conqueror were fulfilled many of the prophecies of the sacred writers. One of them is singularly striking:—"The temple of Belus shall be broken down unto the ground, never to rise from its ruins." That the word of God might stand firm, Alexander is cut off at the very instant he is preparing to rebuild that temple, and to restore Babylon to its wonted splendour. Alexander left one son; he was named Hercules, and was born of Barsine, the daughter of Artabasus, and widow of Memnon. Both Roxana and Statira are said to have been left pregnant.

In whatever light we view this monarch, we shall find little to admire, and less to imitate. That courage, for which he was celebrated, is but a subordinate virtue; that fortune, which still attended him, was but an accidental advantage; that discipline, which prevailed in his army, was produced and cultivated by his father; but his intemperance, his cruelty, his vanity, his passion for useless conquests, were all his own. His victories, however, served to crown the pyramid of Grecian glory; they served to show, to what a degree the arts of peace can promote those of war. In this picture we view a combination of petty states, by the arts of refinement, growing more than a match for the rest of the world united; and leaving mankind an example of the superiority of intellect over brutal force.

The successors of Alexander seized upon particular parts of his extensive empire; and what he gained with much fatigue and danger, became a prey to men, who sheltered their ambition under the sanction and glory of his name. They had been taught by him a lesson of pride; and, as he would never suffer an equal, his numerous successors could not think of admitting a superior. They continued their disputes for dominion, until, in some measure, they destroyed each other; and, as no governments were ever worse conducted than theirs, so few periods of history were ever left in greater darkness, doubt, and confusion.

CHAPTER XV.

TRANSACTIONS IN GREECE, FROM THE DESTRUCTION OF THEBES TO THE DEATH OF ANTIPATER.

WHEN a general convention of the states declared a Macedonian king captain-general of their forces against the barbarians, they proclaimed to the world that Greece had ceased to act a primary part, and fallen from the rank she had held among the nations. The distractions which followed the death of Alexander afforded an opportunity of reclaiming her dignity; and this opportunity, indeed, she neither overlooked nor neglected. But the same causes, which subjected the degenerate Greeks to a foreign power, rendered all their efforts to recover their liberty ineffectual. It was not the policy of Philip, or the vigour of Alexander, that subdued the Grecian states, though these contributed to precipitate their fall: it was a relaxation of manners that ruined Greece; it was the insolence of prosperity, which, by provoking internal jealousy and discord, invited the ambition of neighbouring and powerful states and princes. These causes continued to operate with increasing force, and humbled the Grecians under whatever power preponderated in the countries with which they were surrounded. The Macedonian was only exchanged for the Roman yoke; and the Roman for that of different tribes of barbarians; until, at last, about the middle of the fifteenth* century, they found a melancholy repose in the stability of the Ottoman empire.

The Grecian states, during this long period, being under the influence of foreign councils, and the control of foreign arms, had lost their existence as a nation. But neither did they submit to slavery without a struggle, nor did the power which subverted their government deface, at once, their national character, or destroy, but by degrees, the various effects which

* From the accession of Alexander to the throne of Macedon to the sacking of Constantinople in 1445; a space upwards of 1500 years.

flowed from their original genius and political institutions. It is proposed, in what follows, to trace, amidst the revolutions of nations, the remains of Greece; to take a summary view of her efforts for the recovery of expiring liberty; to trace those features that remained the longest unsullied by the infection of barbarism; and those efforts of genius, which, surviving the dissolution of the state, continued, and still continue, to enlighten and refine the world.

The severe punishment inflicted by Alexander on the city of Thebes, the vigilance and vigour of Antipater, to whom he had committed the charge of his affairs in Europe, with the progress of the Macedonian arms in Asia, alarmed and overawed the nations of Greece, at the same time that Macedonian and Persian gold corrupted their morals, and divided and confounded their councils. But, even in this situation of affairs, Sparta dared to stand forth singly the assertor of ancient liberty. Being guarded, in some measure, by her political constitution, against the arts of corruption, she resisted the seducements of the Macedonian emissaries, and exhibited a noble example of patriotism to the other states of Greece. Her throne was adorned by an active, brave, and intrepid king, Agis, the son of Archidamus, and grandson of the renowned Agasilaus. It was he who infused into the Spartan deputies that spirit of opposition, which they showed to the measures of Alexander in the general convention of the states; by which he at once reprobated the Greeks for their abject submission, and signified to their usurper, that some sparks of independence were still left in Greece. He had shown himself worthy of the honours of royalty long before he was invested with them, by his spirited conduct at the court of Philip of Macedon. Having been sent thither in the quality of ambassador, that proud monarch, who had been used to receive a number of ambassadors from the other Grecian states, said, with an air of contempt, "What! from Sparta but one?" "Why," replied Agis, "I was sent but to one." When, on another occasion, one of the creatures of that prince told him, that "Philip would not allow him to set a foot in any other part of Greece," "Well," said he, "it is lucky that we have a good deal of room at home."

In the beginning of Alexander's reign, Agis did not think

it prudent to oppose him by his arms, well knowing, that the superior number of the Macedonian troops, and the high spirits with which several successful campaigns had inspired them, had rendered any attempt of that kind extremely hazardous. But he thwarted his measures as much as he could by his counsels; and was fully determined to embrace the very first occasion of vindicating the rights of his country. After the battle of Issus, a great many mercenaries fled out of Persia; of these he enlisted into the service of Sparta upwards of eight thousand, and immediately declared for the Persian king. He established a regular correspondence with that monarch, by which he was informed of Alexander's various movements and successes. He received money from Persia, to enable him to prosecute his designs; and having formed a powerful confederacy in Peloponnesus, resolved to lose no time in commencing hostilities. It must be remarked here, that Cleomenes, the other Spartan king, took no share in these transactions. His advanced age admitted not of vigorous exertions, and he was contented to see the military operations of the state directed by his colleague, in whose abilities he placed entire confidence. When Agis, therefore, had made the necessary preparations, he sailed over to Crete, where he excited an insurrection, and established the power and the government of the Spartans. Having returned from that expedition, he again renewed his endeavours to promote disaffection among the Grecian states. His applications to them were now more open, and they were also more successful. The news of the defeat of Darius at Arbela had just been received in Greece, and the minds of all men were alarmed by the rapidity of Alexander's conquests. A more seasonable opportunity could not have offered itself for Agis to promote his designs. He forthwith set himself to convince his countrymen of the great dangers that threatened them: he showed them, that the effects of Alexander's victories would be the subjugation of all the East; and the natural consequence of that subjugation, the return of the victor to load them with chains: a state of degradation, in his opinion, more humiliating, and more disgraceful, than the vilest condition of Persian slaves. The Greeks felt the weight of his remonstrances, and were ready to second his intentions. An army of twenty thousand foot, and two thousand horse; was

levied, with which force Agis took the field, and marched against Megalopolis, the only city in Peloponnesus that had acknowledged Alexander for its sovereign. Antipater was, at that time, employed in quashing a rebellion which had taken place in Thrace; but, on hearing of the operations of the Peloponnesians, he adjusted matters in Thrace, in the best way that circumstances would allow, and drew off his troops to combat a more dangerous foe. His army consisted of forty thousand men. Great, however, as his superiority was, Agis did not seek to avoid an engagement: so that a general action soon ensued, in which the Spartans and their allies were routed. The loss on each side was three thousand five hundred men. Agis himself fell, but he fell gloriously. Having been distinguished by his exertions during the battle, and having received a number of wounds, when the rout became general, his soldiers, who were bearing him on their shoulders, were likely to be surrounded: on seeing which, he commanded them to set him down, and to preserve themselves by flight, for the future services of their country. His soldiers obeyed: he was left alone, and on his knees he fought and killed several of the Macedonians, whom he continued to engage till he was run through the body with a dart. Thus fell Agis, one of the most virtuous and valiant men that his country had ever produced. He had reigned nine years.

Had the bold schemes of Agis succeeded, all Greece would have probably revolted. Not only would the different states have endeavoured to protect their own rights and privileges, but they would have carried, in their turn, the arms of Greece into Macedon. Alexander's hereditary dominions would have been endangered, and all his plans of foreign conquest overthrown. It is to be regretted that Agis was so precipitate in taking up arms against Macedon. Had he proceeded more deliberately and circumspectly; had he either waited till he should have increased his army at home, or obtained succour from Persia; his countrymen, animated by their flattering situation, and roused by the recollection of the glorious deeds of their ancestors, might not only have checked the growing power of Macedon, but prolonged the reputation and consequence of Greece.

The subsequent reigns of the Spartan kings were so unim-

portant and so obscure; that there is hardly any thing known of them but their names, and those of a few of the leading men. Eudemidas, the son of Agis, ascended the throne upon the death of his father. He was more virtuous and wise than any of his successors; and, fortunately for mankind, his excellent qualities were all of the gentle and moderate kind. They were such as led him to inculcate on the minds of his subjects, that the blessings of peace, even in a state of degradation, are superior far to those precarious, fleeting honours, which princes often purchased at the expense of the wealth and blood of their subjects.

The Lacedæmonians were so incensed by the loss of Agis, whom they all revered and loved, that they resolved to prosecute the war at all events. There were, however, in Sparta, a few who opposed this resolution; and of that number was Eudemidas. A saying of his on that occasion is worthy of being remembered:—"Why, Sir," said a certain citizen to him, "do you alone advise the continuance of peace, when all your subjects are for war?" "Because," answered the king, "I wish to convince them, that what they want would be injurious to them." When another of his subjects was magnifying, in his presence, the victories which their ancestors had won from the Persians, and was from thence drawing arguments in favour of renewing hostilities against Macedon; "You perhaps think," said Eudemidas, "that it is the same thing to make war against a thousand sheep, as against fifty wolves." Having one day gone by accident into the school of Xenocrates, the philosopher, and observed that he was very old, he asked one of those who stood next to him, what was the old man's profession. Upon being answered, "that he was a wise man, who sought after virtue," "Alas!" said he, "is he seeking it at these years: when then will he make use of it?" And when, as we shall see afterwards, Alexander caused the return of all the exiles that belonged to Greece, those of Thebes excepted, to be proclaimed at the Olympic games; "'Tis a hard case, O ye Thebans!" said Eudemidas, "but at the same time very honourable; for it is evident, that, of all the Greeks, Alexander fears you only."

Antipater having succeeded to his wish in crushing the insurrection in Peloponnesus, and having cut off Agis, who was

the chief spring of that insurrection, he resolved to render Alexander's power in Greece still more complete, and his authority more indisputable. The most formidable enemy which Macedon had ever known in that country was Demosthenes, the effects of whose eloquence had been felt both by Philip and his son. On Demosthenes, therefore, Antipater determined to wreak his vengeance: and a fit occasion for doing so soon offered. Harpalus, one of Alexander's captains, having incurred the displeasure of his master, fled for protection to Athens. During the time that he had commanded in Asia, he had amassed an enormous quantity of treasure, with which he hoped to gain the degenerate Athenians over to his desperate cause. His expectations were not altogether vain. Many of the chief orators, allured by the golden prospects which were set before them, tendered their services, and gave him reason to think that they could ensure him of safety. Two of the orators, however, were still uncorrupted; these were Phocion and Demosthenes. Phocion is said to have withstood every solicitation, and to have rejected every offer which Harpalus could make with disdain. Demosthenes's virtue is said to have been equally inflexible for a while; so high, indeed, did his indignation rise, when he first beheld Harpalus distributing his bribes among the people, that he stood up and made a warm oration against him, treating him no otherwise than as a villain, who had robbed his master, and who was come to Athens to involve the nation in a fresh war with Alexander. But he soon changed his tone; for when Harpalus was landing his treasures, a golden cup, of immense value and beautiful workmanship, is said to have caught his eye. Harpalus, observing that he looked at it with more than ordinary earnestness, begged of him to take it up, and poise it in his hand. When he had done so, he asked Harpalus what might be the value of it. "To you, Sir," replied Harpalus, "it shall bring twenty talents:" and that very evening it is said to have been sent, with twenty talents, to the orator's house. Demosthenes was, next day, to have delivered his opinion respecting the propriety of granting protection to a Macedonian culprit. But when he was called upon, he showed his throat bound round with several rollers, on account of a bad cold which he had caught. A wit was said to have observed on that

occasion, that "The orator had got a golden quinquity." In a very short time a rumour went abroad, that Alexander had heard that the Athenians had suffered Harpalus to take refuge in their city, and that he was so incensed, that he was just about to dispatch a formidable fleet, to punish them for their treachery. This rumour inspired the greatest consternation, and Harpalus was immediately expelled from the city. An inquiry was now set on foot, respecting those persons who had accepted of presents from Harpalus. This was the instrument by which Antipater was to destroy Demosthenes. He, with several others, was impeached: a prosecution commenced before the court of the Areopagus, which, finding him guilty of receiving gold from Harpalus, he was fined in fifty talents. Being unable to pay so large a sum, he was forced to go into banishment.

This change in the condition of Demosthenes has given rise to a variety of opinions respecting the cause of it. The most reasonable, as also the most probable one is, that it was the effect of the malice of his rival orators, added to the terror which the threat of Antipater had occasioned in the Areopagus. Demosthenes is fully exculpated both by Plutarch and Pausanias. Plutarch assures us, that that orator was the very first person who proposed, that those who had been suspected of receiving bribes should be brought to trial in the court of the Areopagus; and had he been guilty, says the historian, it is not likely that he would have been so forward in the affair. Pausanias again informs us, that Harpalus, having fled to the island of Crete, was there slain by his own servants; that his chief servant, who was likewise his confidant, falling into the hands of Philoxenus, was by him put to the torture, that he might thereby be compelled to discover which of the Athenians had accepted of Harpalus's gold. From his confession it appeared that Demosthenes was innocent. Philoxenus, who was an officer in Alexander's service, and an avowed enemy to Demosthenes, has confirmed this fact.

Antipater's deep policy in promoting the above charge against Demosthenes has very justly been admired. He thereby freed Macedon of the greatest obstacle to her ambition, and prepared the minds of the Athenians for a cheerful acquiescence in the measures of the friends of Alexander, by

convincing them, that he who had made the strongest professions of patriotism and zeal for the prosperity of Greece, had, all the while, been aiming only at his own personal aggrandisement.

With the loss of Agis, Sparta was disarmed; and with Demosthenes fled the very life and soul of the foreign operations of the Athenians. One would think that these events, so fatal to Greece, would have tended to stay the unaccountable resentment of Alexander; but they had no such effect. There still remained an act by which he might oppress that once flourishing nation; and that act he was resolved to see accomplished. The violence of political contests, and of unsuccessful expeditions against foreign enemies, had filled all the cities of Greece with exiles. Their number, at the period of which we are now speaking, is said to have amounted to upwards of twenty thousand. Alexander, who never hesitated at any thing that could either promote his ambition or confirm his power, foresaw advantages that were likely to arise from a judicious management of these unhappy men. It occurred to him, that if he should be the means of restoring to them their former rights and immunities, they would, from a principle of gratitude, attach themselves to his interest. Greece, he thought, by the accomplishment of his scheme, might be brought to a total submission to the dominion of the Macedonian monarchs: for it would naturally produce convulsions in the states, by the manifold transfers of power and property which would attend it: whence a very favourable conjuncture would be afforded for him to step in, and extinguish those sparks of freedom, which appeared so irreconcilable with his general system of government. Proclamation was accordingly made, in the name of the Macedonian monarch, at the Olympic games, "That all the exiles (those only excepted who had been guilty of atrocious crimes) should be forthwith restored to their respective cities; and that those cities, which should refuse to admit them, should be forced to compliance by dint of arms."

So unprecedented, so insolent a command, could not fail to rouse the indignation of a people, who enjoyed the name, at least, of being free. It constrained them to reflect on the glory which their ancestors had enjoyed in the happier times

of Themistocles and of Cimon, and to compare that glory with the disgrace which overwhelmed them now. Sunk, as they were, in effeminacy and idleness, they nevertheless entertained in their minds ideas of independence, which a retrospect to the virtues of their forefathers inflamed and heightened. They had boldly ridiculed the idea of Alexander's pretensions to divinity. The Athenians had taken courage to fine one of their citizens for talking of having Alexander enrolled with the gods of their country: and they had passed sentence of death on another, who, being on an embassy to Alexander, had been so mean as to pay him divine honours. These were, indeed, but small exertions: such, however, as they were; they served to show that Greece was not yet fully prepared to stoop to a tyrant. But all the former instances of Alexander's usurpations were outdone by that, which was to compel them to receive into their society men, whose crimes had justly separated them from their former connections. That act was aiming a deadly blow at their civil and municipal privileges, and was the grossest insult that any tyrant could have devised. But Greece did not submit to it. The Athenians seemed to feel the indignity with superior poignancy; nor were they at any pains to stifle their resentment. They dispatched ambassadors to all the neighbouring states for the purpose of promoting an insurrection; with many of which they were very successful. The Ætolians, mindful of some proud, reproachful terms, which Alexander had used, espoused the general cause with particular zeal.

Such was the aspect of affairs when the news of Alexander's death reached Greece: news which added fresh spirits and vigour to all the operations of the insurgents. Those who had not already revolted now ran to arms, drove out the Macedonians who were residing among them; and hastened to put themselves under the command of Leosthenes, the Athenian, who had already collected a very considerable army.

It was now that Demosthenes was recalled from banishment. His love for his country, though forced by its decrees to part with those to whom he was peculiarly attached, had remained undiminished. He had accompanied the Athenian ambassadors in their progress through Peloponnesus, and, by the powers of his elocution, had gained many friends to the

cause which they sought to maintain. He was deservedly extolled for his opposition to Pytheas, an abettor of the Macedonian cause, who strove to sow dissension among the inhabitants of Arcadia. "The Athenians," said Pytheas, "may be likened unto ass's milk, which is a certain indication of sickness being in any house into which it is brought; for, when they appear in any city, we may, with certainty, pronounce that city to be distempered."—"True," answered Demosthenes, "but as ass's milk is a restorative of health, so are Athenian counsels of distempered states." It was in consideration of such services as these, that Demosthenes was invited to participate again in the pleasures of his native country. The invitation was accompanied with very flattering marks of respect. A galley was dispatched to Ægina, where he was residing, to convey him to Athens. As he approached the city, the citizens of every rank and sex went out to meet him, and to congratulate him on his safe return. By the laws of his country, the fine which had been imposed on him could not be remitted. His fellow-citizens, therefore, being solicitous that he should lie under no sort of restraint, nominated him to the office of preparing the temple of Jupiter Conservator, against the feast of that deity, with an appointment of fifty talents, the nett amount of his fine. This being paid, Demosthenes began afresh to harangue in favour of Athenian liberty.

Leosthenes had now got together a very powerful army, with which he marched against Antipater. As soon as that general received intelligence of the approach of Leosthenes, being aware of the inferiority of his troops to those of the Athenians, he sent off a courier to Craterus, then acting in Cilicia, to request a supply. In the mean time, he marched his troops into Thessaly, where he was joined by a large body of cavalry. But the Thessalians, when they saw the confederated Greeks advancing, and perceived how greatly superior their army was in numbers to that of the Macedonians, immediately deserted to them. Antipater, however, was not discouraged: he ventured to engage the enemy; but, being routed, he was forced to betake himself to flight. He led off his men in good order; and, having arrived at Lamia, a city in Thessaly, he caused the place to be fortified, and, with

eight or nine thousand foot, prepared to make a desperate defence. The Athenians advanced, and attacked the city: but, finding it too well fortified to be easily taken by storm, they set themselves down before it, in hopes of carrying it by a regular siege. These dawnings of success had greatly elated the minds of the Athenians. They had once more seen their invaders constrained to retire within their native limits. Their countrymen seemed to act with unusual unanimity and energy; and they thought they had now reason to look for a return of their ancient greatness. But Phocion's ideas were different; he made it his business to expose their infatuation, and to check their misguided ardour; well knowing that they possessed neither sufficient constancy nor vigour to carry on a successful war with the Macedonians. "What do you think," said one of his leaders to him, "will be the most proper time for going to war?" "When the young men," replied he, "keep within the bounds of regularity; when the rich are liberal in their donations; and the orators cease to rob the state." During these commotions, there is not a word said of Demosthenes. Perhaps Phocion, with whom he then lived on terms of intimacy and friendship, had convinced him by conversation, which he never could do by public speaking; that every idea of opposition to Macedon was now become vain and extravagant.

Difficulties, and long habits of military experience, had made Antipater fruitful of resources. Though every day attacked by fresh troops, he maintained his situation, and seemed not to abate either in spirit or strength. Making at last a sudden sally upon the workmen, he threw them into great disorder; and Leosthenes, who hastened to their assistance, was unfortunately killed with a stone. This incident greatly discouraged the Athenians. They did not, however, relinquish their system of conquest: they chose Antipater their general, and pursued Antipater, who had, by his spirited sally, escaped from Lamia. Shortly after that event they fell in with the Macedonians, under Leonatus, and completely routed them: but such repeated successes were their ruin. Overjoyed with the victories which they had gained, and filled with contempt at the feeble resistance made by the Macedonians, many of them returned home, to boast of the triumph of their arms,

and to congratulate their friends on the return of ancient freedom. The period of their rejoicing was short. Antipater, having received a strong reinforcement from Cilicia, under the command of Craterus, advanced towards Cranon, a city in Thessaly, where he engaged and quite discomfited the enemy, who were led on by Antiphilus and Memnon. Though the confederates lost only five hundred men in this battle, yet their spirits were so broken by it, that they immediately sued for a peace. To grant a general peace was not Antipater's design; he wished to see the Athenians more thoroughly humbled. He therefore acquainted the vanquished, that he was ready to enter upon separate treaties with them, and to hear what were their demands. This proposition the Grecians rejected with scorn; but, finding that several cities belonging to their allies in Thessaly fell daily before the enemy, they were glad to accept of any terms. In a short time, therefore, Antipater had granted to every state, and to every city, except Athens, whatever they demanded. In this distressful situation, Phocion, with some other orators, was delegated by the Athenians to sue for peace from Antipater, who was then encamped at Cadmea. Phocion entreated that the terms might be adjusted there; but Craterus insisted upon marching the Macedonians into Attica, and opening the treaty at the gates of Athens; alleging, "That it was unreasonable to burthen their friends with an army, while they were treating with an enemy." Antipater acknowledged the justice of what he said; "but yet," subjoined he, "let us grant this single favour to Phocion." The favour was granted, and a peace was concluded; but the terms of it were equally subversive of Athenian honour and power. Demosthenes and Hyperides were to be delivered up; a distinction which they, no doubt, owed to their superior zeal in the service of their country. The democracy was to be abolished; the ancient mode of raising taxes restored; the obnoxious were to forfeit their municipal rights; Athens was to receive a Macedonian garrison, and to defray the expenses of the war. Phocion, who may be supposed to have had more influence with Antipater than any other Athenian, on account of his pacific disposition, was not, with the utmost exertions of his eloquence, able to preserve his native city from the ig-

nominy of being garrisoned by Macedonian soldiers. He used every argument which could be dictated, either by his fear of shame, or his regard for his country's honour; but he could not prevail; determined on oppression, the victor remained unmoved. Menyllus, a man of an amiable temper of mind, and a friend of Phocion's, was sent to Athens to command the new garrison. Upwards of twelve thousand Athenians were disfranchised. Many of these found their condition so insupportable, that they were obliged to go into Thræce, and to settle there as Macedonian colonists.

Upon the arrival of the messenger who brought the first accounts of that disgraceful treaty, Demosthenes fled to Calauria, a small island opposite to Trezene. He was conscious of having rendered too essential services to his country to have any hopes that Antipater would show him mercy. Soon after his departure, Archias, a player, was sent to find him out. Being informed that he had taken refuge in the temple of Neptune, which had been raised in that island, thither Archias bent his course. He found the patriot orator sitting, more collected and composed than his natural timidity gave reason to expect that he would be. He tried to persuade him to return home; assuring him, that Antipater would treat him humanely. Demosthenes, who knew better than Archias did, what were the dispositions of Antipater, said, "O, Archias, I never was much moved with you as a player; and now I am as little moved with you as a negotiator." When Archias began to press him hard, he begged leave to withdraw a little farther into the temple, in order to write a few lines to his family. When he had got to the place where he was to write, he put a poisoned quill into his mouth, and chewed it, as he usually did other quills, when he was very thoughtful. The poison beginning to operate, he turned towards the tragedian, and said, "Now, sir, you may act the part of Orest, in the tragedy, as soon as you please; and cast out this body of mine unburied." He desired to be supported to the door of the temple, being unwilling to pollute it by his death; but as he passed by the altar, he expired.

Some historians have been at pains to refute this account of the death of Demosthenes; alleging, that he died of grief and

a broken constitution ; but their account of the event is neither so probable, nor so well attested, as that which has now been given.

The Athenian citizens, who had not forfeited the favour and protection of Antipater, enjoyed a degree of tranquillity and affluence, which had been for a long time unknown. For many years they had been torn to pieces by the dissensions which invariably attend a democracy. This form of government Antipater had abolished : he had put them nearly upon the same footing on which they stood in those virtuous days, in which they had prospered by the wise institutions of Solon. Most of the other states derived advantages of a similar kind ; and though they were at first much dissatisfied, on account of the infringements which they imagined he had made on their freedom, yet they soon found, that they were, in reality, become a more free people than they had hitherto been. They acknowledged their obligations to Antipater, and honoured him with the title of " The father and protector of Greece."

Antipater, having revisited Macedon, was celebrating the nuptials of his daughter Phylla, whom he had bestowed on Craterus, when he was informed that the Ætolians had taken the field with a large army. The Ætolians were the only people in Greece who complained of the terms granted them by the governor of Macedon ; and they were resolved, either to extort more favourable conditions, or to lose their all in the field of battle. Antipater, and his young son-in-law, marched directly into Ætolia ; and, after encountering several difficulties, had the good fortune to see the enemy routed. These operations happened in the winter season. In the spring, Antipater prepared to besiege the cities of Ætolia which had not surrendered : but before he had been able to effect any thing that was great, he was informed by Antigonus, that Perdiccas had been paving the way to a revolt in the East. The chief arguments which Antigonus used to influence Antipater's mind were, that Perdiccas had slighted Nicæa (the daughter of Antipater), and put to death Cynane, the sister of Alexander. This information declared the necessity which there was for his immediate presence in Asia. He was therefore obliged to enter into a treaty with the Ætolians ; which

ending in a peace, he was left at leisure to look after his concerns in the East.

While Antipater and Craterus were rectifying disorders beyond the Hellespont, the Ætolians entered into a resolution of avenging themselves of the injuries which they had sustained during the preceding winter. They, therefore, entered the territories of Macedon with a formidable armament, and were committing dreadful depredations, when their career was interrupted by Polycles, who commanded in that quarter for Antipater. The Ætolians found means to bring Polycles to a general action. His troops being greatly inferior to theirs, in point of numbers, were soon put to flight, and he himself slain. Before the victors had time to improve the advantages which they had gained, they received advice, that the Acarnanians had already penetrated into the heart of their country, and were laying all waste by fire and sword. They, therefore, retreated with precipitation to Ætolia; leaving, however, their allies in Thessaly under the command of Menon. Polyperchon, who had the command in Macedon, took the advantage of the division which had been made in the Ætolian army; and, marching directly into Thessaly, fell upon Menon before he was aware, and completely discomfited his troops. The Ætolians were so struck by the news of Menon's defeat, that they immediately laid down their arms. Thus was peace once more restored to Macedon.

We are now to take a view of the Athenians, before the total decay of their national consequence. We are to behold them, not demanding liberty with the noble confidence of an independent people, but imploring it with the servility of slaves. Peaceable and happy as their city had been, since its submission to Antipater, there was one circumstance in their lot which they could not brook with patience: that was, their being protected by a Macedonian garrison. The dignity and the glory of their ancestors required to their minds, and prompted them to wish for the semblance, at least, of freedom. The first effects of this disposition were manifested by their application to Phocion, whose influence with Antipater they knew to be great, to repair to that general, who was just returned from Asia, and to pray him to remove the

Macedonian garrison. But Phocion, well knowing that it was then too late a period of their national existence for them to be able to guard themselves, bluntly declined the commission. He interceded, however, with the king, for the return of the Athenian exiles, and had them all restored to their homes and ancient privileges.

The recall of the garrison by Antipater was an object of too much moment to be easily abandoned. On the refusal, therefore, of Phocion, they turned their eyes towards Demades, the orator, who was likewise a favourite with Antipater. Having less magnanimity and patriotism, but much more vanity and self-conceit, than Phocion, this man undertook the embassy. It was this same Demades who reproved Philip's indecent exultation after the battle of Chaeronea; it was he who drew up the sentence of banishment against Demosthenes, when he fled to Calauria: and it was he who accompanied Phocion to Cadmea, to treat with Antipater and Craterus, after the fatal battle of Cranon. He had long been a tool to Antipater: he wanted not for abilities or eloquence; but prudence and disinterestedness were none of his virtues. Antipater often said that he had two friends at Athens:—Phocion, who never would accept of any reward for his services; and Demades, who never thought he had received enough. Whether Antipater had discontinued his largesses to Demades, or whether Demades expected to be more liberally rewarded by Perdiccas, we cannot say; but he had formed a correspondence with that commander, and had recommended to him to come over, and assume the government of Macedon and Greece. A letter of his to Perdiccas was found, in which were these words: "Come and be the support of Macedon and Greece, which at present lean on an old rotten staff;" meaning Antipater. This discovery was made at the very time that he and his son were soliciting the recall of the garrison. Antipater straightway ordered the son of Demades to be slain in his father's sight; and the moment that he had expired, sentence of death was pronounced on the father himself. Thus fell Demades, the orator; and with his life were extinguished all hopes of Athenian liberty.

The death of Antipater happened soon after that of the orator Demades, and a very short time after his return from

his Asiatic expedition. The excessive fatigue which he had undergone in forcing the Greeks to submit to the power of Macedon, and in accommodating matters in Asia, had preyed greatly upon a constitution already impaired by age. Being faithful and zealous in the cause of his country, his mind enjoyed but little repose. As soon as he had arrived in Macedon, he employed himself in endeavouring to compose the differences subsisting among his countrymen, and to instruct them in the arts of peace. Anxiety of mind, co-operating with an enfeebled and declining habit of body, produced a violent disease, which soon left him but little room to hope for a recovery. Though loaded with distress, he acted not unworthily either of the highness of his descent, or the excellence of his understanding. He was noble by birth, and had been educated in the school of Aristotle. He assembled his friends, and those of his country, and admonished and instructed them in the course of conduct which he wished them to pursue. To Polyperchon, the eldest of all Alexander's captains then in Europe, he bequeathed the two high offices of protector and governor of Macedon. His own son, Cassander, he made a chiliarch, or commander of a thousand men; an appointment of very great consideration in those days. He gave directions concerning the Athenian garrison, and recommended moderation and forbearance towards the Athenians. Thus did Antipater reconcile the minds of his countrymen to the loss which they were about to sustain, and lay the foundation of future concord and vigour in the government of Macedon. His career of glory was at an end: full of years and honours, and surrounded and lamented by his friends, he died in a period of the most profound national tranquillity.

CHAPTER XVI.

TRANSACTIONS IN ASIA, FROM THE DEATH OF ALEXANDER TO THE DEATH OF ANTIGONUS.

WHEN Alexander was asked, on his death-bed, to whom he desired to bequeath his empire, his answer was—"To the most worthy." These indefinite words must have been extremely soothing to the ambition of his superior officers. Men who had been accustomed to rule with absolute power, in distant, extensive, populous, and wealthy provinces, must have been highly pleased to find, that their sovereign's will threw no bar in their way to dominion or power. They had all given proofs of their great military talents; and had, in return, been favoured with the approbation and friendship of the king; each, therefore, thought himself possessed of sufficient merit to be placed in that exalted station, which had been mentioned as the reward of the most worthy. There was one, however, who appeared to have an extraordinary claim to distinction: Perdikkas, to whom Alexander, in his last moments, had delivered his royal signet. Possessed of merit equal at least to that of his competitors, this adventitious circumstance might seem to have given him a superior title to the vast object in question. But his rivals were too proud to suffer an equal to be exalted above them, without throwing some embarrassment in his way; and too fond of power to bestow a title to an empire without advancing their own pretensions. Accordingly, they all remonstrated, and opposed Perdikkas's elevation; and finding that they were not likely to succeed in their private schemes, by acting interestedly, they resolved to overturn him, by acting justly, in supporting the claims of the lawful heirs to the crown. These were, Hercules, the son of Alexander, by Barsine, the widow of Memnon; and Aridaeus, or, as he was afterwards called by the soldiery, Philip Aridaeus, Alexander's only brother. There was little or no contest

about Aridaeus's right to a share in the sovereignty. He had been acknowledged to be insane; and that circumstance, perhaps, more than his consanguinity to the king, procured him an easy admission to the throne. Hercules's right was not so readily recognized; his mother was not of royal extraction; and, as Alexander had always shown a preference to Roxana and Statira, and had, moreover, omitted to mention Hercules in his last hours, his title was at once set aside. But the exclusive right to the throne was not to be granted to one person. It was, therefore, judged proper, by all the leading men, to divide the sovereignty between Aridaeus and the child to be born of Roxana, should it prove a son. This appointment was easily acceded to; as the government, that was naturally to be expected from it, would leave full scope for the exercise of avarice and ambition.

This settlement being made, the various competitors of Macedonian empire retired to their respective employments. Perdicas had always been much about the person of the king; and having been reported to be at once a favourite and a friend to him, he found little difficulty in ingratiating himself with Aridaeus and Roxana. Their countenance and favour were indispensably necessary to the execution of the deep plans which he had laid; and he spared no pains, and refrained from no act of violence, which promised to procure them. He had at first strenuously, though secretly, opposed the election of Aridaeus; but finding that his influence, in the general council, was likely to be outweighed, he immediately saw the necessity of disguising his real sentiments. He therefore professed himself to be that prince's most zealous friend and supporter; and, in a little time, found himself possessed of all that he desired, but the empty name of royalty. He insinuated himself so completely into the weak prince's favour, that he soon contrived to have those, who had been most active in seating him on the throne, put to death: and, in order to secure the affection of the army, he persuaded him to marry Eurydice, the grand-daughter of Philip, whose mother had lost her life through his instigation. Philip still stood high in the good opinions of the soldiery; and there could have been no measure adopted, that could bid so fair to ensure their warm and steady support, as an apparent inclination to continue the govern-

ment of the empire in his family. He was also obliged to sacrifice to the passions of Roxana. By this time she had been delivered of a son, whom she named Alexander; and as it was he who was to share the sovereignty with Aridæus, the friendship and interest of his mother became highly important. A woman's jealousy is ardent and implacable. Statira was great with child; and lest a son should have appeared to dispute the throne with Alexander, Roxana and Perdiccas conspire for her death. She falls accordingly; and, in a very short time after, Parysatis, the sister of Statira, and widow of Hephæstion, suffers a like fate. Thus it was, that Perdiccas endeavoured to conciliate the favour of Aridæus and Roxana. Macedon might be said to have had two kings; but, in fact, she had but one ruler: for there was no act, either legislative or executive, that did not owe its origin to Perdiccas. One would think, that he might have been content with the respect and power that were now conferred on him; but his views extended much farther than to the possession of temporary honour. He was determined to render the distinctions he had acquired as permanent as they were great and substantial; and, for that purpose, it was requisite, that those men who were most likely to eclipse his glory, should be constrained to act on distant and separate theatres. This end was to be attained by a judicious distribution of the several governments and great offices of state. A council was holden, in which it was resolved, that the following arrangement should be made, in the name of the two kings. To Antipater and Craterus was assigned the government of the hereditary kingdom of Macedon, and of all Greece: the very same trust which Antipater alone had received from the hands of Alexander the Great. To Lysimachus fell Thrace and the Chersonese. Eumenes had Paphlagonia and Cappadocia. Ptolemy had Egypt; and Antigonus Phrygia the Greater, Lycia, and Pamphylia. Seleucus was appointed to command the royal cavalry; while Perdiccas contented himself with the title of captain of the household troops. Considering the influence which Perdiccas had in the state, this might have appeared to be but a humble appointment for him; but, though it wanted splendour, it conferred power; for it left him at full freedom to prosecute the purposes of his ambition, by placing him in the presence of the

kings, at the head of a trusty and well-disciplined body of soldiers ; while his rivals were forced to seek their fortunes in distant quarters of the empire.

Had the electors of the kings been sincere in the profession of esteem and loyalty which they made, when they affected to pay so great a deference to justice and right, the steps which Perdiccas had taken would, in all probability, have been the most effectual, of all others, for securing to himself the exclusive direction of the empire. But men, who had great and powerful armies ready to move at their nod, and who could command the treasures of wealthy nations, were not very likely to act disinterestedly on such an occasion. In truth, every one hoped to find an early opportunity of throwing off the mask ; and, until that opportunity should offer, they were willing to acknowledge the sovereignty of kings, whose incapacity to inspect the proceedings of their servants would allow time for their schemes to ripen.

The flames of sedition at length broke forth ; when there appeared to be three distinct, active, and aspiring factions in the empire. One was headed by Perdiccas, and supported by Eumenes ; another was headed by Ptolemy, and supported by Antipater and Craterus ; and the third, which ultimately proved the most formidable of all, was raised and maintained by Antigonus alone. This chief seems to have had the most daring and intrepid mind of all the captains of Macedon. None ventured to speak his sentiments so freely as he, at the election of the kings, and he was the first who presumed to remonstrate with Perdiccas, on the new arrangement that had been made in the state. But it was Ptolemy who first disclaimed the power of the united monarchs, and who prepared, in the face of the world, to act the part of an independent sovereign prince. Removed to so great a distance from the seat of empire, he could strengthen his army and establish his government as he pleased, without interruption. Encouraged by these circumstances, he was hastening to render his possessions stable and secure, when Perdiccas judged it expedient, for the safety of the Macedonian interests, to march into Egypt with a powerful army. This commander crossed over into Asia ; but, before he had nearly accomplished his march, he was informed that Antipater and Craterus were also in arms,

and that they were pursuing the same route which he himself had taken. The preparations which Ptolemy had already made, were too alarming to admit of delay. Perdiccus, therefore, empowered or ordered Eumenes to watch the motions of Antipater and Craterus; while he, and the two kings, should direct their march towards Egypt. After undergoing considerable fatigue, he reached the Egyptian frontier. Hostilities were instantly commenced, and frequent and vigorous efforts were made by the royal troops, against the forces of Ptolemy, in vain. The soldiers, discouraged at length by their ill success, and disgusted with the haughty and overbearing deportment of their general, mutinied, and slew him.

During these transactions, the other parties were not inactive. Antipater's main object was to check the growing power of Perdiccus, who, under pretext of guarding the rights of the kings, appeared to be grasping at the supremacy for himself. He divided his army into two bodies: the one he put under the command of Craterus, who was to make head against Eumenes; and with the other he marched into Cilicia, that he might have it in his power to succour Ptolemy, in case the royal party should prevail.

Before he had time to learn any thing concerning the operations of the contending powers in Egypt, he had the mortification to hear of the death of Craterus. That general had fallen, and his army had been routed, chiefly through the artifices of Eumenes. Eumenes, knowing how much his opponent was esteemed by the national troops, did not judge it safe to permit them to take a station in the field, from whence they might have an opportunity of discovering the favourite general, against whom they were to act. In drawing up his troops, therefore, he took care to oppose the foreigners that were in his army to the soldiers of Macedon; and by that cautious management, not a single soldier in his army knew by whom the enemy were led on, till Craterus was found breathless on the field of battle.

By the death of Craterus, Phila, the only daughter of Antipater, was left a widow. From a twofold cause, therefore, Antipater must have been afflicted by the loss which he had sustained. But he was not doomed to mourn long: a palliative was very soon brought him; and that was, the news of the death of Perdiccus. In consequence of that important

event, Antipater was solicited to join the army in Syria, in order to make new arrangements for the government of the empire. He repaired thither with all convenient expedition; and, upon his arrival, was, by general consent, appointed protector of the kings.

This was a fatal blow to the interest of the friends of Perdicas. Eurydice, who owed her present exaltation to the interposition of the late protector, set herself to disturb the quiet of his successor; but she soon found his authority too great to be affected by any exertion of hers. She, therefore, began to soften in her resentment; and, in a little time, she tendered him not only her support, but her confidence. Antipater, thinking it requisite to revisit Macedon, lost no time in adjusting matters in Asia. He found Eumenes determined in his purpose of prosecuting the war against the enemies of Perdicas, because he believed them to be the enemies of the true interests of Macedon. He therefore appointed Antigonus to continue hostilities with Eumenes, in the name of the kings. He gave his son, Cassander, the command of a very considerable army; with secret injunctions to guard, with a jealous eye, the proceedings of Antigonus. Of that officer's valour and conduct he entertained not a doubt; but he prudently thought, that he had too bold a genius to be constantly awed by the irresolute and tardy commands of a distracted and distant government. Matters being thus settled, he, together with the kings, set out for Macedon.

Antigonus now prepared to act with uncommon vigour against Eumenes. He had every incentive to dispatch; his temper was naturally suited to action; he was dissatisfied with the manner in which the great departments of the state were filled; he bore no good will to Eumenes, and he had the sanction of royal authority for taking the most effectual measures to crush him. A battle soon ensued, in which Eumenes was betrayed by one of his officers, and completely discomfited; but that discomfiture was productive of one of the chief glories of his life. Having rallied his men, he escaped the pursuit of his enemies, by striking into another road. He returned to the field of battle unperceived; burned the bodies of the slain, and covered their ashes with a large mound of earth: he then selected six hundred of his ablest soldiers, and with them returned to Nora, a castle bordering on Cappadocia. His in-

genius and his exertions, while in that fortress, have been very justly admired. The only provisions, which he had, were corn, salt, and water. On these he held out, against the whole strength of Antigonus's army, for a complete year, and at length forced him to quit the siege.

A very important revolution had, by this time, taken place in Europe. Antipater had been cut off by a violent disease; and Polyperchon, whom he had appointed to succeed him in the high offices of governor-general of Macedon and protector of the kings, had ascended the throne. This man was destitute of resolution, of wisdom, and of probity; a proficient in nothing but the mere forms of transacting business, and in the ceremonies of a court. His country had, of course, reason to look for ostentation and splendour, instead of politic schemes and beneficial acts of legislation.

It was not long before he evinced the extent of his capacity for conducting the empire. On the death of Antipater a general council was held, in order to consult for the general good. The first resolution taken by that court was one proposed and strenuously supported by Polyperchon. The substance of it was, "That Olympias, the mother of Alexander the Great, should be recalled, and appointed to superintend the rearing of Alexander, the son of Roxana." This resolution was extremely impolitic, and full of danger. For it was to place in an important situation a woman, whose alarming interferences in government had determined former governors to keep her constantly at a distance from the seat of empire. She had resided for several years at Epirus; and one of the last admonitions, which Antipater gave to Polyperchon, was, never to permit her to return to Macedon.

But Polyperchon was not guided by the prudent counsel of his predecessor. Not only did he allow Olympias to take up her abode in Macedon, but made her his chief confidant; and, in a little while, virtually committed to her care the government of the whole nation. Though a woman of a violent and revengeful temper of mind, yet she was not destitute of discernment. The deep and often fatal intrigues, in which she had been concerned, had taught her the knowledge of men. That knowledge was exerted on the occasion of which we are now speaking; for, instead of nominating to the chief command in

Asia, one whose dissolute morals promised fair to promote any arbitrary scheme which the court might propose, she appointed Eumenes, who was the most loyal and steady friend which the royal family had. There was much wisdom in employing such a character as Eumenes at that critical juncture. The power of Antigonus had for a considerable time been increasing; one or two more successful campaigns would, in all likelihood, have placed him above the reach of opposition.

On receiving the letters which conferred on him the supreme command in the East, Eumenes made haste to acquit himself with credit. He had a powerful rival to contend with. Being inferior to him with regard to the number of his soldiers, and also in point of influence in the Asiatic provinces, he was under the necessity of employing the whole resources of his inventive genius. He did so: and, he might have been victorious in the end, had not his friends deserted him. He made a considerable augmentation of his forces; and, by granting appointments and conferring honours, soon found means to gain over to his cause many of the most powerful officers in the opposite interest. The *Argyraspidæ*, a body of hardy Macedonian veterans, who had been presented with silver shields by Alexander the Great, in consideration of their valiant exploits, and who were therefore held in high estimation by their fellow-soldiers, soon became attached to his party. This was looked upon as no slight mark of his superior address and favour with the military. He was peculiarly careful to avoid giving offence to the higher rank of officers, well knowing, that men who had withstood so many changes in government, who had so much influence with the soldiery, and who, moreover, had it in their power to disappoint his measures, by endeavouring to second those of his opponent, could not be affronted but at the expense of his honour and success. The first step, which he took to prevent their ideas of precedence, and their mutual jealousy of being supplanted in their commander's favour, from disturbing the peace of the army, was, to cause a pavilion, with a throne in the midst of it, to be erected; around which throne his officers were to assemble, when any public business was to be transacted. This pavilion was after the manner of that which Alexander used on a similar occasion. Eumenes pretended that he was directed to do so in a dream. This expe-

cient, doubtless, was a good one. It might answer the purpose for which it was intended; but, while it did so, it demonstrated the precarious ground on which Macedonian commanders then stood.

Eumenes was enabled to keep the field against Antigonus for about three years, in which time he generally had the advantage. Antigonus at length, provoked by the obstinacy, and filled with apprehensions at the enterprising spirit of his antagonist, resolved to make one desperate, and, if possible, decisive effort. He resolved to attack Eumenes in his winter-quarters. Peucestus, commander of the royal horse, had secretly gone over to the interests of the enemy. When Antigonus made his attack, Peucestus managed his command in such a way as to render the horse of little or no service to the army to which they belonged. The infantry made a brave and successful stand against the enemy. The phalanx of Antigonus was routed by them; and had their exertions been supported by the cavalry, Antigonus's fortune would that day have been reversed. But they were left to combat alone. Antigonus improved the advantage, and, wheeling about upon their rear, threw them somewhat into confusion. Still, however, they kept the field, and by their intrepidity kept the issue of the battle in suspense, till they were informed, that a detachment from that part of the enemy's army which had been opposed to Peucestus had fallen upon the baggage, and made themselves masters of their wives, their children, and of all the treasures which they had won in the course of their Asiatic wars. This news inspired the whole army with rage, resentment, and grief. They were incensed, not only against Peucestus, by whose baseness they had been betrayed, but against Eumenes, under whose command their private fortunes and the public cause had sustained so insupportable a blow. They meditated revenge on both: but, first of all, it appeared requisite to try to recover their families and effects. In a mean and submissive manner, therefore, they applied to Antigonus to restore the fortunes which his arms had acquired. Antigonus readily agreed to grant them that request, and any other they should make, provided they would forthwith deliver into his hands Eumenes, "who was not a Macedonian by birth, and who had been declared an enemy to the public."

These insinuations, we may suppose, would find ready admittance into the minds of men, who were already dissatisfied with the person against whom they were made. The greater part of the army fell in with the proposition of Antigonus; and, among the first, were the famous Argyraspidæ. Eumenes was seized; his hands were tied behind his back; and his soldiers were carrying him to Antigonus, when he besought them to grant him leave to speak. They allowed him a hearing. But though his speech was well calculated to soften their hearts, though it unfolded to them the dangers they were about to bring on the state, by rendering Antigonus absolute; and reproached them with the cruelty and injustice of delivering to his executioner a general, who had undergone so many toils for their honour, and for the aggrandizement of the empire—still they remained unmoved. He entreated them to rescue him from the disgrace of being put to death by the hands of an enemy, by doing that last office to him themselves. But he entreated them in vain. He was conducted to Antigonus's camp, his hands bound in the manner we have mentioned; and, after a few days' confinement, was brought forth and executed.

The late signal success of Antigonus opened a wide field for his ambition. It inspired him with insolence and pride, and filled the neighbouring princes with consternation and dismay. To ward off the misfortunes which such prosperous events might have occasioned, those very commanders, who had lately opposed him, now hastened to make their submission, and to proffer their aid and support. He readily accepted their acknowledgments of his superiority, but was backward in assuring them of his protection. In truth, it was not his intention to protect them. The prospect of rising among the princes of the earth, which then began to dawn, had rendered him interested and selfish. The theatre on which he then appeared, extensive as it was, exhibited too many actors for any one of them to become illustrious: it was therefore his intention to lessen their number. Several of the inferior governors were sacrificed; and his resentment and suspicions would have been allayed had not Seleucus still stood in the way.

Seleucus had been appointed governor of Babylon by Antipater. He was an able and an enterprising commander. He

had always professed himself the friend of Antigonus; and none that knew him ever thought of questioning the sincerity of his professions. But Antigonus was become a tyrant; and tyranny admits not of lasting friendship. It vexed him to see any Asiatic commander holding an appointment not immediately derived from him. He therefore advanced to Babylon, in order to extort the submission of the governor. The method he took to compel Seleucus to come to a speedy explanation was, his requesting an exact statement of the revenues of his province. At this request Seleucus was astonished. He told Antigonus, that he had been invested with the command and direction of his province by the court of Macedon, and that, of course, he was accountable to none for his proceedings, but to that court, or to those whom it might delegate. Antigonus persisted in his right to have satisfaction, and began to threaten. Seleucus thought it was now high time for him to be gone. With the privacy and assistance of some of his officers, he got together a small detachment of horse, and in the night quitted Babylon and fled into Egypt. He well knew that it would have been in vain to have attempted to oppose Antigonus with arms; and, perceiving with what unprecedented cruelty other governors had been treated, he wisely determined to seek safety in flight.

These revolutions were the means by which Seleucus, Ptolemy, Lysimachus, and Cassander, were again brought forth into public notice. The last of these chiefs soon came to act a very distinguished part among the governors of the Macedonian empire. The whole influence of Antigonus's family had almost fallen before his power. It was not long before the report of Antigonus's victories had spread itself over every province then under the dominion of Macedon. In Europe, the dismemberment of the empire was dreaded; and in Asia and Africa little else was looked for than the reign of a despotic prince. All were alarmed, and ready to listen to the advice of any one who was capable of projecting any plan for their relief. Ptolemy was the first who evinced his zeal in thwarting the measures of Antigonus. The news, which Seleucus had brought to him concerning that bold commander, confirmed the apprehensions he had formerly entertained of his views. To embarrass and crush him the more effectually, he leagued

himself with Lysimachus and Cassander, who joined cordially in a wish to overthrow his power. They were preparing to commence hostilities, when Antigonus resolved to show them that he was not intimidated by their preparations. He collected his forces with all possible speed; and, before the enemy were aware, the greater part of the provinces of Coele-syria and Phœnicia had submitted to his arms. Finding that his conquests could not easily be extended without a fleet to co-operate with his land forces, he set every hand to the building of ships; and, before the end of the year, he was ready to put to sea with five hundred sail. The first expedition of this armament was against Tyre, which opened its gates to him after a siege of near four months.

Whilst these operations were going forward, the other belligerent powers were up in arms. Cassander had led his forces towards the coasts of the Lesser Asia, and had made himself master of several provinces. The news of this reaching Antigonus, he judged it necessary to hasten to the relief of those provinces. In a short time, therefore, he encamped in the neighbourhood of Cassander's army; but no action took place, Cassander being sensible of the inferiority of his troops, in respect to numbers, to those of the enemy.

At the same time, very vigorous exertions were making against Antigonus in another quarter. Ptolemy, having levied a formidable army, had reached Gaza, and attacked and defeated Demetrius, the son of Antigonus, who had been left to command in his father's absence. But Demetrius soon regained the honour which he had lost. Having come up with Cilles, one of Ptolemy's generals in the Upper Syria, he won a complete victory over him; and in a short time Coele-syria and Phœnicia, which had been wrested from Demetrius by Ptolemy, submitted to the power and government of the family of Antigonus.

The defeat of Demetrius at Gaza, enabled Ptolemy to support Seleucus in his claims on Babylon. Ptolemy was happy to find so able a confederate; he therefore furnished him with a small body of troops (all, however, that he could spare), and with them Seleucus marched to attempt the recovery of his government. The army which he then commanded did not amount to fourteen hundred men, and he was to conduct them

through that extensive country which lies between Phoenicia and Babylon, many districts of which were peopled by men in the interest of Antigonus. He accomplished his march; and, on his approach to the city, the whole inhabitants ran out to meet him, and to welcome his appearance among them. Thus was Seleucus restored to a command, which his abilities and virtues gave him a high title to; and to a people who respected and loved him, on account of the prudence and moderation which he had evinced ever since he had been set over them. The attachment which his people bore to him, added to the vigour of his own mind, secured to him, through the remainder of his days, the possession of Babylon, with little interruption, and of some neighbouring states.

Antigonus and Demetrius were now become the enemies of the whole Macedonian empire, and a general combination was formed against them. But it was not found easy to humble their power. Their activity and resources seemed to be inexhaustible. In Greece, the Ætolians and Epirots, spurred on and supported by them, had taken the field against Cassander. Ptolemy had carried his arms into the Lower Asia, and sent his fleets to reduce the Ægean islands, that were in league with Antigonus. To both of these objects, therefore, Antigonus was forced to attend. Lysimachus and Cassander, on the other hand, were making depredations on the provinces situated on the banks of the Hellespont and Bosphorus: there, also, the aid of Antigonus or Demetrius was necessary. In short, they were beset with foes on every hand; and they maintained their cause with an astonishing degree of vigour and success.

The period was now at hand, when the Macedonian empire was for ever to be torn from the family of Philip. Its various governors had, for a time, been suffered to act without control; or, if there existed any control, it was that of one general over another, which neither could brook, because each thought himself the equal of his rival. Their ambitious views had long been fostering: the commotions of the state had quickened their growth; and, in the pride or the prospect of victory, they were not likely soon to subside. It was not, however, till after a considerable time, that any of them dared to avow his intentions. Every declaration of war, and every overture for

peace, was made in the name of the young king Alexander; and if a prince was dethroned, or a country ravaged, it was on the account of him and the royal family. These artifices were the more remarkable, as they were made at the very period, and by these very men, by whose perfidy the royal family was daily mouldering away. Olympias, Alexander's mother, had lately been murdered by Cassander; and Cleopatra, his sister, had fallen a victim to the ambition of Antigonus. Cassander, having usurped the government, it was not difficult to foresee what would be the end of Roxana, and the king her son. They were looked upon by Cassander as obstacles to his power; and, in a short time, they were put to death by his direction. At his instigation, also, Heracles, the son of Alexander, by Barsine, was secretly murdered.

After the perpetration of such barbarous deeds, it was vain to hope that mankind would any longer be imposed upon. The generality of the leading men were convinced of this, and they resolved to throw off a veil through which every eye could pierce. Antigonus was the first to declare his views. He was emboldened by the successes of his son, Demetrius. All Greece had acknowledged the force of Demetrius's arms; the island of Cyprus had been reduced by him; and the Egyptian fleet, commanded by Ptolemy, had been totally defeated. On receiving the news of the reduction of Cyprus, and, above all, of the overthrow of Ptolemy, Antigonus was transported with joy, and issued out orders, that he and his son should forthwith be proclaimed kings of Syria.

So pleasing an example was not likely to want followers. Accordingly, Seleucus and Lysimachus, without taking time to consult the inclinations of those whom they governed, gave orders that they should be saluted kings. The other leading men resolved to accept of the same honourable distinction, as soon as the situation of their affairs would permit.

The Syrian kings, now inflamed with the love of dominion, mark out Egypt as the first victim of their power and ambition. Demetrius is appointed admiral of the fleet; Antigonus himself takes the command of the land army. A storm of angry the sultry heats of the deserts between Syria and Egypt, and the vigilance of Ptolemy, disappointed the ambitious views of Antigonus and Demetrius. They quitted Egypt; and, as

the only means of safety, made a hasty retreat into Syria. Ptolemy, after this repulse of such formidable enemies, assumed the title and the dignity of a king.

The Syrian princes, in order to redeem the honour of their arms, resolved to carry them against the Rhodians; on pretence that they had furnished supplies to Ptolemy in his late contest with Syria. The Rhodians had, for many years, been renowned for their skill in naval affairs. Their commerce was considerable, their soil rich and fertile; the conquest of Rhodes, therefore, would present to the invaders a plentiful harvest. Demetrius having made good his landing on that island, sat down before the capital, determined to exhaust all his ingenuity, in order to reduce it to obedience. Of all the princes of his time, he is said to have been at once the most ingenious, the most profound, and the most intrepid. In the construction of warlike engines his genius shone forth with particular lustre. It was from the amazing efficacy of some of these that he acquired the name of Poliorcetes, the Stormer of Cities. The Rhodians, supported by their numerous fleets, and furnished with stores from Greece and from Egypt, withstood every attack with firmness, and ultimately obliged the besiegers to draw off their forces. The high spirit of Demetrius was mortified by the unexpected resistance of the Rhodians, and the ingenuity and constancy with which they opposed all the firmness of his resolution and the resources of his invention.

The solicitations that were made to Demetrius by the Athenians, to come and rescue them from the oppression of Cassander, were gladly received by him in such a juncture. He found his reputation declining every hour that he remained in Rhodes, and was extremely happy to undertake an expedition, the urgency of which might serve as a pretext for his having abandoned an object for which such great and formidable preparations had been made. In Greece his arms were attended with more success. He soon forced Cassander to raise the siege of Athens; pursued him in his retreat; and, having come up with him, threw his army into disorder, and obliged them to fly with precipitation into Macedon. The result of this triumph was, the submission of the greater part of Greece. All the cities, from the straits of Thermopylæ to

the isthmus of Corinth, yielded to his prevailing power; and also many cities in the Peloponnesus.

The Grecians, sunk into effeminacy and servility, thought that the interposition of Demetrius in their favour had laid them under an eternal obligation to him, and that they were in gratitude bound to make him the greatest and earliest return in their power. They, therefore, studied to feed his appetites, and to gratify his passions. There was no sensual indulgence with the means of which they did not furnish him. The orators made the most fulsome and ridiculous panegyrics on his virtues and his victories. The nation at large complimented him on his being the restorer of the liberties of an oppressed people; and, to complete his honours, a solemn convention of the states declared him generalissimo of all Greece.

Had Antigonus discovered and pursued his true interest, he would have availed himself of the defeat of Cassander, to enter into some beneficial alliance with that commander. But instead of that, he rejected with disdain all his advances towards reconciliation. He would not even enter into a treaty of peace with him, though he condescended to ask it in the most suppliant manner. The only terms he would grant were unconditional submission, and a total renunciation of every claim on the kingdom of Macedon.

This impolitic insolence did not go unchastised. Cassander's influence in Europe was still great, and he had the esteem of several of the eastern princes. But the chief advantage he had over Antigonus was, the antipathy which all their neighbours bore to the Syrian kings. Many of them had already smarted under the rod of their oppression, and all of them had much to fear from their ambitious and tyrannical principles. They therefore joined, avowedly and cordially, in checking the growth of a power, which threatened one day to overwhelm them. The confederacy against Antigonus and Demetrius was composed of the Macedonians, the Thracians, and the Egyptians, together with some inferior states. Lysimachus was appointed to the command of the Thracians, and a detachment of Macedonians; and Selencus to that of the Egyptians, together with the household troops, which had been put under his direction by Perdiccas. Lysimachus made all possible

haste in conducting his army into Asia. Before the winter he had reached Phrygia. He made several offers of accommodation with Antigonius, who was then in the same province; but this prince was too confident of success to listen to his proposals.

Early in the spring, news was brought to Antigonius, that Seleucus was approaching rapidly at the head of a powerful army. On receiving that intelligence, he dispatched a messenger to Demetrius, to request of him to march to his assistance as quickly as possible. Demetrius obeyed his father's command; and had arrived in Phrygia a very short time when it was reported, that Seleucus had joined Lysimachus. Thus united, the Syrian army consisted of seventy thousand foot, ten thousand horse, and seventy-five elephants; that of the confederates, of sixty-four thousand foot, ten thousand five hundred horse, four hundred elephants, and a hundred and twenty chariots of war. Both armies were anxious about the event of a battle, by which the fate of kingdoms was to be decided. Antigonius, who never had been seen to shrink from any form of danger, is said to have betrayed several marks of fear on this occasion. The eventful battle was fought near to Ipsus, an inconsiderable town in the province of Phrygia. It were needless to record all the manoeuvres and feats of valour to which it gave rise; it will be enough to say, that both armies behaved gallantly, and acted with a degree of zeal and energy which would have done honour to a better cause. The brave Antigonius fell; the Syrians were completely routed; and Demetrius, with much difficulty, effected his escape at the head of nine thousand men. The success of the confederates is ascribed to the good conduct of Seleucus, who took advantage of the warmth of Demetrius, in pursuing with too much ardour a body of the enemy which he had put to flight. With Antigonius fell the greatness of the Syrian empire.

Antigonius, when he was slain, was in the eighty-fourth year of his age. He was a person of noble extraction. He espoused Stratonice, the daughter of Correus, a young lady of exquisite beauty; and by her had two sons, Demetrius and Philip. Philip died in early youth; Demetrius, as we have

already seen, was the pride and support of his father's days. There was no commander in the service of Macedon who had been more in the field than Antigonus: his whole life had been a scene of activity and peril; and he had, on all occasions, displayed the utmost zeal and bravery. He had risen, from being an officer in the army of Alexander, to be the lord of some of the fairest provinces in Asia.

CHAPTER XVII.

REVOLUTIONS IN MACEDON AND GREECE, FROM THE DEATH OF ANTIPATER, TO THE FINAL OVERTHROW OF THE FAMILY OF PHILIP.

CASSANDER, apprehending the perilous situation in which he and all the friends of the late administration of Macedon were placed, resolved to take some precautions for their safety. He began to reflect on the character of Polyperchon, which, being that of a credulous and inhuman man, determined him to act with equal circumspection and dispatch. Besides, he was dissatisfied with the disposition of affairs which his father had made; and was stimulated by his ambition to attempt the recovery of a command, to which he reckoned that he had the best right. From these, and some other considerations of a similar nature, he was led to adopt the following expedient:—He engaged a number of his most respectable friends to accompany him into the country, to enjoy the diversion of hunting. When they had got a considerable distance from court, he assembled them together, and disclosed his mind. He told them, that his true reason for having brought them to that place was, that he might have the advantage of their opinions, in a matter in which their lives and fortunes were deeply concerned. What he alluded to was, the arrangement that had lately been made in the conduct of public affairs, and the consequences that were likely to flow from that arrangement. He then expatiated at great length on the dangers that threatened the nation, from the junction of interests that had taken place between the protector and Olympias, the ancient and implacable enemy of Antipater and of all his friends. He set before them the obligations which they lay under to obviate the misfortunes which might be expected to rise out of that union; and, that they might join with the greater alacrity in doing so, he stated the motives which he thought would induce Antigonus, Ptolemy, and Lysimachus, to become the enemies of Polyperchon. It is not known, whether he then avowed his

intentions of supplanting the protector, or whether he spoke of only providing for the security of his friends. At any rate, his remonstrances procured him many powerful partizans, in confidence of whose support, he resolved to act independently and openly.

In the mean time, Polyperchon was busied in new modelling the government of Greece. He had held a council of state, in which it was resolved to displace all the governors who had been nominated by Antipater, and to restore democracy throughout that country. The edict which was published on that occasion is to be found in the works of Diodorus. The manner in which it is written gives us the highest opinion of the genius of the Macedonians of that period. The body of the edict contains several great stretches of the royal prerogative; while the preamble abounds with protestations of the court's having no other end in view, by the measure enjoined, than to restore liberty to the Grecian people.

This proclamation, gracious as it pretended to be, did not meet with unanimous approbation. The main object of it was to break the power of the late governors; but the governors did not choose to submit to a decree, by which they were evidently to be sufferers; they hesitated for a while, and then had recourse to Cassander for relief. The Athenian being of more consequence to Macedon than any other Grecian state, the eyes of all men were turned on Nicanor, governor of Athens. Had Nicanor complied readily, all the ends of the edict would certainly have been gained; the rest of the governors would have followed his example: but, instead of falling in with the wishes of the court, he endeavoured to set their power at defiance. He at first questioned the authority of Polyperchon; when Olympias, some time after, wrote to him on the subject, he devised new causes of procrastination; and he continued to do so, till he had sufficiently strengthened the garrison at Munichia, which he commanded. In that situation he might have held out till Cassander could have had time to bring him succours: but he was now able to do more than protect his fort. Instead, therefore, of quitting the Munichian fort, as the proclamation required, or of barely defending it, as his friends expected, he sallied forth, and made himself master of the Piræus.

The people, intoxicated with the ideal liberty which they now enjoyed, and provoked at the resistance made by Nicanor to their beneficent deliverers, determined to take an active part in the dispute. Their fury, always violent; and for the most part misguided, turned upon the patriotic Phocion, and a few more distinguished citizens. Their ostensible reasons for these outrages were, that these men had been instrumental in bringing about the revolution, by which Greece had been deprived of her democracy; and that they were still in the habit of consulting with Nicanor, who was the avowed enemy of the people's liberty. These reasons, groundless as they were, effected the ruin of Phocion and his friends. Being immediately proscribed, they threw themselves upon the mercy of Alexander, the son of Polyperchon, who was then entering Attica, at the head of a powerful army. By this time, Polyperchon himself was at hand: he had left Macedon, accompanied by Philip Arideus, and was hastening to join the troops under his command to those led on by his son. Alexander, having heard Phocion and the other unhappy exiles relate their story, was convinced of the injustice of the decree, by which they had been expelled the city. He sent them to his father, with letters of recommendation from himself, and attended by Dinarchus, a Corinthian, the old and intimate friend of Polyperchon. But, in a little time, arrived deputies from Athens, charging them with high treason. Polyperchon was, at first, somewhat puzzled how to act, between the very opposite representations of the Athenians and his son. But interested motives prevailed over those of justice and humanity. He perceived, that to thwart the Athenians would not only alienate their minds from his government, but give them ground to believe, that he was not sincere in the professions he had published in the late edict. He therefore caused Phocion and his friends to be chained, and sent back to Athens. The message which accompanied them was to this effect: "Though he was persuaded that they were traitors, yet he left them to be judged by the Athenians, as a free people." Phocion desired to know whether he was to be proceeded against according to the regular forms of law? Being told that he was, he added, "How was that possible, if no hearing was to be allowed him?" Perceiving, from the violence of the popular

glamour, that no opportunity of defence was to be granted him, he exclaimed, "As for myself, I confess the crime of which I am accused, and submit cheerfully to the sentence of the law; but consider, O ye Athenians, what it is that these men have done, that they should thus be involved in the same calamity with me." The people called out vehemently, "They are your accomplices, and we need no farther ground of sensation." A decree was then drawn up and read, by which Phocion, Nicocles, Atreudippus, Agamen, and Pythocles, were condemned to suffer. These men were present; the following were doomed to the same untimely end, though absent, viz. Demetrius, Callimedon, and Charicles. Many of the people moved, that Phocion should be put to the torture before he was executed; but that punishment appearing too severe, he was put to death, without being tortured. When the votes were collecting, many of his enemies were seen with garlands on their heads, and demonstrating all the satisfaction they could have felt on the discomfiture of a powerful public enemy. A friend took occasion to ask Phocion, as they were bearing him to the place of execution, what commands he had to leave for his son: "Only this," replied he, very coolly, "that he forget how ill the Athenians treated his father."

The resentment of his enemies was not allayed, even after they had deprived him of his life. They passed a decree, by which his body was banished the Athenian territories, and any person subjected to a penalty who should furnish fire for his funeral pile. One Conopion conveyed the corpse a little beyond Eleusina, where he borrowed fire of a Megarian woman, and burned it. A Megarian matron, who attended on that occasion, raised a humble monument on the spot, in memory of the unfortunate orator; and, having carried home his ashes, which she had previously collected with great care, she buried them under her hearth; putting up, in the mean time, this prayer to her household gods: "To you, O ye deities, who protect this place, do I commit the precious remains of the most excellent Phocion; protect them, I beseech you, from every insult, and deliver them one day to be deposited in the sepulchre of his ancestors, when the Athenians shall have become wiser." A short time only had intervened, when the prayer of the pious matron was fulfilled. The Athenians, as

in former instances of a similar kind, began to abate of their fury, and to have their eyes opened to the truth. They recollected the many services which the state had derived from the superior wisdom of Phocion's counsels; and, on that recollection, they could not but wonder at the part they had acted. They decreed for the victim of their rage a statue of brass; they ordered his ashes to be brought back to Athens, at the public expense; and passed an act, by which all his accusers were to be put to death. Agnonides, who had been a leader in the plot against Phocion, was seized and executed. Epicurus and Demophilus fled; but Phocion's son overtook them, and revenged the death of his father. This is said to have been the only meritorious deed which that young man ever performed. Entirely destitute of his father's virtues, he possessed but a small portion of his abilities: in the history of his country, therefore, his other actions are deservedly forgotten.

The integrity of Phocion, his magnanimity, and his sober, steady zeal for the welfare of his country, are not surpassed by those of the most patriotic of all his countrymen. Without aiming at the favour of the great, he often dared to stem the popular tide; and, without being deterred by the threats of the people, he sometimes ventured to espouse the cause of the few who stood high, but alone. He had as much probity as his illustrious competitor Demosthenes; and he wanted all that enthusiasm which sometimes threatened to mislead him. His opposition to the most popular men of his time has been the cause of his making so distinguished a figure in the state, and constitutes the most striking feature in his character. It would not be difficult to show, that the motives from which he acted were always prudent and commendable. The principle on which he opposed Demosthenes, when that orator would have stirred up the Athenians to resist the government of Macedon, proves at once the greatness of his wisdom, and the extensiveness of his knowledge of the real condition of the rival states at that period. It was this:—"Since the Athenians are no longer able to fill their wonted glorious sphere, let them adopt counsels suited to their abilities; and endeavour to court the friendship of a power, which they cannot provoke but to their ruin." These were his own words. The principle,

on which he proceeded in that last struggle which cost him his life, argued an equal degree of prudence and temperate patriotism. He was condemned for keeping up a correspondence with Nicanor, who continued to hold out after Polysperchon had tendered Athens her freedom. Had that grant of the protector's been such as promised to confer happiness on the state, Phocion would have sided with the multitude; but he well knew, that the meaning of it was merely to divide the power of Cassander's party; and as the protector did not immediately support his edict by arms, it was plain that it could not take effect while Nicanor remained hostile to it. Besides, if Athens was not to reap any advantage from the decree, it would have been extreme folly to have superadded to her other evils that of an intestine broil between her governor and her citizens. He was the only Athenian who was able occasionally to draw the respect both of his countrymen and of their enemies. He was a rational and a peaceable patriot; he wished for the aggrandizement of his native land; but he was anxious that its grandeur should flow from those ingenious arts which spring from national tranquillity.

Whilst these things were doing, Cassander, who saw no prospect of immediate success by the greatest effort of all the power he could then command in Europe, judged it proper to look for aid in another quarter. He had been industrious to conciliate the affections of his Macedonian friends, and to engage them warmly in his cause: having done so, he thought he had reason to hope for a happy issue to his affairs. He knew how ready Antigonus would be to oppose the measures of any person holding the invidious office of "Protector of the Kings;" to him, therefore, he resolved to fly for succour. Indeed, his own personal safety required that he should then quit Macedon. The Syrian king received Cassander with the greatest affability and kindness. He did not lay him under the necessity of repeating his request. He hated Polysperchon; and to execute vengeance on him he saw would be the shortest and surest road to the conquest of Asia, the grand object of his ambition.

The troops which Cassander received were not numerous; in the hands, however, of a man, animated by so enterprising a spirit as he possessed, they were capable of achieving great

exploits. He set sail for Athens, and, arriving in the Piræus with his little fleet, was welcomed to Greece by Nicanor. With regard to the new administration, Nicanor was quite of the same mind with Cassander. He had received his government from Antipater; he had been the first to oppose Polyperchon's edict; he had been exposed to danger on account of that opposition; he was, therefore, the most likely person to second the views of his intrepid visitor.

Polyperchon, hearing of the arrival of Cassander, resolved to make a vigorous effort both by sea and land. He assembled a powerful army, and marched directly into Attica. This portion of Greece was never remarkable for the fertility of its lands; the numbers which followed the protector soon produced scarcity of provisions, and that scarcity determined him to alter his purpose of immediately subduing his enemies. He gave to Alexander, his son, a force sufficient to keep Cassander in awe: and with the rest of his troops he moved towards Peloponnesus, where his opponent had many friends.

By this time, the fleet commanded by Clitus had set sail to meet that of Cassander; the latter was under the conduct of Nicanor. A battle took place, in which this commander was defeated, and obliged to betake himself to flight. But his ships being refitted, and fully manned, by the addition of a body of light troops sent over by Antigonus, he soon found himself in a condition to face the enemy. He put to sea; and coming up with Clitus, as he lay at anchor at Byzantium, he obtained a complete victory. A short time after this battle, Clitus was slain, by an insurrection of the soldiers of Lysimachus.

Meanwhile, Polyperchon had commenced his operations in the Peloponnesus. He was determined to see his edict obeyed, or to inflict the punishment which it threatened in case of disobedience. Many had been put to death who had not readily complied with the terms it proposed. So severe and unreasonable were his proceedings, that he condemned many persons, merely because they had held offices under the protectorship of Antipater. He was now acting like a tyrant; and every province through which he passed was a scene of confusion and blood. The Megalopolitans were the most considerable body of men who resisted Polyperchon's decrees. The magistrates and people having consulted on the affair, resolved

unanimously not to alter their form of government. Such a resolution was treason in the eyes of the protector: he declared it to be not only an open insult on his authority, but a tacit acknowledgment of the Megalopolitans being the abettors of Cassander's rebellion, and he denounced exemplary vengeance against them. The Megalopolitans comprehended his meaning fully; but their counsels had been taken maturely, and were not to be easily overturned. They fortified their city; removed their effects, and all those persons who could not assist in defending their lives; and to the number of fifteen thousand retired within the walls, determined to make a desperate resistance.

Polyperchon made good his threats: he appeared before the city, accompanied by Philip Arideus, the king, and supported by a large army. His engineers were exceedingly active; before the besieged imagined that the enemy had begun to work, three towers, with all the wall between them, were undermined and thrown down. Polyperchon then made an attack, which was well supported by both sides; but the Megalopolitans had the advantage. On this occasion, the conduct of the Megalopolitan wives and youths was very remarkable: while their friends had advanced to the breach to face the enemy, they had laboured with all their might, and had almost completed an intrenchment of earth and rubbish within the breach. This repulse did not discourage the protector. He resolved to renew the assault, and to avail himself of his elephants. The thought of being attacked by those animals greatly distressed the besieged: they were, however, soon delivered from uneasiness on that account. There happened to be among them a man named Damides, who had served under Alexander, and who had learned from experience the destructive arts of his profession. He undertook to render the elephants perfectly useless to the besiegers, and the stratagem he used was this:—He caused long pieces of planks to be driven into the ground, with spikes in the ends of them; and over the spikes he threw some rubbish to prevent the enemy from discovering the plot: this was done all along the inside of the breach. The citizens were drawn up between the city and these machines, and at each end of the breach. The besiegers were now ready to make the attack. They moved for-

ward in great order, with the elephants in front. These animals, having got within the breach, found the spikes running into their feet, and were thereby much irritated. The citizens, observing this, began to gall them and their riders with darts and stones. This occasioned a dreadful confusion. Many of the spikes had pierced so deep, that some of the poor brutes, unable to move, fell down. Others were so enraged by the pain they felt, that they turned upon their own men, and trod them under foot. The Macedonian army, observing this, were struck with dismay, and refused to attempt storming the place; Polyperchon was therefore forced to retire. News of a nature equally disgraceful reached him much about the same time; This was an account of the discomfiture of the admiral Clitus. After such repeated losses, he saw no prospect of acquiring any honour in Greece. He appointed a considerable body of foot and horse to block up the Megalopolitans in their city, and the remainder of his army hastened to Macedon.

Nicanor, loaded with naval honours, had now resumed his government. Cassander, sensible of the service which the governor had rendered him, showed him the greatest attention and respect. They were living together on the most intimate and friendly terms, when it was told Cassander, that the governor had a design of making himself the sovereign of Attica. He had made some difficulty in admitting Cassander's troops into some of the forts; a circumstance which, being united with that report, awakened suspicion, which is nearly allied to revenge. Cassander posted some of his men in an empty house, and asked Nicanor to meet him there, in order to consult about some matters of high moment. Nicanor appeared, and was entering, when assassins attacked and murdered him. The indignation of the friends of Nicanor was roused; but when they considered that Cassander was already in possession of the greater part of the city, and that they were not likely to find a very able second in Polyperchon, in case they should attempt a revolution, they judged it most eligible to submit to their fate. Indeed, the engaging manners of Cassander tended greatly to reconcile the Athenians to his government. His condescension and his generosity bespoke, in many instances, the submissive negotiator, rather than the successful prince. Among the first acts of his power, was the appointment of

a governor. The person whom he named to that office was Demetrius Phalereus, the celebrated disciple of Theophrastus. Demetrius was at once a philosopher, an orator, and a man of virtue. His science he had derived from Theophrastus; his lessons of virtue and eloquence from Phocion and Demosthenes. The one qualified him to comprehend and encourage the literary pursuits of an acute and ingenious people; the others, to check and control their licentiousness. Cicero speaks in a very favourable manner of his oratory; but then he says, he was the first of all the Greeks who changed the bold, nervous, and resistless eloquence of the earlier orators, into the mild and pathetic species of eloquence; which, he thinks, is far inferior, in point of merit, to the former, "as the power of the gently-gliding stream is inferior to that of the rough, thundering torrent." His moderation and kindness towards those he governed procured their esteem, and, in many instances, their love. They soon reposed the greatest confidence in his wisdom and integrity; and that confidence he did not betray. That power, which he might have improved into tyranny, he used as means of promoting their wealth and grandeur. He repaired their public edifices, and even built some new ones. He was so attentive to the improvement of their finances, that, before his government ended, the public revenues were greatly increased. These advantages to the citizens of Athens were repaid by them in the honours they conferred on their benefactor. They erected no less than three hundred statues, as tokens of their gratitude, many of which were equestrian. He was respected and honoured by all, but was not universally popular; having been set over Athens by Cassander, who was looked upon as the enemy of the civil liberty of Greece.

The losses and disgrace, which the arms of Polyperchon had lately met, cut off every hope of his gaining ground in Greece, and determined him to content himself with the direction of Macedon. Attica was now beyond the reach of his power, and the success of the Megalopolitans had inspired all Peloponnesus with contempt of his authority. In such a predicament, ambition would have been ridiculous; but he was doomed even to a harder lot.

Olympas had been recalled to take charge of the infant

king, Alexander, and to sanction the new administration of Macedon by her presence. She was now preparing for her return. Previously to her quitting Epirus, she wrote to Eumenes, informing him of her intention of revisiting Macedon. Eumenes, who always had the welfare of the state near to his heart, advised her, in his answer, not to be too precipitate in her return; and, in case she did return, to endeavour to forget all the injuries she had formerly received, and to try to behave with gentleness and forbearance. The sequel of her story will show how much stress she laid on the friendly admonition of Eumenes. She arrived in Macedon in a very short time; and, on her presence being announced, great consternation pervaded the minds of the people: even her own friends dreaded the effects of her resentment. Those who had been devoted to the interests of Antipater had peculiar reason to tremble; but, above all, Philip Aridæus and his queen. Aridæus, the son of Philip by a concubine, had from his infancy been subjected to that aversion and hatred from Olympias, which the relation which subsisted between her and him usually excites. The infirmity of his understanding was said to have been the effect of a potion which she gave him. Cynane, the mother of Philip Aridæus's queen, had been murdered by Perdiccas, at the instigation of Olympias. Amyntas, her father, the son of Philip the First's elder brother, had also been destroyed through her contrivance; so that neither Philip, nor Eurydice his wife, could be supposed to look upon her with complacence. Indeed, they had every reason to apprehend bad consequences from her getting into power, and they set themselves to provide for the worst. Eurydice had more discernment and activity than her husband. She began to levy an army, calling upon all who either respected the brother of Alexander, their late royal master, or his queen, or who revered the virtues of Antipater, to unite in defending the rights of their country. She wrote at the same time to Cassander, pressing him to hasten to her assistance; and she gave command to Polyperchon, not to take any farther concern in the administration, but to give it up to Cassander, whom the king thought proper to appoint. The Macedonians readily armed at the request of Eurydice, and in a short time she was prepared to do more than defend herself from violence.

These hasty proceedings of Eurydice furnished her enemies with sufficient plea for taking up arms. Olympias, ever jealous and watchful, had marked them with attention, and readily discovered the necessity she was under of being upon her guard. Her brother had sent a body of Epirots to escort her to Macedon: to them she added some of her Macedonian adherents, and straightway marched to join Polyperchon's troops. Having formed a junction, the whole army moved on to attack Eurydice, who, animated by the cruel treatment her family had received, led out her forces to meet them. It was her wish to have deferred fighting till she could have been supported by Cassander; but her precipitate conduct in taking up arms had roused the apprehensions of the opposing party, and, by quickening their motions, had rendered the arrival of succour from Cassander impracticable. The armies met, and were ready to close, when Olympias's appearance at the head of her troops put an end to the dispute. The soldiers of Eurydice, discovering in her mien all the dignity, and awful majesty of the royal relict of Philip, and of the mother of Alexander the Great, were unable to strike a single blow: they quitted their ranks, and went over to the standard of Olympias.

This event proved fatal to Eurydice and her consort. They both fell into the hands of Olympias, who persecuted them with all that unrelenting hatred which belonged to her temper. They were confined in a prison, which was so small, that they could scarcely turn themselves in it. Their wretched sustenance was thrown in at a little hole, through which passed light and air, and all the other limited comforts they were permitted to enjoy. Perceiving that this barbarous treatment had no other effect than to excite the compassion of the people, and fearing that their commiseration would soon be converted into indignation towards her, she resolved to put a period to the miserable existence of her prisoners. She instructed some Thracians to enter the prison, and dispatch Aridæus; and they did so without remorse. He had reigned six year and four months.

This inhuman action being perpetrated, Olympias sent messengers to the queen, furnished with a poniard, a rope, and a cup of poison, desiring her to choose which she

pleased. They found her binding up the wounds of her bleeding spouse with linen, which she had torn from her own body, and paying all that decent and solemn respect to the lifeless corpse which became her deplorable situation. She received the message that was brought to her with the greatest composure, and, after entreating the gods, "that Olympias might be rewarded with the like present," she took the rope and strangled herself. Thus were that hapless pair cut off. Olympias had now gained a complete triumph over both. She had seen a period to the life of Aridæus, whom she had long since deprived of every rational enjoyment, by robbing him of his understanding; and she had completed the ruin of Eurydice and her family, by consigning her to an end similar to that which her violent and vindictive passions had formerly procured to her unfortunate parents.

Olympias's thirst of blood was not yet quenched. She caused Nicanor, the brother of Cassander, to be put to death. The body of Idas, another brother of Cassander's, which had long rested in the tomb, she had brought forth, and exposed on the highway; and a hundred Macedonians, of noble birth, were seized and executed, on suspicion of having been in the interest of Cassander.

Cassander, having received Eurydice's letter, and, soon after, the news of her imprisonment by Olympias, made all possible haste to come to her relief. Upon reaching the straits of Thermopylæ, he found a body of Ætolians waiting to dispute the passage: but expedition being his main object, he studied only how to avoid delay. He had ordered his fleet to follow him; and finding that it was impossible to pass the straits without coming to an engagement, he led his army towards the sea, and put them on board of ships. They reached Macedon before Polyperchon and Olympias had been informed of their approach. Cassander formed his army into two divisions, giving the command of the one to Callas, while he himself was to lead the other. Callas had orders to march against Polyperchon, whose troops had been separated from those of Olympias. He did so; and engaged the protector's attention so completely, that Olympias was left to provide for her own safety. Cruel and inhuman as she had been, she had still the vanity to think that the Macedonians would join

in supporting her measures. She had once triumphed by the majesty of her appearance; she could then, she thought, do no less, after having shown what dangers she was willing to meet in order to guard and strengthen the administration of her country. She had many followers, but they rather composed a court than an army. She used several of those arts of which she was so fruitful, in order to gain the Macedonians over to her cause. She carried through the chief cities, Roxana her daughter, and Alexander her grandson, her niece Deidamia, Thessalonica the sister of Alexander, and many other persons of high birth and interest. But, finding her affairs somewhat desperate, she returned with them and her army into the city of Pydna, which lay on the sea shore, and was strongly fortified, and there shut herself up.

Cassander was at hand. He invested the city by land and by sea. In a very short time the besieged began to be in want of provisions; and the soldiers would have refused to defend the fort, had they not been encouraged by the presence of so many illustrious personages, and fed with the hopes of receiving powerful succours from *Æacidas*, king of Epirus. That prince had really engaged to support the claims of his sister *Olympias*, and his army was in motion, when Cassander saw the expediency of stopping its progress. He blocked up all the passes from Epirus, and reduced the army of *Æacidas* to such difficulties, that, despairing of success in their expedition, and even doubting of their own safety, they conspired against their king, renounced his authority, and submitted to Cassander.

Olympias had now no friend to whom she could look for help but *Polyperchon*; and she little knew that *Callas* had put it entirely out of his power to succour any ally. He had been at pains to distribute a great number of manifestoes, reflecting on the injustice and cruelties of the administration, which was then headed by *Olympias* and *Polyperchon*; and had thereby so effectually alienated the minds of *Polyperchon's* soldiers from his government, that he was barely able to defend himself.

The condition of *Olympias* and her garrison was now become deplorable. The royal family and the rest of the court were compelled to feed on horse-flesh, the soldiers on their

dead companions, and the elephants on saw-dust. In this wretched state many deserted to Cassander, who treated all with generosity and kindness, those only excepted who had been sharers in the late murders. Olympias again turned her eyes towards Polyperchon: she wrote a letter, and dispatched a messenger with it in the night; but it did not reach him; the messenger was seized, and the design of his adventure disappointed. Olympias, finding that the relief she looked for from Polyperchon did not arrive in due time, gave up all hopes, and surrendered herself and army to Cassander.

By this surrender was determined the fate of all Macedon. Pella, the capital, immediately submitted to the victor; and Aristonus, who then commanded a detachment of men at Amphipolis, at the request of Olympias, yielded up the city.

When Olympias submitted to Cassander, she stipulated for her life; but the kindred of those whom she had murdered insisting on her death, Cassander, pretending that his stipulation related to military execution only, gave her up to the civil laws of her country. The friends of those whom she had slain assembled, and accused her before the people, by whom she was condemned without being heard. On this occasion, Cassander offered her a ship to convey her to Athens; but she rejected the offer. She insisted upon being heard before the Macedonians; and said she was not afraid to answer for all she had done. Cassander was unwilling to abide the issue of such a trial as she demanded; he therefore sent a band of two hundred soldiers to put her to death. When the soldiers entered the prison, they were struck with awe, and refused to obey their orders; but the relations of those who had fallen by her resentment rushed forward and cut her throat. She is said to have behaved with much fortitude on that trying occasion. Cassander suffered her body to lie for some time unburied; to revenge, perhaps, the insult which she had offered to the remains of Iolas, his brother. Roxana and her son Alexander were imprisoned at Amphipolis; and orders were given, that they should be treated no otherwise than as private persons. Hercules, the son of Alexander by Barsine, the only remaining branch of

the royal family, was murdered by Polyperchon, at the instigation of Cassander, about two years after.

Not more than twenty-eight years had elapsed since the death of Alexander, and not a single branch of his house remained to enjoy a portion of that empire which Philip and his son had acquired, at the price of the greatest policy, dangers, and bloodshed. Such, to the royal family of Macedon, were the effects of that ambition, which had lighted the torch of war over Europe, Asia, and Africa.

CHAPTER XVIII.

REVOLUTIONS IN MACEDON AND GREECE, FROM THE
OVERTHROW OF THE FAMILY OF PHILIP TO THE
CONFEDERACY FORMED BY THE MACEDONIANS AND
ACHÆANS AGAINST THE ÆTOLIANS.

CASSANDER now began to cultivate the arts of peace; but other objects soon engaged his attention. In Greece, Polyperchon, and Alexander, his son, were intriguing with the enemies of Antipater's family, and sowing the seeds of future dissension. It was incumbent on Cassander, as the protector and lord of both countries, to consult their mutual interests. He resolved to go into Greece; and for that purpose levied a powerful army. He began his march; but, on reaching Thessaly, he found the Pylæ shut up by the Ætolians, his determined and avowed enemies. The opposition, however; which they made, did not retard his progress. He forced a passage; and, coming down into Boeotia, advanced towards the ruins of Thebes. The sight of these ruins, it is natural to imagine, would fill his mind with a variety of reflections. It would at once remind him of the ancient fame of the inhabitants; the fallen splendour of the place; and of the renown of that man, whose fortune it was to exterminate such a people, and to erase such a city. It is not easy to determine what motives could have induced Cassander to project the rebuilding of the city; whether it was compassion for the sufferings of the Thebans; or a desire to make friends of that people when collected, and to procure from the world the reputation of being humane; or the detestation in which he held the memory of Alexander, whose acts he was anxious to reverse. The last, in all probability, was the most powerful. Be that as it might, he was resolved to raise a second Thebes: and, for that purpose, he requested of the Boeotians to assist him in carrying on so generous a design. He also invited the Thebans, who had been proscribed, to return to their

native country. All were willing to second his endeavours; and, in a short time, the walls were completed and the principal streets rebuilt. The Thebans now sent into every country to recal their friends; and their city began to assume an appearance of prosperity and happiness. Upwards of twenty years had elapsed since its destruction: it had the peculiar fortune of being rebuilt by that very people who had overthrown it. The main object of Cassander's expedition, as has already been said, was to check the dark proceedings of Polyperchon and his son. Having therefore remained in Bœotia as long as he supposed his presence would be serviceable, he set out for Peloponnesus. On his arrival at the isthmus, he found that Alexander had thrown a wall across it, with a view to interrupt his march. But that wall availed him little: Cassander transported his army in flat-bottomed boats; and, partly by force, partly by treaty, gained all the principal cities over to his cause. Alexander fled to Asia; Cassander gave his general Molychus a body of men sufficient to guard the isthmus, and then shaped his course towards Macedonia.

[To enter more particularly into a view of the domestic state of the Macedonian kingdom, belongs not properly to Grecian history; we shall, therefore, hasten over this ground to those events, which open some prospects of the declining state of Greece. Cassander experienced, in his exalted station, the inquietudes of sovereign power; he was encompassed by artful and powerful enemies, the Ætolians and the Epirotes on the one hand, and Antigonus and Demetrius on the other. Even the death of the children of Alexander added to the importance of his rivals in empire, who reaped, without participating in his guilt, the advantages of his crimes. He died, however, in the peaceable possession of Macedon, and Greece too, now subject to Macedon, a few cities only excepted. On the death of Cassander, his two sons, Antipater and Alexander, each of them laid claim to the kingdom. Alexander had recourse to the assistance of Demetrius Poliorcetes, who, having treacherously assassinated him at an entertainment, contrived to gain a party over to his interests, and himself got possession of the kingdom. Demetrius, instead of repairing the devastation which Macedon had suffered from constant wars, immediately engages in new military enterprises on the

sides of Greece, of *Ætolia*, of *Epire*, and of *Thrace*. He abandoned himself, at the same time, to luxury, to vanity, and to extreme haughtiness. His court was a continued scene of dissipation and riot. Though of free access to the ministers of his pleasures, he would scarcely suffer any others of his subjects, or even the ministers of foreign states, to approach him. The disaffected Macedonians were on the point of declaring against him. In such circumstances, Ptolemy sailed against his Grecian dominions with a powerful fleet, Lysimachus entered Macedon on the side of *Thrace*, and Pyrrhus advanced against him from *Epirus*. Demetrius, obliged to abandon his dominions, made the most heroic efforts, but in vain, to regain them. Adversity restored him to his sober judgment, and was the theatre on which he displayed the most exalted virtues. After the expulsion of Demetrius from the throne of Macedon, Pyrrhus and Lysimachus, who had acted in concert in this revolution, now set up opposite claims to the succession, and prepared to support their respective pretensions by arms. Lysimachus, by open force and secret artifices, soon stript the king of *Epire* of all his Macedonian possessions. Dissensions arise in the family of the victor, between his different queens and their offspring, which terminate, as is usual in despotic governments, in an act of assassination, which determined the injured party to throw themselves on the protection of Seleucus. This prince met Lysimachus on a plain on the Phrygian borders, called the field of *Cyrus*. Seleucus was aged seventy-seven years, and Lysimachus eighty. The only two surviving generals of Alexander both acquitted themselves with all the vigour and activity of youth. But Seleucus's fortune prevailed, and Lysimachus fell. Seleucus now resigned his Asiatic dominions to his son Antiochus, indulging the hope of spending the remainder of his days in the peaceable enjoyment of his native country. But he was treacherously slain about seven months after the death of Lysimachus, by Ptolemy Ceraunus, brother of Lysander, in whose behalf he had appeared at the head of an army. Ptolemy, now in the possession of the Macedonian crown, courts the widow of Lysimachus, who still retained a portion of the upper or eastern part of Macedon; and, by offering to settle the succession on her sons, prevailed on her to marry him. But no sooner had this monster obtained

possession of the persons of the young princes, than he murdered them, and banished the princess their mother to Samothracia.

Guilt so enormous was soon followed by the just vengeance of heaven. A body of three hundred thousand Gauls having left their own country in quest of new settlements, after following the course of the Danube for a considerable way, divided themselves into three bodies, one of which made an irruption into Macedon. Being refused a certain sum of gold, he was attacked, at the head of his tumultuary troops, by the barbarians, who cut off his head, and carried it through their ranks on the top of a lance. This body of Gauls met with a vigorous resistance from the collected remains of Macedonian valour, under the conduct of Sosthenes. But a fresh swarm of barbarians, headed by the chieftain Brennus, cut Sosthenes, with his gallant army, to pieces; and, having drained all the wealth of Macedon, bent their course towards Greece, which seemed utterly unable to sustain this inundation of barbarous invaders.

But the Grecian states, animated by a sense of their extreme danger, adopted that strict discipline, and those wise councils, which adversity is wont to inspire into the rulers of nations. They immediately brought together what remained of their strength, and secured the defiles of Thermopylae, that commanded the entrance into Greece. The Athenians, under the command of Calippus, took the lead in this important service; whilst their fleets sailed to the coasts of Thessaly, in order to support the operations of the army by land. Brennus was astonished at the resistance he met with. Notwithstanding the multitudes, the gigantic stature, and the ferocity of his troops, he was obliged, after repeated losses in different attacks, to desist from his attempt to force the pass. He then detached a body of his troops to plunder Ætolia, which, on the south, lay contiguous to Thessaly, hoping that this would occasion a diversion in his favour. Still he was unable to force the pass; and his detachment exciting, by their cruelties, a universal detestation, were half of them cut off. At length the Thessalians, in whose country the Gauls were encamped, wishing to rid themselves of such burthensome strangers, directed them to the path over Mount Ceta, by which the Medians had entered

Greece in the time of Xerxes. He directed his march to the temple of Delphi, which he designed to plunder of all its accumulated treasures. But the inhabitants of that sacred city, inspired by religious enthusiasm, made a desperate sally against the barbarians, who, struck with a panic, fled with precipitation. The pursuit was continued for a whole day and night; and, a violent storm and piercing cold co-operating with the fury of the victorious Greeks, most of the barbarians perished by a dreadful slaughter. Brennus, wounded, and distracted with religious horror, killed himself. The few who survived, having assembled together, endeavoured to effect a retreat from so fatal a country. But the several nations rose against them as they passed; and, of all those multitudes which had poured out of Macedon into Greece, not one returned to his native land. Justin says they were all cut off; other historians, that a remnant of them made their escape into Thrace and Asia. On this occasion, it is natural to compare the different success of these from that of those irruptions of barbarians which afterwards subverted the Roman empire. It might be no unpleasing or unprofitable speculation to inquire into the causes of these different effects; what were the comparative degrees of the Grecian and Roman virtue, discipline, and military artifice. This is a field which belongs to the philosophical politician, and it well merits a very particular discussion. In this work, it is only necessary to touch upon the means, by which the barbarians were repelled by the states of Greece.

The Delphians, as we are informed by Justin, gave orders, in the name of the oracle, that the inhabitants of the adjacent villages should abandon their dwellings, leaving them all stored with wives, and all kinds of provisions. The Gauls, indulging their appetites, which were sharpened by want of sustenance, lost, through excess, much of that vigour, by which their operations had been generally distinguished. Mount Parnassus, which stood fast by the sacred city of Delphos, furnished an opportunity of practising with success another stratagem. This mount had many caves and hollow windings. In these, numbers of people were stationed, with instructions, on proper occasions, to raise up loud shouts, or to make the most frightful yellings and screams. These, issuing forth without any visible cause, convinced the barbarians that they were produced by

beings more than human. The vicinity, and the steep heights of the same mountain, also enabled the inhabitants to annoy the enemy with stones and loosened rocks. This religious enthusiasm, guided and aided by the subtlety of the rulers of Delphos, frustrated the attempt of the barbarians against that sacred city. Their repulse at Thermopylae must be ascribed to superior military skill and discipline, and to a quick revival of a spirit of liberty, as well as to an apprehension of some dreadful and unknown danger among a people distinguished by a lively sensibility of temper.

The Macedonian throne, after the death of Ptolemy Ceraunus*, was filled by Antigonus, the son of Demetrius Poliorcetes, who married the princess Ptolemaia, a daughter of Seleucus by Stratonice. Antigonus carried great riches into his new dominions from Peloponnesus; the court was maintained in great pomp and splendour, and the whole kingdom began to recover from its late devastation. A body of barbarians, that had taken up their abode on the northern boundaries of Macedon, when Brennus carried his ravages southward, understanding these things, and allured by the prospect of plunder, made a second inroad into Macedon. He suffered them at first to carry on their depredations; but he attacked them when encumbered with booty, and forced them to retreat with great slaughter.

The kingdom of Macedon had scarcely time to breathe after this invasion, when it felt the attacks of a new enemy. Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, underwent, from his earliest infancy, a continued series of the most surprising adventures; and, by the vicissitudes and the severities of fortune, was trained up in the habits of versatility, of courage, and hardship. Restored to his hereditary throne, from which he had been driven when an infant, he had nothing to divert his mind from the enjoyment and prosperity of his kingdom. But his mind, incapable of rest, knew no satisfaction but in new enterprises. After various unsuccessful exploits in Sicily and Italy, he had returned to Epirus, inflamed with indignation against Antigonus, to whom he had applied for succours without success. He therefore made an irruption into the Macedonian territories; and, being joined by great numbers of the Macedonians them-

* The Thunderer.

selves, he defeated Antigonus in a pitched battle. This prince, being still master of Theasalonica and the adjoining coasts, made head a second time against the enemy, but was defeated by Ptolemy, whom Pyrrhus had left to govern his newly-acquired dominions, while he himself pursued other enterprises.

Cleonymus, a prince of the royal line of Sparta, had applied to Pyrrhus for the redress of certain grievances he had suffered at the hands of his country, from which he was now an exile. Pyrrhus listened with satisfaction to complaints which opened new scenes to his ambition: and while Areus, who had usurped the throne of Laedæmon, was absent with the flower of the Spartan army in Crete, at the head of twenty-five thousand foot, two thousand horse, and twenty-four elephants, carried consternation to the gates of Sparta. On this occasion the Spartan women signalized their own heroism, and displayed, in a very striking manner, the effects of the institutions of Eurypylus. The council proposed, in so dangerous a juncture, to send off the women to some place of safety; but Archidamia, delegated by the Spartan ladies, entered the senate-house, with a sword in her hand, and delivered their sentiments and her own, in these words: "Think not, O men of Sparta! so meanly of your countrywomen, as to imagine that they will survive the ruin of the state. Deliberate not then whether we are to fly, but what we are to do." In consequence of this animating address, it was resolved to employ the night in sinking a trench opposite to the enemy, its extremities to be guarded by waggons fixed in the ground, in order to prevent the passing of the elephants; one-third of this work to be executed by the women, and all the rest of it by the old men; that the young men might be in spirits in the morning to sustain the charge of the enemy. After the most incredible exertions of courage on both sides, Pyrrhus was compelled by the Spartans to seek his safety in retreat. This discomfiture did not discourage him. "To-morrow," said he, "we will resume the fight, when the Spartans, smarting under their wounds, will be less able to resist us." But timely reinforcements from Antigonus, and from Areus, obliged Pyrrhus to raise the siege. As soon as he had begun his march, Areus hung on his rear, and galled him exceedingly. Ptolemy, endeavouring to cover his father's retreat, was surrounded and

slain. Pyrrhus bent his course to Argos, whither he had been invited by a faction in opposition to Antigonus. But, on his arrival at that city, he found his antagonist, who had his partisans as well as himself, encamped near it with a considerable force. Both parties among the Argives, trembling at the near approach of war, entreated these high-spirited princes to decide their disputes without the gates of the city. They both promised to comply with this request; but Pyrrhus, in an attempt to enter the city during the darkness of night, was slain. Of the character of Pyrrhus, as a warrior, it will be sufficient to say, that even Hannibal accounted him the greatest general the world had ever beheld; Scipio, according to the celebrated Carthaginian, being only the second.

The army of Pyrrhus was repulsed with great slaughter, and such was the terror that his name had struck into the Argives, that they considered the deliverance which they obtained from his death as the effect of some supernatural interposition. Antigonus was now seated again on the throne of Macedon. A Macedonian king, master of extensive possessions in the very heart of Peloponnesus, even to those who had espoused his cause, became an object of jealousy. A confederacy was formed against him between the Spartan and Egyptian kings; and, in the midst of their hostile preparations, a fresh irruption of Gauls threatened his country with total devastation. The Macedonians fled before them, and made not any resistance. But Antigonus, the Fabius or Washington of his times, prudently permitted the invaders to exhaust their fury in wild excursions. He hung upon them, and harassed them in their marches, led them into disadvantageous ground, and at last cut them off to a man. The ambition of Antigonus being inflamed by success, he meditated nothing less than a complete reduction of the Grecian states. He commenced his operations with the siege of Athens. The veneration in which that city was still held, united with the idea of general danger, drew assistance from Sparta and from Egypt. Antigonus, however, prevailed over all resistance, and imposed on the Athenians a Macedonian garrison. In the mean time Macedon was wrested from him by Alexander, the son of Pyrrhus, but recovered to him by Demetrius, his own son. Multiplied experience might have taught Antigonus

the folly of conquest; but, persevering in the career of mad ambition, he obtained possession, through artifice, of the city of Corinth, and lost it about eight years afterwards. The hand of death put an end to his ambition, after a reign of thirty-four years from his first acquisition of the throne of Macedon; his son and successor, Demetrius, maintaining an interest in the different states of Greece, not by holding the sovereignty himself, but by supporting the tyrants that had usurped it; a species of dominion equally important, and less liable to jealousy, than if he had held it in his own name. Demetrius reigned only ten years, and was succeeded by his kinsman, Antigonus, a man of justice and moderation, and who avoided all interference in the affairs of foreign states, and that at a time when the turbulent situation of Greece afforded opportunities which tempted ambition.

The republic of Achaia, formerly but little known, began now to make a conspicuous figure, and seemed to aim at nothing less than the sovereignty of Greece. This republic was of high antiquity: it consisted originally of twelve towns. The first government known among these had been, as in other parts of Greece, that of kings; but, in process of time, roused by the tyranny of their princes, they threw off the yoke of kings, and united in one confederacy for their mutual defence against monarchical oppression. It was agreed, that all should have the same interests; the same friendships; the same coins, weights, and measures; the same laws, and the same magistrates. These magistrates were elected annually, by a majority of voices throughout the whole community. Twice in the year, or oftener if necessary, a general assembly, consisting of deputies from the different cities, was held, for the great purposes of legislation and government. The magistrates, who were invested with the supreme executive power, were styled Generals of the States of Achaia. They commanded the military force of the republic, and possessed the right of presiding in the national assembly. The generals were originally two; but, from the inconveniences inseparable from a divided government, were at last reduced to one. A council of ten, called Demiurgi, assisted the general with their advice, and stood as a barrier between the encroachments of power and the people. It was their prerogative also to examine all

matters intended to be laid before the popular assembly, that they might propose or reject, accordingly as they approved or disapproved of them. Besides these superior magistrates, every town had also its municipal magistracy, consisting also as some with great probability have conjectured, like the national constitution, of a popular assembly, a council, and a presiding magistrate. With regard to the laws of the Achæans, the most material object in the history of any people, our knowledge is exceedingly imperfect. Such of them, however, as have been transmitted to us, are proofs of their political wisdom.

It was enacted, that whatever individual or town, belonging to the Achæan confederacy, should accept of any gratification whatsoever, in its public or private capacity, from prince or people, should be cut off from the commonwealth of Achæia.

That no member of the Achæan league should send any embassy, or contract any alliance or friendship with any prince or people, without the privity and approbation of the whole Achæan confederacy.

The unanimous consent of the whole confederacy was necessary for the admission into it of any prince, state, or city.

A convention of the national assembly was not to be granted at the request of any foreign prince, unless the matters to be offered to their consideration were first delivered in writing to the General of Achæia, and the Council of Ten, and pronounced by them to be of sufficient importance.

The deliberations of every assembly were to be wholly confined to the matter on account of which they had been convened.

In all debates, those who spoke were to deliver a short sketch of the arguments they employed, in order to be considered the ensuing day; and within the third day, at farthest, was the business before them to be finally determined.

The equity and humane spirit which breathed in the civil constitution of Achæans, supported by a great simplicity of manners and good faith, recommended them so effectually to the adjoining nations, that they became the arbiters of differences among their neighbours. But when the power of Macedon controlled Greece, most of the members of the Achæan league, at the instigation of Macedonian emissaries,

deserted the national union, and fell under the dominion of various tyrants. The distracted state of Macedon, under Lysimachus and Ptolemy Ceraunus, enabled them to recover their ancient government, slowly, however, and by degrees. Their towns were small and ill-peopled, their territory narrow and unfertile, and their coasts destitute of harbours, and full of danger. In these circumstances, to enjoy a peaceable independence was all their ambition; when Aratus, a native of Sicyon, a sworn foe to tyrants, having relieved his native city from the slavery in which it was held by Nicætes, endeavoured to strengthen himself, and the cause which he espoused, against the creatures of the late usurper. With this view he had recourse to the friendship of the Achæans, who bordered on the Sicyonian territory, and were the only people of Peloponnesus who were animated with the spirit of freedom. Five hundred and eighty of the citizens of Sicyon had been driven into exile; and it now became a subject of consideration how to relieve so numerous a body of claimants, a general resumption being impracticable. Aratus, who had been employed by Ptolemy Philadelphus, king of Egypt, to collect paintings for him, applied, on this occasion, to that prince, who generously furnished him with sums of money sufficient for his purpose. In the distribution of this sum he acquitted himself with such equity and prudence, that both the old proprietors and new possessors were equally satisfied with his conduct. The fame of Aratus drew on him the attention of all this part of Greece; the Achæan states, in particular, considered him as an important acquisition, and advanced him to the dignity of General of Achaia. The Macedonian king held, at this time, great possessions in Peloponnesus, and the petty sovereigns of the several cities were, in general, his vassals. It was easy to see that Macedonian ambition would soon disturb the peace of the Achæan republic: Aratus, therefore, determined to restrain it. Corinth, the key to the whole peninsula, was held by Antigonus. The Achæan general attacked it in the night, scaled the walls by ladders with only one hundred men, the rest being ordered to follow another way. Having gained a footing in the city, he disposed his different parties in so advantageous a manner, and was so well supported by those who were to co-operate from without, that the garrison were obliged to aban-

don the citadel, the keys of which he generously delivered to the Corinthians, whom he incorporated among the Achaean states.

The emancipation of Sicyon and of Corinth, by a powerful contagion, excited a revolt in Megara, Troezen, Epidaurus, and Cleonæ. The spirit of liberty caught even Lysias, the tyrant of Megalopolis, who, of his own accord, abdicated the sovereignty, and applied, that the city he had ruled might be admitted into the Achaean league. Aratus, ever intent on the truly heroic purpose of restoring the liberties of Greece, after different unsuccessful attempts to give freedom to Athens, at last discovered that the Macedonian governor of that venerable city was not incorruptible, and offered him his price. The sum stipulated was about thirty thousand pounds, whereof Aratus (who had also expended vast sums in establishing a necessary correspondence in Corinth) paid twenty himself. The forts were accordingly surrendered into the hands of the Athenians, and Athens was joined to the Achaean league. Argos, too, by the efforts of this great and good man, was delivered from the Macedonian yoke, and united with this confederacy. Scarcely one of the neighbouring states remained inimical or independent; all of them either entered into alliance with the Achæans, or fell under their subjection. The king of Egypt, the most powerful prince of his times, and an enemy to the Macedonian kings, declared himself the Protector of the Liberties of Achaia, and promised his assistance if ever it should be necessary. Such was the situation of the Achaean republic, during the first years of the reign of the second Antigonus. But this splendid face of things was changed and ruined, by the selfish ambition and jealousies of the very parties from whose spirit of freedom it originally sprung.

CHAPTER XIX.

FROM THE CONFEDERACY BETWEEN THE ÆTOLIANS
AND SPARTANS AGAINST THE ACHÆANS, TO THE
INVASION OF GREECE BY ANTIOCHUS, KING OF SYRIA.

THE Ætolian state, like that of Achaia, consisted of a number of confederate towns, formerly independent of each other, but induced to unite, from a dread of the Macedonian power, in the days of Philip, father of Alexander. Their civil constitution, in many respects, resembled that of the Achæans. Their mountainous country affording them but a scanty subsistence, they made frequent inroads into the adjacent territories, whence they rushed back, with their plunder, to their strong holds in the mountains. Though at this time in alliance with Achaia, they beheld with envy the superiority of that republic over the other Grecian states, and laboured, with too great success, to inspire similar ideas into the Spartans.

Lacedæmon had, by this time, exchanged poverty and hardy discipline for opulence and voluptuous manners. The public meals, that last pledge of Spartan frugality and temperance, were discountenanced by the rulers of the state, and fell into disrepute and disuse. One or two princes, who endeavoured to stem the torrent of corruption, suffered deposition, exile, and even death. The laws of Lycurgus were totally disregarded. The lands were all in possession of a few families, who lived in the greatest splendour, whilst the rest of the Spartans, stripped of their patrimony, were doomed to the greatest indigence. The efforts of Agis, the king, to enforce the sumptuary laws, to cancel all debts, and to make a new division of lands, were opposed by the rich, and at last punished with death, on pretence of a design to alter the government. In such a situation of affairs, Cleomenes ascended the Spartan throne, a prince, who united integrity of heart with martial spirit, and a love of glory. He found, on his accession, both

the internal constitution and the public affairs of Sparta in the utmost confusion. Domestic distress, with its concomitant despondency of spirit, had caused throughout Laconia an universal depopulation. Instead of natives sufficient to occupy the thirty-nine thousand shares into which Lycurgus had originally divided the land, only seven hundred families of the Spartan race were now to be found; and of these, about six hundred, sunk into abject penury and wretchedness, were incapable of exerting any degree of vigour in the public service. The slaves, too, had many of them perished through want of employment and subsistence, while others had been carried off, in great numbers, by the enemies of Sparta. Such was the miserable decay of both public and private virtue! Cleomenes, actuated by his natural disposition to arms, as well as by the representations already mentioned of the Ætolians, in order to revive the martial spirit of the Spartans, attacked Tegea, Mantinea, and Orchomenos, cities of Arcadia. Having reduced these under his obedience, he marched without delay against a certain castle in the district of Megalopolis, which commanded on that side the entrance into Laconia. Immediately upon this act of hostility, the Achæan states declared war against the Spartans. The Spartan king forthwith took the field, with what troops he could muster, and ravaged the territories of the cities in alliance with Achæia. With five thousand men he advanced against the Achæan general Aratus, who, perceiving the resolution of the Spartans, declined an engagement, though at the head of twenty. The retreat of Aratus determined the Eleans, who had never been steady in the interests of Achæia, openly to declare against her. The Achæans attempted to chastise this defection; but they were routed by Cleomenes at Lyceum, near the Elean borders; and totally overthrown by him in the ensuing campaign, near Leuctra. Pursuing his good fortune, he reduced several of the towns of Arcadia, which he garrisoned with his Lacedæmonian troops. He returned to Sparta with the mercenaries only, and cut off the Ephori, whom he considered as troublesome to himself and oppressive to the Spartan subjects, by assassination; a conduct which he endeavoured to justify, by arraigning the unconstitutional establishment of this order of magistrates, and a recital of several acts of iniquity. He now

seized on the administration of justice, and re-established the agrarian and sumptuary laws of Lycurgus, which he enforced by his own example. Having thus made himself master of Sparta, he diverted that energy to foreign enterprizes, which might otherwise have broken out in domestic sedition. He plundered the territories of Megalopolis, forced the Achæan lines at Hecatombeum, and obtained a complete victory. The Achæan army, composed of the flower of their nation, were almost all cut off. The Mantineans, having slaughtered the Achæan garrison stationed in their city, put themselves under the protection of the Spartans. The same spirit of defection and revolt appeared in most of the other cities of Peloponnesus. In this extremity, they sued for peace to Cleomenes; but Aratus, who had for some time declined to take the lead in the public affairs of Achaia, now resumed his authority; and, by insisting on such terms as the high-spirited Cleomenes could not accept, contrived to prevent that peace which his countrymen wished for.

Both Aratus and Cleomenes wished to unite all the nations of Peloponnesus into one commonwealth, and by that means to form such a bulwark for the liberties of Greece, as might set all foreign power at defiance. But to what people the supreme direction of the common affairs should belong, was the question. Even Aratus, so much above the love of money, showed himself, on this occasion, the slave of ambition; and, rather than see a superior in power, determined to involve every thing in confusion.

The interruption of the negotiations for peace raised a general ferment throughout Peloponnesus; the conduct of Aratus fired the martial ardour of Cleomenes, and excited jealousies in different states; nor could the Achæans obtain any assistance from the Athenians, the Ætolians, or the Argives. Corinth was on the point of surrendering to the Spartan king; and even Sicyon must have been lost, had not a timely discovery prevented an intended conspiracy. Here we may remark the extreme quickness with which the Grecian states entered into any confederacy that was formed for humbling whatever power preponderated in Greece: a proof, that, however their manners were corrupted, their sentiments of liberty and the balance of power were not yet wholly subverted.

Resentment against Cleomenes induced Aratus to entertain the project of calling in, for the destruction of Sparta, the aid of Antigonus, of Macedon. But in Greece this attempt was generally odious, and Antigonus was averse from all interference in Grecian affairs, not being easily dazzled by the splendour of ambition. But the last and the greatest of these difficulties he surmounted by various artifices, and entered into a compact with Antigonus, the conditions whereof were: That the citadel of Corinth should be delivered into the hands of the king; that he should be at the head of the Achæan confederacy, superintend their councils, and direct their operations; that his army should be supported at their expense; that neither embassy nor letter should be sent to any power without his approbation; and that no city, state, or people, should be from that time admitted into the Achæan league without his consent. From these articles it is evident, that the liberties of Achaia were now no more, and that the sovereign of this country was Antigonus.

This transaction roused the indignation of the Peloponnesian states: they looked to Cleomenes as the only protector of their liberties. That hero, upon hearing that the Macedonians were in motion, took possession of a pass on the Onean mountains, which commanded the Corinthian isthmus; but the Achæans having surprised Argos, he was forced to abandon it, and to lay it open for the Macedonians. The Achæans now resumed their superiority in Peloponnesus, and most of the cities in that peninsula were constrained to submit to their power. The efforts of Cleomenes to restore the liberties of Peloponnesus, and to protect, of course, those of the rest of Greece, equal the most famed exploits of antiquity. But the wary Antigonus, rich in treasure, artfully protracted the war, and suffered his impetuous adversary to waste his force in vain. Cleomenes was forced to retreat to Selasia, in order to cover Sparta. The disposition he made of his forces was consummately skilful. The road leading to Sparta, near the town of Selasia, was confined within very narrow bounds by the Essa and the Olympus hills, of great height and difficult ascent. On one of these hills the Spartan king placed his brother Euclidas, with part of the army, whilst he himself took post on the other. The glen that divided these hills was watered

by the Oenus, along one of the banks of which the road extended. The lower parts of the hills, and the opening between them, were secured by a ditch and a strong rampart. Whatever could render the appearance of an army formidable, or add to the natural strength of this important pass, had been performed; and no part was to be seen on which an attack could be made with any probability of success. Antigonus, therefore, encamped at a distance, on the plain below, in order to watch the motions of the enemy, and to act according to circumstances. Cleomenes, reduced to the greatest distress for want of provisions, was forced to throw open his intrenchments, and, without farther delay, to come to an engagement. All his skill and valour, which were eminently displayed on this occasion, could not save him from a complete defeat. He fled first to Sparta, and from thence to Egypt; where, after various adventures, the loftiness of his spirit, which could not brook the indignities offered to him by the ministers of Ptolemy Philopater, brought him to an honourable but untimely end.

During the absence of Antigonus, a multitude of Illyrians; and other barbarians, made an irruption into Macedon, and committed great devastation. This irruption hastened his return into his own dominions. In a decisive battle, the barbarians were defeated; but the Macedonian king, by straining his voice during the engagement, burst a blood-vessel. The consequent effusion of blood threw him into a languishing state, and he died in the space of a few days, lamented by all Greece.

Antigonus the Second was succeeded by Philip, the son of Demetrius, the last of the Macedonian kings of that name; a prince only in the seventeenth year of his age, intelligent, affable, munificent, and attentive to all the duties of the royal station. This excellent character was formed by a good natural disposition, cultivated by the instructions and example of Antigonus, who appointed him his successor on the Macedonian throne.

The jealousy, which the Ætolians had long entertained of the Achæan states, was increased by the importance which they had assumed from their alliance with Macedon. No sooner were they relieved from the dread of Antigonus, than

they ravaged the Achæan coast, and committed depredations on all the neighbouring countries. Aratus having opposed to them the Achæan forces in vain, invoked and obtained the aid of the king of Macedon. Philip promised, that, as soon as he should have settled the affairs of his own kingdom, he would repair to Corinth, in order to meet the convention of the states in alliance with Achaia, that he might have an opportunity of settling with them a plan of future operations. In the mean time, the Ætolians, making a fresh irruption into Peloponnesus, sacked Cynætha, a city of Arcadia, put most of the inhabitants to the sword, and laid the place in ruins. The inhabitants of Cynætha had long been remarkable, it seems, for a ferocity of manners. They were held in such abhorrence by the rest of the Arcadians, that, in some cities, the admission of a Cynæthean was considered as pollution. It is remarkable, that ancient writers ascribe this profligacy to a neglect of the study of music. But, in whatever contempt the Cynætheans were held, the destruction of their city by the Ætolians excited a general indignation throughout Peloponnesus; and the convention of the Achæan confederates, now assembled at Corinth, unanimously agreed that the Ætolians were guilty; and that, unless they should make reparation, war should be declared against them, and the direction of it committed to the king of Macedon. Hence the origin of the Social War, so called from the association entered into by the several states engaged against Ætolia. It commenced the first year of the hundred and fortieth Olympiad, being the same in which Hannibal laid siege to Saguntum, and continued for the space of three years after.

Philip commenced his operations with the siege of Ambracæ, a fortress which commanded an extensive territory, belonging, of right, to Epire, but now in the hands of the Ætolians. Having reduced this fortress, he restored it to the Epirots, and prepared to carry the war into Ætolia. The Ætolian spirit was not daunted, either by the loss of Ambracæ, or the threats of Philip. They invade Macedon, and make incursions into Achaia, which they reduce to the greatest distress. The mercenaries in the Achæan service had mutinied for want of pay; the Peloponnesian confederates became spiritless or disaffected; even the Messenians, in whose cause chiefly Achaia

had, at the beginning, taken up arms, were afraid to act against the *Ætolians*: whilst the Spartans, notwithstanding their engagements, at the late convention, to *Achaia*, had now massacred, or sent into exile, all such of their own citizens as were in the interest of the Achæans, and openly declared against them. For the Spartans, amidst their greatest humiliation, had ever been impatient of the domination of *Achaia*, to which the haughtiness of that republic had, in all probability, very much contributed.

A year had elapsed since the alliance had been formed against *Achaia*, when Philip of Macedon, in the depth of winter, set out with the utmost secrecy to Corinth, where a part of his forces were stationed. He surprised a party of *Eleans*, who had gone forth to ravage the *Sicyonian* territories; and reduced *Psophis*, a strong hold within the confines of *Arcadia*, of which the *Eleans* had taken possession. He plundered *Elis*, one of the finest regions in Greece, in respect to cultivation, and rich in every kind of rural wealth. He next subdued under his power *Tryphalia*, a district of *Peloponnesus* to the southward of *Elis*, and wrested the *Ætolian* yoke from the necks of the *Messenians*. Philip made a temperate use of all his victories. He granted peace to all who asked for it; and the whole of his conduct seemed to be directed by the same generous motives which had formerly directed that of *Antigonus*. But, in the midst of these fair appearances, Philip began to manifest latent seeds of ambition. He restrained the pride and power of his ministers, who had been appointed to their offices by his predecessor *Antigonus*; and supported *Eperatus* in the election of general of *Achaia*, in opposition to *Aratus*. In order to counterbalance this unpopular measure, and to strengthen himself in the affections of the Achæan people, he besieged *Teichos*, and, having taken that fortress, restored it to the Achæans, to whom it belonged. He also made an inroad into *Elis*, and presented the *Dymeans*, and the cities in the neighbourhood, with all the plunder. He now imagined that the wealth and vigour of the Achæan republic were at his disposal; but the new general had not provided any magazines, and the treasury was exhausted. Philip now affected to place great confidence in *Aratus*. By the advice of this statesman, he made an attempt on the island of *Cephalenia*, an island in the *Ionian* sea, near the coast of

Peloponnesus, and the great resort of the *Ætolian* pirates. His attempt, after it had been carried on almost to success, was baffled by the treachery of his ministers. He now, following the advice of *Aratus*, invades and ravages *Ætolia* itself, returns into *Peloponnesus*, lays waste *Lacemia*, and, flushed with success, meditates the subjection of all Greece, and a junction with *Hannibal* against the Romans. *Aratus* in vain attempted to dissuade him from this project. He sent ambassadors to the *Carthaginian* general, but they were intercepted soon after their landing in Italy; as they gave out, however, that they were going to Rome, they, in a little time, obtained their release, and made their way to *Hannibal*, with whom they concluded a treaty. On their return they were again intercepted, and sent with all their papers to Rome. But *Philip* dispatched other ambassadors, and a ratification of the treaty was obtained. It was stipulated, that *Philip* should furnish a fleet of two hundred ships, to be employed in harassing the Italian coasts; and that he should also assist *Hannibal* with a considerable body of land forces. In return for this assistance, when Rome and Italy should be finally reduced, which were to remain in the possession of the *Carthaginians*, *Hannibal* was to pass into *Epire*, at the head of a *Carthaginian* army, to be employed as *Philip* should desire; and, having made a conquest of the whole country, to give up to him such parts of it as lay convenient for *Macedon*.

In consequence of this agreement, the *Macedonian* king entered the *Ionian* gulph, with a large fleet, fell down to the coast of *Epire*, took *Oricum*, on the coast of *Epire*, a defenceless sea-port, but from which there was a short passage to Italy, and lay siege to *Apollonia*; but, surprised and defeated by the Romans, secretly retreated homeward across the mountains.

The Romans, humbled by the victorious arms of *Hannibal*, were not in a condition in which they might prosecute a war with *Macedon*; they therefore determined, if possible, to raise up enemies against *Philip* in Greece, that he might be employed at home in the defence of his own dominions. They accordingly made overtures for this purpose to the *Ætolians*, who, confiding in the flattering declarations of the Roman ambassador, hastened to conclude a treaty, of which the following were the principal conditions:—That the *Ætolians*

should immediately commence hostilities against Philip by land, which the Romans were to support by a fleet of twenty galleys; that, whatever conquests might be made, from the confines of Ætolia to Corcyra, the cities, buildings, and territory, should belong to the Ætolians, but every other kind of plunder to the Romans. The Spartans and Eleans, with other states, were included in this alliance; and the war commenced with the reduction of the island of Zacynthus, which, as an earnest of Roman generosity and good faith, was immediately annexed to the dominions of Ætolia. These transactions were dated about two hundred and eight years before the birth of Christ.

The Romans, having thus obtained a footing in Greece, soon extended and established their power throughout the whole of that renowned country. Agreeably to their usual policy, they availed themselves of the credulity, the dissensions, the ambition, and the avarice of the different chiefs; ever vigilant to support the weaker against the stronger party, that the diminished strength of each individual state might lead the way to the conquest of the whole.

It has already been observed, that Philip aimed at the subjection of all Greece. Aratus, who would have opposed him in this design, he took off by poison. His interest in Greece was now strengthened by the introduction of the Romans; he was regarded by the Greeks as the champion of freedom, and as their defence against the Romans, whom they still considered and denominated barbarians. Not only the Greeks northward of the Corinthian isthmus, but even the Achaean league, prepared to take up arms in his support. Encouraged by these allies, he acted with uncommon vigour; he carried the war into Illyrium with success; marched to the relief of the Acarnanians, who were threatened by the Ætolians, and fortified himself in Thessaly. The Ætolians, notwithstanding these advantages gained over them by Philip, and that they were afterwards defeated by him in two hot engagements, remained undaunted, and prosecuted the war with an amazing obstinacy. The neighbouring states, now jealous of the success of Philip, endeavoured to mediate a peace; nor did the Macedonian show himself unwilling to treat for that purpose. A peace was ready to be concluded, when the Romans, deeply interested in the prolongation of war, sent

their fleet to support the Ætolians, who, encouraged also by the prospect of acquiring another ally, Attalus, king of Pergamus, boldly set Philip at defiance, and talked of terms to which they knew he would not submit. The moderation of Philip strengthened the indignation of his Greek confederates against the Ætolians; a disposition which he soon found an opportunity of calling forth into action. Intelligence being brought to him, whilst he was assisting at the Nemean games, that the Romans had landed, and were laying waste the country from Corinth to Sicily, he instantly set out, attacked and repulsed the enemy, and, before the conclusion of the games, returned again to Argos; an achievement which greatly distinguished him in the eyes of all Greece, assembled at that solemnity. After other vigorous, though unsuccessful exertions, against the Romans, he was called back, by domestic insurrections, to Macedon.

The Achaean states, though deprived of the powerful aid of the Macedonian king, still carried on their military operations under the conduct of Philopoemen, of Megalopolis, in Arcadia, an enthusiast in the cause of liberty from his earliest years, and who had been active in bringing over several of the Achaean states to join the Achaean league. Soon after the death of Aratus, to whom he was as much superior in military, as he was inferior in political abilities, he attained the chief sway in the Achaean councils. He saw with concern the humiliating condition to which a foreign yoke had reduced his countrymen, and conceived the noble resolution of relieving them from it. In the character of general of Achaia, he improved their discipline, inured them to hardship and toil, and gave them weightier armour, and more powerful weapons. The effect of this discipline soon appeared: the armies of Ætolia and Elis, which attacked them in Philip's absence, were totally defeated. In the mean time, the Romans, supported by Attalus, attack Euboea, of all the provinces of Greece, though an island, one of the most considerable for fertility of soil, extent of territory, and advantage of situation. Philip, on his part, kept a watchful eye on his enemies: his military preparations were vigorous, and not without success. The war was prolonged, with various success, for six years, when the Romans and Attalus retired from Greece. A peace was now concluded between the Ætolians and Romans; of the

one part, and Philip of the other, whose successful ambition led him, by a natural progress, to attack the dominions of the king of Egypt.

The Romans, whose policy it was never to have more enemies on their hand than one at a time, had consented to a peace with Macedon, because they were involved in a war with Carthage; but that war being now at an end, they eagerly embraced the first pretext they could find for a rupture with a prince, whose successes had excited a jealousy of his growing power. Complaints being brought before that political and powerful people from Attalus, from the Rhodians, from the Athenians, and from Egypt, they readily determined to improve so favourable a juncture. And, first, they declared themselves the guardians of the young king of Egypt. Marcus Æmilius was dispatched from Rome, to announce to Philip the intentions of the Roman senate. The ambassador found the king before Abydos, at the head of an army flushed with victory. Philip was not insensible of the advantage of his situation: yet the Roman, undaunted by the deportment of the monarch, charged him, with dignity and firmness, not to attack the possessions of the crown of Egypt; to abstain from war with any of the Grecian states; and to submit the matters in dispute between him, Attalus, and the Rhodians, to fair arbitration. "The boastful inexperience of youth," said the king, "thy gracefulness of person, and, still more, the name of Roman, inspire thee with this haughtiness. It is my wish, that Rome may observe the faith of treaties; but should she be inclined again to hazard an appeal to arms, I trust that, with the protection of the gods, I shall render the Macedonian name as formidable as that of the Roman." These things, with the cruel destruction of the city and inhabitants of Abydos, happened about a hundred and ninety-nine years before the birth of Jesus Christ.

Philip, like other ambitious princes, was now on terms of hostility with most of the neighbouring nations. Rome, on the contrary, was in a situation the most favourable that could be imagined to her ambition; Carthage was subdued; in Italy all remains of insurrection had subsided; Sicily, in fertility and opulence at that time the pride of the western world, with most of the adjacent islands, was annexed to her dominions; and even those nations which had not yet felt the force of her

arms, heard, with terror, the flame of a people not to be subdued even by a Hannibal. About three years, therefore, after peace had been made with Philip, the Romans dispatched a fleet, under the conduct of the consul Sulpitius, for the relief of Athens, then besieged by the Macedonians. Philip is moved with resentment, and attempts to wreak his vengeance on Athens. Disappointed in his hope of surprising that city, he laid waste the country around it, destroying even the temples; which he had hitherto affected to venerate, and mangling and defacing every work of art in such a manner, that there scarcely remained, according to the Roman historian Livy, a vestige of symmetry or beauty. Here we have an opportunity of remarking the contrast between the genius of Athens, in the times of Philip, the father of Alexander, and that Philip who now filled the throne of Macedon. The Athenians, harassed by the arms of this last-mentioned prince, had recourse to the only weapons with which they were now acquainted—the invectives of their orators, and the acrimony of their popular decrees. It was resolved, that, “Philip should for ever be an object of execration to the Athenian people: that whatever statues had been raised to him, or to any of the Macedonian princes, should be thrown down; that whatever had been enacted in their favour should be rescinded; that every place in which any inscription or memorial had been set up in praise of Philip should be thenceforth held profane and unclean; that in all their solemn feasts, when their priests implored a blessing on Athens and her allies, they should pronounce curses on the Macedonian, his kindred, his arms by sea and land, and the whole Macedonian name and nation: in a word, that whatever had been decreed in ancient times against the Pisistratidæ, should operate in full force against Philip; and that whoever should propose any mitigation of the resolutions now formed, should be adjudged a traitor to his country, and be punished with death.” The flatteries of the Athenians to their allies were in proportion to their impotent execrations of the Macedonian monarch. Such is the connection between meanness of spirit and the loss of freedom!

A languid and indecisive war had been carried on for the space of two years between the Macedonians and Romans, during the consulship of Sulpitius, and that of his successor

Villius, not much to the honour of these commanders, when the command of the Roman army devolved to the new consul, Titus Quintius Flaminius, not indeed unacquainted, being a Roman, with the science of war, but more remarkable for his skill and address in negociation than for military genius. The Roman consul, by the vigour of his arms, but still more by the dexterity with which he carried into execution the profound policy of his nation, brought Greece to the lowest state of humiliation. By detaching the most considerable of the Grecian states, particularly the Ætolians and the Achæans, from their connection with Macedon, by ingratiating himself with the Grecian states, whom he managed, after they had become his confederates, with infinite artifice; by making a pompous, but insidious proclamation of their freedom, at the Isthmian and Nemean games, he reduced the Macedonian king to the necessity of first asking a truce, and afterwards of accepting peace on these mortifying conditions, which were entirely approved by the Roman senate:—

“ That all the Greek cities, both in Asia and in Europe, should be free, and restored to the enjoyment of their own laws.

“ That Philip, before the next Isthmian games, should deliver up to the Romans all the Greeks he had in any part of his dominions, and evacuate all the places he possessed either in Greece or in Asia.

“ That he should give up all the prisoners and deserters.

“ That he should surrender all his decked ships of every kind; five small vessels and his galley of sixteen banks of oars excepted.

“ That he should pay the Romans a thousand talents, one half down, the rest at ten equal annual payments.

“ And that, as a security for the performance of these regulations, he should give hostages, his son Demetrius being one.” The date of this peace was a hundred and ninety-three years before Christ.

Flaminius having made various decrees in favour of the several Grecian communities in confederacy with the Romans; having expelled Nabis, the tyrant of Sparta, from Argos; and having obtained the freedom of the Roman slaves in Greece, he returned to Rome, to the great satisfaction of all Greece; and withdrew, as he had promised, all the Roman garrisons.

CHAPTER XX.

FROM THE INVASION OF GREECE BY ANTIOCHUS, TO
THE CAPTIVITY OF THE ACHÆAN CHIEFS IN ITALY.

ANTIOCHUS, king of Syria, was renowned for the magnificence of his court, great treasures, numerous armies, military talents, and political wisdom. He had visited the coasts of the Hellespont, formerly subject to the kings of Syria; he had even passed over into Thrace, where he had likewise claims; and he was preparing to rebuild Lysimachia, in order to make it again the seat of government in the countries anciently possessed by Lysimachus. The pretensions of so powerful and political a prince to countries, which the Romans had already marked as their own, excited the jealousy of that ambitious people. They gave him repeated notification, that "by the treaty with Macedon, the Grecian cities in Asia, as well as Europe, had been declared free; that Rome expected he would conform to that declaration;" and farther, "that henceforth Asia was to be the boundary of his dominions; and that any attempt to make a settlement in Europe, would be considered by Rome as an act of hostility." Antiochus, at first, manifested a disposition to peace, and, in order to obtain it, would have made large concessions, could any thing less than the humiliation of the crown of Syria have satisfied Roman ambition. But Hannibal, the sworn enemy of Rome, no sooner heard of his meditating a war against the Romans, than he made his escape from Carthage to the Syrian court, and urged him to arms. The Ætolians, too, solicited him to vindicate the cause of Greece, notwithstanding the delusive show of liberty granted by Rome, more enthralled in reality than at any former period. Hannibal recommended an invasion of Italy, where alone, in his judgment, Italy was vulnerable. With only eleven thousand land forces, and a suitable naval armament, he offered to carry the war into the heart of that country; provided Antiochus would, at the same time,

appear at the head of an army on the western coast of Greece, that, by making a show of an intended invasion from that quarter, he might divert the attention and divide the strength of the Romans. The Ætolians, on the other hand, told him, that if Greece were made the seat of war, there would be, throughout all that country, a general insurrection against the power of the Romans. Antiochus, having adopted the plan of the Ætolians in preference to that of Hannibal, entered Greece with a small force, and, being disappointed in his expectations of succour from the Grecian states, was defeated, at the straits of Thermopylae, by Manius Acilius Glabrio, the Roman consul. He escaped, with only five hundred men, to Chalcis; from whence he retreated with precipitation to his Asiatic dominions, a hundred and eighty-seven years before the Christian era.

The Ætolians having rejected the terms of peace offered to them by the Romans, the consul pressed forward the siege of Eleusæa, which soon surrendered at discretion. He was preparing to besiege Naupactus, a sea-port on the Corinthian gulph, of the greatest importance to the Ætolian nation, who now decreed to "submit themselves to the faith of the Roman people," and sent deputies to intimate this determination to the Roman consul. Acilius, catching the words of the deputies, said, "Is it then true, that the Ætolians submit themselves to the faith of Rome?" Phœneas, who was at the head of the Ætolian deputation, replied, "That they did." "Then," continued the consul, "let no Ætolian, from henceforth, on any account, public or private, presume to pass over into Asia; and let Dicaearchus*, with all who have had any share in his revolt, be delivered into my hands." "The Ætolians," interrupted Phœneas, "in submitting themselves to the faith of the Romans, meant to rely upon their generosity, but not to yield themselves up to servitude: neither the honour of Ætolia, nor the customs and laws of Greece, will allow us to comply with your requisition." "It is insolent prevarication," answered the consul, "to mention the honour of Ætolia, and the customs and laws of Greece; you ought even to be put in chains." The Ætolians, exasperated even

* An Ætolian chief, who had been active in promoting the treaty with Syria.

to madness at this imperious treatment of their dispute and nation, were encouraged in their disposition to vindicate their liberties by arms, by the expectation of succours from Asia and from Macedon: but this expectation was disappointed, and they were reduced to the necessity of sending ambassadors to Rome, to implore the clemency of the Roman senate. The only conditions they could obtain were, either to pay a thousand talents, a sum which, they declared, far exceeded their abilities, and to have neither friend nor foe, but with the approbation of Rome, or to submit to the pleasure of the senate. The Ætolians desired to know what they were to understand by "submitting to the pleasure of the senate;" an explanation being refused, they were obliged to return uncertain of their fate. The war with Rome was renewed; but the Roman vigour and policy prevailed in the unequal contest, and the Ætolians were again obliged to apply to the consul in the most submissive manner for mercy. The conditions granted to them were extremely hard: they were heavily fined, obliged to give up several of their cities and territories to the Romans, and to deliver to the consul forty hostages, to be chosen by him, none under twelve, or above forty years of age. But one express condition comprehended every thing that imperious power might think fit to impose: the Ætolians were to pay *obsequium* to the empire and majesty of the Roman people.

The predominant power of the Achæans in the Peloponnesus now became the object of Roman jealousy and ambition. Though confederated with Achæa, the Peloponnesian cities retained each of them peculiar privileges, and a species of independent sovereignty. No sooner was peace concluded with Ætolia, than Marcus Fulvius Nobilior, to whom the conduct of the Ætolian war had been committed on the expiration of the consulship of Acilius, took up his residence in the island of Cephallenia, that he might be ready, upon the first appearance of any dispute in Achæa, to pass over into Peloponnesus, and improve every dissension for the aggrandisement of the Roman republic. Such an opportunity soon presented itself: the congress of the Achæan states had always been held at Ægium; but Philopomen, now the Achæan general, having determined to divide among all the cities of the league the advantages of a general convention, had named Argos for the

ment. This innovation the inhabitants of Aegina opposed, and applied to the Roman consul for his decision. Another pretext for passing over into Greece was also soon offered by Fulvius. The Lacedæmonian exiles, who had been banished in the days of the tyrants, and never restored, residing in towns along the coast of Læconia, protected by Achaean garrisons, cut off the inhabitants of Lacedæmon from all intercourse with the sea-coast. One of those maritime towns was attacked by the Spartans in the night-time, but defended by the exiles, with the assistance of the Achaean soldiery. Philopœmen represented this attempt of the Spartans as an insult on the whole Achaean body. He obtained a decree in favour of the exiles, commanding the Lacedæmonians, on pain of being treated as enemies, to deliver up the authors of that outrage. This decree the Lacedæmonians refused to obey. They dissolved their alliance with Achæia; and offered their city to the Romans. In revenge of this, Philopœmen, notwithstanding the advanced season, laid waste the territories of Lacedæmon.

The Romans, thus invited to act as umpires in Greece, found means to break the strength of the commonwealth of Achæia; by seducing its confederate states; a conduct, which, in the eyes of pure morality, must appear enormously treacherous; but which, if, in the ambitious designs of states and princes, the certain attainment of the end be considered as a sufficient justification of the means, must be deemed refined policy. By the intrigues of Roman emissaries, too, a party of Messenians took up arms against the Achæians; and Philopœmen, hastening to suppress the insurgents, fell into their hands, and was put to death.

During these transactions in Greece, the Romans, jealous of the increasing power of their ally, Philip of Macedon, sought an occasion of quarrelling with him, and, agreeably to their usual policy, encouraged every complaint, and supported the pretensions of his enemies, prepared to plunder them, too, in their turns, when the Macedonian power should no longer be formidable. The small cantons, or communities of Thessaly, in which he had re-established his authority, were now encouraged to assert their independence; and the Macedonian king was called to account for those very outrages which he

had committed on the side of the Romans. Commissioners were appointed for the settlement of differences. Philip is required by them to evacuate Athos and Maronea, which were claimed by Eumenes. These were cities on the Hellespont, which, from their maritime situation, afforded many advantages. The complexion and designs of the Roman commissioners were obvious; and Philip, judging it vain to keep measures with men determined at any rate to take part with his adversaries, expostulated with them with great boldness, on the injustice, treachery, and ingratitude of their nation. In this temper of mind he wreaked his revenge on the Maronites, whose solicitations, he supposed, had been employed against him. A body of his fiercest Thracian mercenaries being introduced into Maronea, on the night before the Macedonian garrison was to march out, on pretence of a sudden tumult, put to the sword all the inhabitants suspected of favouring the Roman interest, without distinction of condition, age, or sex, and left the place drenched in the blood of its citizens. The Romans threatened to revenge this massacre, and Philip is obliged to send his second son Demetrius to Rome to make an apology. The Roman senate, with a view to debauch the filial affection of Demetrius, and to draw him over to the interests of Rome, told him, that, on his account, whatever had been improper in his father's conduct should be passed over; and that, from the confidence they had in him, they were well assured Philip would, for the future, perform every thing that justice required: that ambassadors should be sent to see all matters properly settled: and that, from the regard they bore to the son, they were willing to excuse the father. This message excited in the breast of Philip a suspicion of the connection formed between Rome and Demetrius; which suspicion was inflamed by the insinuations and dark artifices of his eldest son Persens, a prince, according to the Roman writers, of an intriguing and turbulent disposition, sordid, ungenerous, and subtle. Persens and Demetrius were both in the bloom of life; the former aged about thirty years when Demetrius returned from Rome, but born of a mother of mean descent, a sempstress of Argos, and of so questionable a character, as to make it doubtful whether he was really Philip's son. Demetrius was five years younger, born of his queen, a lady of royal extrac-

tion. Hence Perseus had conceived such a jealousy of his brother, and was insidiously active to undermine him in the royal favour. He accused Demetrius to the king of a design to assassinate him. Philip, familiarised as he was to acts of blood, was struck with horror at the relation of Perseus. Retiring into the inner apartment of his palace, with two of his nobles, he sat in solemn judgment on his two sons, being under the agonizing necessity, whether the charge should be proved or disproved, of finding one of them guilty. Distracted by his doubts, Philip sent Philotes and Apelles, two noblemen, to proceed as his ambassadors to Rome, with instructions to find out, if possible, with what persons Demetrius corresponded, and what were the ends he had in view.

Perseus, profoundly artful, and having the advantage of being the heir apparent to the Macedonian crown, secretly gained over to his interest his father's ambassadors, who returned to the king with an account, that Demetrius was held in the highest estimation at Rome, and that his views appeared to have been of an unjustifiable kind; delivering, at the same time, a letter, which they pretended to have received from Quintus Flaminius. The hand-writing of the Roman, and the impression of his signet, the king was well acquainted with; and the exactness of the imitation induced him to give entire credit to the contents, more especially as Flaminius had formerly written in commendation of Demetrius. The present letter was written in a different strain. The author acknowledged the criminality of Demetrius, who, indeed, he confessed, aimed at the throne; but for whom, as he had not meditated the death of any of his own blood, he interceded with the monarch. The issue of this atrocious intrigue is truly tragical. Demetrius, found guilty of designs against the crown and the life of his father, is put to death. Philip, when too late, discovered that he had been imposed upon by a forgery, and died of a broken heart.

Perseus succeeded his father on the throne of Macedon, a hundred and seventy-five years before the birth of Christ. The first measures of his government appeared equally gracious and political. He assumed an air of benignity and gentleness. He not only recalled all those whom fear or judicial condemnation had, in the course of the late reign, driven from their country; but he even ordered the income of their estates,

during their exile, to be reimbursed. His deportment to all his subjects was happily composed of regal dignity and parental tenderness. The same temper, which regulated his behaviour to his own subjects, he displayed in his conduct towards foreign states. He courted the affections of the Grecian states; and dispatched ambassadors to request a confirmation of the treaties subsisting between Rome and Macedon. The senate acknowledged his title to the throne, and pronounced him the friend and ally of the Roman people. His insinuations and intrigues with his neighbours were the more effectual, as most of them began to presage what they had to expect, should the dominion of Rome be extended over all Greece, and looked upon Macedon as the bulwark of their freedom from the Roman yoke. The only states that stood firm to the Roman cause were Athens and Achaia. But in this all of them now agreed, that foreign aid was on all occasions necessary to prop the tottering remains of fallen liberty, which, by this time, was little else than a choice of masters. Besides all those advantages, which Perseus might derive from the well-grounded jealousy of Roman ambition, he succeeded to all those mighty preparations which were made by his father. But all this strength came to nothing: it terminated in discomfiture, and the utter extinction of the royal family of Macedon. He lost all the advantages he enjoyed through avarice, meanness of spirit, and want of real courage. The Romans, discovering or suspecting his ambitious designs, sought and found occasion of quarrelling with him. A Roman army passes into Greece. This army, for the space of three years, does nothing worthy of the Roman name; but Perseus, infatuated, or struck with a panic, neglects to improve the repeated opportunities which the incapacity or the corruption of the Roman commanders presented to him. Lucius *Emilius* *Paulus*, elected consul, restores and improves the discipline of the Roman army, which, under the preceding commanders, had been greatly relaxed. He advances against Perseus, drives him from his entrenchments on the banks of the river *Enipeus*, and engages and defeats him under the walls of *Pydna*. On the ruin of his army, Perseus fled to *Pella*. He gave vent to the distraction and ferocity of his mind, by murdering with his own hand two of his principal officers, who had ventured to blame some parts of his conduct. Alarmed at this act of barbarity,

his other attendants refused to approach him ; so that, being at a loss where to hide himself, or whom to trust, he returned from Pella, which he had reached only about midnight, before break of day. On the third day after the battle he fled to Amphipolis. Being driven by the inhabitants from thence, he hastened to the sea-side, in order to pass over into Samothrace, hoping to find a secure asylum in the reputed holiness of that place. Having arrived thither, he took shelter in the temple of Castor and Pollux. Abandoned by all the world, his eldest son Philip only excepted, without a probability of escape, and even destitute of the means of subsistence, he surrendered to Octavius, the Roman prætor, who transported him to the Roman camp. Perseus approached the consul with the most abject servility, bowing his face to the earth, and endeavouring, with his suppliant arms, to grasp his knees. " Why, wretched man," said the Roman, " why dost thou acquit fortune of what might seem her crime, by a behaviour which evinces that thou deservest not her indignation? Why dost thou disgrace my laurels, by showing thyself an abject adversary, and unworthy of having a Roman to contend with?" He tempered, however, this humiliating address, by raising him from the ground, and encouraging him to hope for every thing from the clemency of the Roman people. After being led in triumph through the streets of Rome, he was thrown into a dungeon, where he starved himself to death. His eldest son, Philip, and one of his younger sons, are supposed to have died before him. Another of his sons, Alexander, was employed by the chief magistrates of Rome in the office of a writing clerk.

Within the space of fifteen days after Æmilius had begun to put his army in motion, all the armament was broken and dispersed ; and, within two days after the defeat at Pydna, the whole country had submitted to the consul. Ten commissioners were appointed to assist that magistrate in the arrangement of Macedonian affairs. A new form of government was established in Macedon, of which the outlines had been drawn at Rome. On this occasion the Romans exhibited a striking instance of their policy in governing by the principle of division. The whole kingdom of Macedon was divided into four districts ; the inhabitants of each were to have no connection, intermarriages, or exchange of possessions, with those of the other districts, but every part to remain wholly distinct from the rest. And

among other regulations tending to reduce them to a state of the most abject slavery, they were inhibited from the use of arms, unless in such places as were exposed to the incursions of the barbarians. Triumphal games at Amphipolis, exceeding in magnificence all that this part of the world had ever seen, and to which all the neighbouring nations, both European and Asiatic, were invited, announced the extended dominion of Rome, and the humiliation not only of Macedon, but of Greece; for now the sovereignty of Rome found nothing in that part of the world that was able to oppose it. The Grecian states submitted to various and multiplied arts of oppression, without a struggle. The government, which retained the longest a portion of the spirit of ancient times, was the Achæan. In their treatment of Achæia the Romans, although they had gained over to their interests several of the Achæan chiefs, were obliged to proceed with great circumspection, lest the destruction of their own creatures should defeat their designs. They endeavoured to trace some vestiges of a correspondence between the Achæan body and the late king of Macedon; and when no such vestiges could be found, they determined that fiction should supply the place of evidence. Caius Claudius, and Cneius Domitius Ænobarbus, were sent as commissioners from Rome, to complain that some of the first men of Achæia had acted in concert with Macedon. At the same time they required, that all who were in such a predicament should be sentenced to death: promising, that, after a decree for that purpose should be enacted, they would produce the names of the guilty. "Where," exclaimed the assembly, "would be the justice of such a proceeding? First name the persons you accuse, and make good your charge." "I name, then," said the commissioner, "all those who have borne the office of chief magistrate of Achæia, or been the leaders of your armies." "In that case," answered Xeno, an Achæan nobleman, "I too shall be accounted guilty, for I have commanded the armies of Achæia, and yet I am ready to prove my innocence, either here, or before the senate of Rome." "You say well," replied one of the Roman commissioners, laying hold on his last words, "let the senate of Rome then be the tribunal before which you shall answer." A decree was framed for this end, and above a thousand Achæan chiefs were transported into Italy, a hundred and sixty-three years before Christ.

CHAPTER XXI.

FROM THE CAPTIVITY OF THE ACHÆAN CHIEFS, TO THE SACKING OF CONSTANTINOPLE BY THE TURKS.

THE transportation of the leaders of Achaia may justly be considered as the captivity of Greece. The only barrier that remained against the tyranny of Rome was now removed. The noblest leaders and ablest counsellors of the Achæans being taken away, the strength of that confederacy was broken, their councils being henceforth unstable and turbulent; and, lest it should ever be restored, the Romans were careful to encourage faction and dissensions among the different states that composed it; holding out, with all the success they could wish for, in the name of the Roman senate, protection and assistance to all who should consent to be dismembered from that body. A general ferment prevailed throughout all Greece. There was scarcely a single state or city that was not tainted with corruption, or torn in pieces by discord. The Roman policy and arms easily prevailed over the feeble resentment of an effeminate, corrupt, and divided people. It was in vain that the Achæans, who may be styled the last nation of the Greeks, provoked by the perfidy of Rome, made an attempt to vindicate their liberty by arms. The Achæan constitution was at length finally dissolved by a Roman decree, and the several states and cities which composed the league declared distinct and independent. Popular assemblies were abolished throughout the whole of Peloponnesus, and what small share of administration the natives were permitted to retain, was transferred from the people to a few, whose estates the Romans considered as a pledge of their obedience; and, lest any individual should acquire an influence that might be troublesome to Rome, they not only took care to impoverish the more opulent families by fines and severe taxations, but also prescribed bounds, beyond which a Grecian should not increase his possessions. Greece was now reduced to a Roman province, known by the name of Achaia, in which were comprised Pelo-

ponnesus, Attica, Boeotia, Phocis, and all that part of Greece lying to the south of Epirus and Thessaly. The countries to the north of that line, to the utmost limits of the Macedonian monarchy, were the province of Macedonia.

Greece, now sunk in that mass of nations which composed the Roman empire, had lost every vestige of national existence; and while she was excluded from all participation in the prosperity of her conquerors, she shared deeply in their misfortunes. Mithridates, king of Pontus, the ablest and most enterprising prince that ever took up arms against Rome, defeated the Roman generals, and excited a general massacre of the Romans and Italians throughout Asia. The Grecians, groaning under the Roman yoke, arranged themselves under the banners of so formidable an enemy to their oppressors. But the armies of Mithridates are at last defeated by the vigour, the resources, and the ability of Sylla; and the Grecian states, above all Athens and Boeotia, satiate the vengeance of the furious conqueror. The calamities of the Mithridatic war were soon followed by the depredations of the Cilician corsairs, who gradually rose to a degree of power that seemed to promise nothing less than the dominion of the Mediterranean. They not only attacked ships, but also assailed towns and islands. They were masters of a thousand galleys, completely equipped; and the cities of which they were in possession amounted to four hundred. For a period of near forty years they had continued to ravage Greece, when they were at last reduced to unconditional submission, and dispersed in different inland countries, by Pompey. Greece was so depopulated, in consequence of these calamities, that it was found expedient, in order to re-people the country, to transport a considerable body of these pirates into Peloponnesus. The civil wars of Rome drenched Greece with blood; and when that war was concluded, whoever had not appeared on the side of the victor was considered as his enemy. Greece, in common with the other Roman provinces, had suffered many oppressions under the emperors, and from the repeated invasions of barbarians, when the accession of Constantine the Great to the imperial throne seemed to promise to the Grecian annals a new æra of glory. Having subdued or quieted all his enemies, he made choice of the confines of Greece for his place of residence; and

the shores of the Thracian Bosphorus, where the Grecian colony of the Byzantines had been planted, now gave a new capital to the world. The conversion of this monarch to the Christian faith was followed by a rapid diffusion of the Gospel throughout the empire. In Greece it served to prove that the Grecian character had, in some respects, outlived those moral causes, which undoubtedly had the principal share in forming it. In their theological disputes they displayed all that versatility of genius, that quickness of wit, that never-ceasing curiosity and fondness for disputation, which distinguished the Greeks in the most flourishing period of their history. Constantine, by dividing his dominions among his three sons, involved the empire in the flames of civil war. The fortune of Constantius prevailed, and raised him to undivided empire. Julian supplanted Constantius on the imperial throne, by means of the favour of the soldiers. This was the famous apostate from the Christian faith to Paganism, in which he either was, or pretended to be, as great a bigot as he had been before zealous in the Christian cause. Philosophy still flourished in Athens; and here it was that the mind of Julian, who pursued his studies there before he was raised to the empire with infinite application, was alienated from the true religion, which he overturned, and re-established Paganism in its stead. The successors of Julian restored the religion of the Gospel, but not the public prosperity, undermined by the despotism of a military government, and a general pusillanimity and profligacy of manners. These invited attacks on the empire on every side. Jovian was forced to yield a considerable territory to the Persian monarch. In Britain, the Roman ramparts were opposed in vain to the hardy valour of the north: even the legionary troops had been found unable to sustain the shocks of the unconquered Caledonians. The German tribes renewed their incursions into Gaul. Africa rebelled; and a spirit of discontent and insurrection began to appear among the barbarian tribes on the Danube. In the reign of the emperor Valens, the Huns, a new tribe of barbarians, in manners and aspect more horrid than any that had hitherto appeared on the Roman frontiers, plundered and drove from their settlements the Gothic tribes on the farther side of the Danube. Gratian, nephew and heir to Valens, shared the empire with Theodosius, whom the calamities of the times raised to the possession of

the while. The abilities and personal valor of this prince bestowed on the empire an appearance of vigour during his reign; but his sons, Arcadius and Honorius, between whom he divided the empire, brought up in the bosom of a luxurious palace, and sunk in effeminacy, were unequal to the task of governing an empire weakened by division. The reign of Honorius concluded the Roman empire in the East. Alaric, the Gothic chief, who, five and twenty years before, deemed it an honour to bear arms on the side of the empire, was adorned with the imperial purple. Augustulus, the last Roman who was graced with the imperial dignity at Rome, was compelled to abdicate the Western Empire by Odoacer, king of the Heruli, about the year of Christ four hundred and seventy-five.

Amidst the calamities which attended and followed after this revolution, Greece saw her magnificent cities laid in ruins, her numerous towns levelled with the ground, and those monuments of her glory, which had hitherto escaped barbarian outrage, defaced and overthrown: while the wretched descendants of men, who blessed the nation with science and art, were either enslaved by the invaders, or led into captivity, or slaughtered by the swords of barbarians. Without inhabitants or cultivation, and buried as it were in ruins, Greece was too insignificant to be an object of ambition, and left to the possession of any of the rovers of those days, who chose to make a temporary settlement in that desolated country. Constantinople itself, during the greater part of this gloomy period, retained little more than a shadow of greatness. The chief inhabitants were those families, who, during the incursions of the barbarians, had made their escape to the mountains. Such was the state of Greece, with little variation, from the Gothic invasion to the final overthrow of the Eastern empire by the Ottoman arms, in the year of the Christian era one thousand four hundred and fifty-three.

But, in the midst of war, devastation, and slavery, Greece continued long to be the seat of philosophy and the fine arts. Whatever conjectures may be formed concerning the advancement of science in India and in Egypt, it is certain that Greece was the country which enlightened, exalted, and adorned the rest of Europe, and set an example of whatever is beautiful and great to the nations. It was the genius of Greece that

formed these very politicians and heroes who first bent her
 lofty spirit under the yoke of foreign dominion. It was in
 Thebes, under the tuition of Epaminondas, that Philip, the
 son of Amyntas, was trained to a love of glory, and all those
 arts and accomplishments of both peace and war, by which it
 is best attained. It was a Grecian philosopher that taught
 Alexander how to manage the passions, and govern the minds
 of men; while the writings of Homer, by a most powerful
 contagion, inspired his mind with a contempt of danger and
 death in the pursuit of glory. His captains, who succeeded
 him in the government of his dismembered empire, were, as
 well as himself, instructed in the literature and the philosophy
 of Greece. The Macedonian vigour was fortified and di-
 rected by Grecian invention. As the light of Greece illumi-
 nated her Macedonian, so it spread over her Roman conquerors.
 Philosophy, literature, and arts, began to follow glory and
 empire to Rome in the times of Sylla and Lucullus; and, in
 their progress, drew to different schools every man of rank,
 and, as we would say, of fashion, in Italy. Wealth, luxury,
 corruption, and at last tyranny, banished it from Rome; but
 while it lasted, it made up, in some degree, for the want of
 liberty; and, if it was unable to resist oppressive power, it
 sustained the mind in the midst of sufferings. The Stoic, with
 an erect countenance, beheld the instruments of his death;
 submitting to the will of fate, and acquiescing in the order of
 the universe, of which, living or dead, he could not but form
 a portion. Even in the worst of times, when the Roman
 empire was in the last period of its decline, amidst the ruins
 of the ancient world, distracted by internal divisions, and torn
 to pieces by the incursions of barbarous nations from the east,
 north, and south, a succession of ingenious, learned, and con-
 templative minds transmitted the sacred light of truth (which,
 like the sun, though eclipsed or obscured, never deserts the
 world) from one age to another. After the invasion of Egypt
 by the Saracens, and the destruction of the library of Alexan-
 dria, then the seat of literature and science, the only place
 where philosophy remained was Constantinople. Here the
 ancient metaphysical disputes were revived, and passed into,
 or rather formed, theological controversy. This divided and
 distracted the capital of the Eastern empire, at the very time
 when it was besieged by the Turks. Even under the domi-

nion of those bigotted and indolent barbarians, the Greek learning and philosophy are not wholly extinguished in Greece. In the patriarch's university of Constantinople, the sciences are taught in the ancient Greek language, and in the same language the professors converse with their scholars.

The learned Greeks, who fled from Constantinople, when it was taken by the Turks, into Italy, found protection, not more comfortable to themselves than auspicious to learning and philosophy, in the Medici of Florence, and in Pope Leo the Tenth of the same family. The Greek language became so fashionable in Italy, that even the ladies understood it, and spoke it. In general, the Greek philosophy was cultivated in Italy about a century after the revival of literature, and taught particularly by the Jesuits with great diligence and success. From Italy the arts and sciences spread over France; and so late as the middle, or rather a more advanced period of the last century.

The modern Greeks, without the least political importance, and sunk in slavery to a military government, retain but little of their original character. The gradations by which that character faded away are clearly discernible in their history, and present to the attentive eye a speculation of great curiosity and importance. The relaxation of manners gradually undermined the political institutions of the leading states of Greece, and the complete subversion of these, re-acting on manners, accelerated the declination of virtue. Simplicity, modesty, temperance, sincerity, and good faith, fled first: the last of the virtues that took its flight was military valour. Still, however, the ardent temper of the Greeks burst forth on various occasions; still they were distinguished by a quick sensibility to benefits and to injuries, hasty resolutions and hasty repentance. Tyranny too effectually quieted this tumult of passion; the oppressed Greek, humbled to the dust, was forced to kiss the hand that was lifted up for his destruction. A quickness of invention, an acuteness of judgment, a subtlety in argumentation, have survived the extinction of virtue and a characteristical hastiness of temper. These are still to be found in the disputations of the schools, and the profound, though dishonourable, artifices of the Grecian merchants.

INDEX.

A.

ABDOLONYMUS, a poor Sidonian, invested, to his extreme surprise, with royalty, 336.

Abisares, an Indian king, pays homage, and sends presents to Alexander, 370.

Achaia aims at the sovereignty of Greece, 445; an account of the constitution and laws of that republic, 446.

Acheans, advance Aratus to the dignity of general of their republic, 447; declare war against the Spartans, 450; attempt to chastise the Eleans, *ibid.*; sue for peace to Cleomenes, 451; declare Antigonus head of their confederacy, 452; surprise Argos, and resume their superiority in Peloponnesus, *ibid.*; carry on their military operations under the conduct of Philopomen, 458; totally defeat the armies of Etolia and Elis, *ibid.*; accused by the Romans of having acted in concert with the king of Macedon, 470; above a thousand of their chiefs transported into Italy, *ibid.*; their confederacy dissolved by a Roman decree, 471.

Acrisius, king of Argos, unfortunately slain by his grandson Perseus, 3.

Ada, queen of Caria, restored to her kingdom by Alexander, 319.

Admetus, king of the Molossians, promises Themistocles to grant him his protection, 106.

Agialcus, first king of Sicyon, 3.

Aginetans, refuse to deliver up those who had stirred them up to revolt, 53; punished by Leotychides in having ten of their citizens placed in the hands of the Athenians, *ibid.*; complain of the severity of their treatment, *ibid.*; resolve to obtain justice by force, *ibid.*; intercept an Athenian ship, *ibid.*; worsted in several engagements, *ibid.*

Eschines, the orator, entirely devoted to Philip, harangues for him with an impetuous elocution, 276; gains his point by his passionate warmth and exquisite address, 277; draws up an accusation against Ctesiphon, 289; opposes the decree framed by him in favour of Demosthenes, *ibid.*; loses his cause, and is sentenced to banishment for his rash accusation, *ibid.*; settles himself at Rhodes, and opens a school of eloquence there, *ibid.*; a memorable saying of his, 290; his exclamation at the generous behaviour of his rival, *ibid.*

Ætolians, complain of the terms granted them by the governor of Macedon, 399; take the field, *ibid.*; are routed by Antipater and Craterus, *ibid.*; conclude a peace with them, *ibid.*; invade Macedon with a formidable armament, 400; interrupted in their career by Polycles, *ibid.*; bring him to a

general action, in which he is routed and slain, *ibid.*; retreat with precipitation to *Ætolia*, upon advice that the *Acarnanians* had penetrated into their country, *ibid.*; their forces in *Thessaly* under *Menon* discomfited by *Polyperchon*, *ibid.*; they lay down their arms and conclude a peace, *ibid.*; behold with envy the superiority of the *Achaans*, 449; inspire the *Spartans* with similar ideas, *ibid.*; ravage the *Achaean* coast, 454; make a fresh irruption into *Peloponnesus*, sack *Cynætha*, and put most of the inhabitants to the sword, *ibid.*; invade *Macedon*, and make incursions into *Achaia*, *ibid.*; conclude a treaty with the *Romans*, 456; *Zacynthus* annexed to their dominions by them, 457; are defeated in two engagements by *Philip*, *ibid.*; prosecute the war with amazing obstinacy, *ibid.*; solicit *Antiochus* to vindicate the cause of *Greece*, 462; reject the terms of peace offered them by the *Romans*, 463; are forced to submit, *ibid.*; renew the war, 464; are obliged to fling themselves on their mercy, *ibid.*

Agésilæus, king of *Sparta*, sent into *Asia* with an army, 224; gains a signal victory over *Tissaphernes*, near the river *Pactolus*, *ibid.*; forces the enemy's camp, and finds considerable plunder, *ibid.*; receives orders to return from *Persia*, 225; instantly obeys the mandate, *ibid.*; gains a considerable victory over the *Athenians* and their allies upon the plains of *Coroneæ*, *ibid.*; pitched upon to command the army to humble the *Grecian* states, 230; strikes a terror into the *Thebans* with his name, and increases their fears by the number of his forces, *ibid.*; detaches a party of light armed men to provoke them to give him battle, *ibid.*; finding them prepared to receive him in a new manner, withdraws his army, and ravages the country, *ibid.*; on the defeat of the *Lacedæmonians* under *Cleombrotus*, he is invested with considerable powers, 237; saves the citizens from infamy by a generous expedient, *ibid.*; his exclamation when *Epaminondas* was pointed out to him, *ibid.*; he leads his forces of *Sparta* against him, 240; being informed of his design to seize the city of *Sparta*, he dispatches one of his horse to acquaint it with its danger, *ibid.*; makes head against the *Theban* general, and defends himself with more valour than could be expected from his years, *ibid.*; makes an expedition into *Egypt*, 246; dies there, 247; his eulogium, *ibid.*

Agis, king of *Sparta*, reverses what his predecessors had done in favour of the peasants, and imposes a tribute upon them, 8; punished and reprimanded for eating with his queen in private, 14; closes with an offer from the *Argives*, 142; grants them a truce, *ibid.*; advances with an army to besiege *Athens*, 185.

Agis, king of *Sparta*, the son of *Arthidamus*, his character, 387; his behaviour on several important occasions, *ibid.*; enlists the *Greek* mercenaries that fled out of *Persia*, 388; holds a correspondence with the *Persian* king, *ibid.*; receives money from him, and forms a powerful confederacy in *Peloponnesus*, *ibid.*; sails to *Crete*, and establishes the *Spartan* government there, *ibid.*; promotes disaffection among the *Grecian* states, *ibid.*; marches against *Megalopolis*, 389; is defeated by *Antipater*, *ibid.*; killed fighting on his knees, *ibid.*

Agis, king of *Sparta*, put to death for endeavouring to restore the ancient simplicity of manners, 449.

Alkibiades, saved in the battle of Potidea by his tutor, Socrates, 140; discovers himself an enemy to peace, 139; his remarkable intimacy with Socrates, *ibid.*; is disgusted with the Lacedæmonians, 141; has a conference with the Lacedæmonian ambassadors, *ibid.*; is declared general, 142; is appointed to command the fleet, 144; is attacked by his enemies while engaged in the Sicilian expedition, 147; is recalled, *ibid.*; obeys the orders with seeming submission, *ibid.*; gets on shore at Thurium, *ibid.*; disappears, and eludes his pursuers, *ibid.*; is condemned to death for his contumacy, *ibid.*; his reply on hearing his condemnation, *ibid.*; sends to Samos to collect the sentiments of his countrymen concerning him, 172; offers to return to Athens on particular conditions, 173; his return opposed by Phryniscus, *ibid.*; recalled by the army, and created general with full power, 174; shows himself to Tissaphernes, *ibid.*; saves the commonwealth, 175; recalled by unanimous consent, *ibid.*; solicited to make haste to the assistance of the city, *ibid.*; deceives the Spartan admiral, and gains a considerable victory, *ibid.*; pays a visit to Tissaphernes, 176; is seized by him, and sent prisoner to Sardis, *ibid.*; makes his escape to Clazomene, *ibid.*; bears down upon the Peloponnesian fleet, *ibid.*; breaks through the enemy, and makes great slaughter, *ibid.*; takes several cities which had revolted from the Athenians, *ibid.*; sets sail for Athens, *ibid.*; his triumphant entry described, *ibid.*; appointed generalissimo, 177; steers his course to the island of Andros, *ibid.*; goes from thence to Samos, *ibid.*; Alarms the Lacedæmonians by his success, *ibid.*; leaves the command of his fleet to Antiochus, 178; accused by his countrymen of insufficiency, 179; his representations to the Athenian generals, 182; offers to attack the enemy by land, *ibid.*; withdraws unsuccessful, 183; having taken refuge in the dominions of Persia, he does all in his power to obstruct the treaty between Cyrus and the Lacedæmonians, 191; his patriotic designs frustrated by the thirty tyrants, *ibid.*; he is cruelly massacred in a small town in Phrygia, *ibid.*; his eulogium, *ibid.*

Alcmeonida, having been banished from Athens, endeavour to undermine the interests of Hippias at Sparta, and meet with success, 39; obtain liberty to rebuild the temple of Delphos, *ibid.*

Alexander, of Phæria, having killed Poliphron, seizes the government, 239; meditates revenge, *ibid.*; makes Pelopidas, in the character of an ambassador, prisoner, contrary to the laws of nations and humanity, *ibid.*; treats his Theban prisoners with the utmost severity, 240; is defeated by Pelopidas, *ibid.*; is killed by his wife and brothers, *ibid.*

Alexander, son of Philip of Macedon, vested with sovereign authority at the age of fifteen, 273; gives proofs of his courage, *ibid.*; defeats some neighbouring states which had revolted, *ibid.*; accompanies his father in his Scythian expedition, 275; covers him with a shield when he was wounded in a battle with the Triballi, *ibid.*; puts to flight all who attacked him, 276; at the head of the Macedonian nobles, falls upon the sacred band of Thebes, with all the fury of youthful courage, 283; remonstrates with his father Philip on his resolving to divorce himself from Olympias, 291; extremely dissatisfied with the solemnities which proclaim his mother's disgrace, *ibid.*; irritated by the behaviour of Attalus, the uncle of

the queen, *ibid.*; behaves himself with an unpardonable insolence, *ibid.*; succeeds to the throne of Macedon, 296; his ruling passion, *ibid.*; a characteristic anecdote relating to him, *ibid.*; discovers great esteem for his master Aristotle, 298; grows fond of philosophy, *ibid.*; applies himself chiefly to morality, *ibid.*; makes it his serious study, *ibid.*; applies with eagerness to polite literature, 299; finds himself, on his succession, surrounded with capital dangers, 301; resolves to defeat the machinations of his enemies, 302; conciliates the affections of the Macedonians, by freeing them from a various slavery, *ibid.*; determines to support his affairs by boldness and magnanimity, *ibid.*; conquers the king of the Triballi in a great battle, *ibid.*; makes the Getæ fly at his approach, *ibid.*; subdues several barbarous nations, *ibid.*; makes the conquest of Persia the first object of his attention, 303; is called to a new undertaking, *ibid.*; is obliged to turn his sword from the Persians against the Greeks, *ibid.*; leads his army against them with surprising celerity, 304; astonishes the Thebans by his appearance in Boeotia, *ibid.*; publishes a general pardon to all who should come over to him, *ibid.*; finds it impossible to get the better of the Thebans by offers of peace, *ibid.*; takes the city of Thebes, and plunders it, *ibid.*; is struck with the answer of the Theban lady, brought before him for the murder of a Thracian officer, 305; orders that she have leave to retire with her children, *ibid.*; debates in council how to act with regard to Thebes, *ibid.*; destroys it, 306; sets at liberty the priests and descendants of Pindar, *ibid.*; throws the Athenians into the greatest consternation, by the destruction of Thebes, *ibid.*; receives a deputation from them, imploring his clemency, *ibid.*; requires them to give up the ten orators, who had formed the league against his father, *ibid.*; waves his demand with regard to them, 307; expresses a particular respect for the Athenians, *ibid.*; spreads terror through all Greece, *ibid.*; summons the assembly of the states of Greece at Corinth, in order to obtain from them the supreme command against the Persians, *ibid.*; receives congratulation from a great number of cities and philosophers on his election, 308; makes a visit to Diogenes, 309; his interview with him described, *ibid.*; determines to consult the oracle of Apollo before he sets out for Asia, *ibid.*; his rash behaviour to the priestess, *ibid.*; makes preparation for his expedition, *ibid.*; holds a council, *ibid.*; offers a splendid sacrifice to the gods, and causes scenical games to be celebrated, 310; settles the affairs of Macedon before his departure, *ibid.*; appoints Antipater viceroy, *ibid.*; his memorable reply to Perdikkas, *ibid.*; sets out for Asia with a well disciplined army, *ibid.*; begins his march along the lake Cercira, 311; crosses the river Strymon and Hebrus, *ibid.*; commands Parmenio to cross from Sestos to Abydos, *ibid.*; crosses the Hellespont, steering his galley with his own hands, *ibid.*; inspires his army with confidence, by his animated behaviour, *ibid.*; determines to destroy the city of Lampsaena, 312; receives a visit from Amaximenæ, a native of the place, *ibid.*; finds the Persians ready to dispute his passage over the Granicus, *ibid.*; marches on in military order, 313; advised by Parmenio to encamp in battle array, *ibid.*; is unaffected by his advice, 314; makes his military arrangements with spirit, *ibid.*; routs the Persians, passes the river with his whole army, and attacks the enemy on all sides, 315; charges the thickest;

part of the enemy's host, *ibid.*; is particularly distinguished by his valor, *ibid.*; engages in single combat with the son-in-law of Darius, *ibid.*; lays him dead at his feet, *ibid.*; puts the Persians to flight, 316; loses his horse by his impetuosity, *ibid.*; orders Lysippos to make commemorating statues in brass, *ibid.*; takes the utmost care of the wounded, *ibid.*; grants the rights of sepulture to the principal Persians, 317; sends three hundred shields to the Athenians, *ibid.*; recovers Sardis, 318; takes the inhabitants under his protection, *ibid.*; assigns to the temple of Diana, at Ephesus, the tributes which were paid to the kings of Persia, *ibid.*; receives deputies from the cities of Trallis and Magnesia, with the keys of those places, *ibid.*; finds the gates of Miletus shut against him, *ibid.*; obliges the inhabitants, after a long and obstinate siege, to capitulate, *ibid.*; treats the Milesians with humanity, but sells all the foreigners, *ibid.*; marches into Caria, in order to lay siege to Halicarnassus, 319; meets with a vigorous resistance, *ibid.*; demolishes the city to the foundations, *ibid.*; restores Ada, queen of Caria, to her kingdom, *ibid.*; receives submission from several kings of Asia Minor, *ibid.*; opens the campaign next year very early, 320; determines to attempt the reduction of the maritime provinces, *ibid.*; meets with a check in his progress, *ibid.*; marches to Celæne, a city of Phrygia, *ibid.*; receives a haughty answer from the garrison, *ibid.*; compels them to surrender, *ibid.*; cuts the famous Gordian knot, 321; subdues Paphlagonia and Cappadocia, *ibid.*; proceeds towards the provinces of Upper Asia, *ibid.*; advances into Cilicia, *ibid.*; arrives in the country called Cyrus's camp, *ibid.*; enters the pass of Cilicia, *ibid.*; his confession with regard to it, *ibid.*; marches his army to Tarsus, *ibid.*; plunges into the river Cydnus; is seized with a shivering, and carried to his tent, after fainting away, 322; is intreated by one of his physicians to have three days allowed him for the preparation of a particular dose, *ibid.*; is only afflicted because he shall be three days hindered from appearing at the head of his army, *ibid.*; receives a letter from Parmenio, whom he had left in Cappadocia, *ibid.*; is requested by him to beware of Philip, his physician, *ibid.*; will not believe his physician guilty of the charge against him, *ibid.*; discovers a noble confidence in him in a very singular interview, 323; recovers, *ibid.*; marches to Bactriana, 326; offers sacrifice to Æsculapius, at Solæ, *ibid.*; proceeds to Pyramus, to Maltæ, and to Cartabala, *ibid.*; hears that Darius is encamped at Sochus, in Assyria, *ibid.*; resolves to meet him without delay, *ibid.*; fortifies his camp, 327; his behaviour on the eve of the expected engagement, *ibid.*; the drawing up of his army described, 328; animates his soldiers by spirited exhortation, 329; performs the duty of a private soldier and of a commander, 330; receives a slight wound in his thigh, *ibid.*; is victorious with his right wing, 331; puts the Persians to flight, *ibid.*; invites his officers to a feast after the engagement, 332; is interrupted by the lamentations of the wife and mother of Darius, *ibid.*; visits the wounded, and causes the last honours to be paid to the dead in the presence of the whole army, 333; permits Darius's mother to bury whatever persons she pleases according to the Persian ceremonies, *ibid.*; sends a message to the queens, *ibid.*; visits them in their tent, *ibid.*; raises Sysigambis, who had fallen prostrate before him, from the ground, *ibid.*; comforts her and her attendants, *ibid.*; takes

the son of Darius, a child, in his arms, *ibid.*; is affected by its behaviour, *ibid.*; his own behaviour upon the occasion truly heroic, *ibid.*; makes Parmenio governor of Phœnicia, 334; becomes possessed of the treasures of Darius, deposited in Damascus, by the treachery of the governor, *ibid.*; his reply to Darius's imperious demands, 335; marches into Phœnicia, *ibid.*; finds the citizens of Byblos ready to open their gates to him, *ibid.*; receives submissions from the inhabitants of several places as he advances, *ibid.*; dethrones Strato, the Sidonian king, *ibid.*; commands Abdolonymus, the newly elected king of the Sidonians, to be sent for, 336; his address to him, *ibid.*; makes him considerable presents, and annexes one of the neighbouring provinces to his dominions, *ibid.*; thinks it necessary to take the city of Tyre, 337; is not driven from his resolution by the obstacles he meets with, 338; sends heralds with pacific proposals, *ibid.*; is inflamed by their throwing his heralds murdered into the sea, *ibid.*; determines to destroy the city, *ibid.*; invests the Tyrians on all sides, both by sea and land, 340; orders his galleys to approach the walls of the city at midnight, and attack it with resolution, 341; meets with a severe disappointment by a storm, *ibid.*; carries on the attack with more vigour than ever, 342; performs wonders himself, *ibid.*; receives a second letter from Darius, with considerable offers for the ransom of his wife, and the offer of his daughter in marriage, 344; debates upon the terms proposed in council, *ibid.*; his reply to Parmenio upon the occasion, *ibid.*; treats the proposals of Darius with contempt, *ibid.*; marches from Tyre to Jerusalem, *ibid.*; resolves to punish that city, *ibid.*; his resentment disarmed, by meeting a procession of the inhabitants of the city on his way, *ibid.*; advances to the high priest at the head of them, and salutes him with religious veneration, *ibid.*; receives wishes from the Jews for his prosperity, *ibid.*; his remarkable speech to Parmenio upon the uncommon occasion, *ibid.*; is so pleased with his reception at Jerusalem, that he bids the Jews ask for any favour they think proper, 345; gratifies their desires, but gives the Samaritans an evasive answer, *ibid.*; goes to Gaza, and meets with an obstinate resistance, *ibid.*; takes it by storm, *ibid.*; orders the garrison to be cut to pieces, *ibid.*; punishes Boetia, the governor, in a very cruel manner, *ibid.*; turns his arms towards Egypt, 346; arrives before Pelusium, *ibid.*; finds the gates of that city, and of Memphis, set open to receive him, *ibid.*; possesses himself of all Egypt without opposition, *ibid.*; forms a design of visiting the temple of Jupiter, *ibid.*; sets out along the river Memphis, *ibid.*; lays the foundation of the city of Alexandria, *ibid.*; arrives at the temple of Jupiter, 347; is declared by the high-priest to be the son of Jupiter, *ibid.*; is quite intoxicated with the adulation administered to him, *ibid.*; settles the government of Egypt upon the most solid foundation, *ibid.*; sets out to march against Darius, *ibid.*; honours the wife of Darius, who dies in child-bed, with a funeral due to her exalted character, *ibid.*; continues his journey towards the Tigris, 349; points out, with his own hand, the passage over the river, *ibid.*; commands them to save nothing but their arms, *ibid.*; encamps on the opposite side, *ibid.*; revives the spirits of his soldiers, depressed by an eclipse of the moon, *ibid.*; prepares for an engagement with Darius, 350; receives new overtures of peace from him, *ibid.*; refuses his offers, *ibid.*; marches to-

wards him in battle array, *ibid.*; halts, and calls a council of war, *ibid.*; addresses himself to his general officers, and then orders them to take some rest, *ibid.*; his haughty but prudent reply to Parmenio, 351; reposes himself for the remainder of the night, *ibid.*; is prevented, by the emotions of his mind, from sleeping immediately, *ibid.*; sleeps afterwards soundly, *ibid.*; is awakened by Parmenio, *ibid.*; makes an heroic reply to him, *ibid.*; takes up his arms and rides up and down the ranks, animating his troops by the most powerful exhortations, *ibid.*; dispatches a body of horse to prevent the consequences of a Persian movement, 352; reinforces them with a body of Pæonians, *ibid.*; his cavalry is greatly annoyed, 353; he puts the enemy to flight, *ibid.*; employs a stratagem to encourage his soldiers, *ibid.*; presses to the place in which Darius is stationed, *ibid.*; wounds his equeiry with a javelin, *ibid.*; pursues Darius, 354; is obliged to desist from the pursuit, *ibid.*; cuts a body of Persian horse to pieces, *ibid.*; rides as far as Arbela after Darius, *ibid.*; approaches Babylon, which surrenders to him on his appearance before it, 355; his triumphant entry into that city described, *ibid.*; takes a view of Darius's treasures, *ibid.*; distributes them among his soldiers, *ibid.*; gives the government of the province to Mazæus, and the command of the forces he leaves there to Apollodorus, *ibid.*; marches to Cyrceni, and afterwards to Susa, *ibid.*; finds treasures there to an infinite amount, *ibid.*; rewards merit and courage in his troops with them, *ibid.*; leaves the mother and children of Darius there, *ibid.*; arrives at the river Pasitigris, 356; crosses into the country of Uxii, *ibid.*; pardons Madathæa, governor of the province, sets all the captives at liberty, and behaves to them in a generous manner, *ibid.*; proceeds to the pass of Susa, *ibid.*; stops awhile, *ibid.*; cuts the army that defended it in pieces, *ibid.*; marches immediately towards Persia, *ibid.*; receives letters from Tiridates, governor of Persepolis, with regard to the treasures of Darius, which accelerates his march to that city, *ibid.*; marches the whole night at the head of his cavalry, and passes the river Araxes, *ibid.*; perceives, as he draws near the city, a body of men, memorable for their misery, 357; rewards them liberally, and commands the governor of the province to treat them with kindness, *ibid.*; enters Persepolis at the head of his victorious soldiers, *ibid.*; puts a speedy end to the massacre begun by them, *ibid.*; finds immense riches there, *ibid.*; seizes a torch, inflamed with wine and the stimulations of an Athenian courtesan, and sets fire to the palace, 358; repents of what he has done, and gives orders for extinguishing the fire, *ibid.*; his orders are issued too late, *ibid.*; weeps bitterly over the dead body of Darius, 360; puts off his military cloak, and throws it upon it, *ibid.*; causes his body to be embalmed, and his coffin to be adorned with royal magnificence, *ibid.*; sends it to Sysigambis, to be interred with the customary honours, *ibid.*; feels his spirit of ambition inflamed by the death of Darius, *ibid.*; attempts to pursue Bessus, *ibid.*; desists, in order to cross into Parthia, *ibid.*; arrives on the frontiers of Hyrcania, 361; finds the Hyrcanians submissive, *ibid.*; subdues the Mandii, and several other nations, *ibid.*; conquers nations with a prodigious rapidity, *ibid.*; receives a message from Thalestris, queen of the Amazons, *ibid.*; sends back a favourable answer, *ibid.*; is obliged, in consequence of her request, to make some stay where

he is, *ibid.*; sets out for Pauthia, *ibid.*; abandons himself to sensuality *ibid.*; falls a victim to the Persian vices, *ibid.*; gives one of his female captives her liberty, struck with the account she relates of herself, 362; returns all her possessions, and causes her husband to be sent for, that she may be restored to him, *ibid.*; leads his soldiers against Bessus, *ibid.*; sets fire to his own baggage, and commands every man to follow his example, *ibid.*; exhibits a very doubtful character, *ibid.*; mixes the tyrant with the hero, *ibid.*; dooms Philotas and his father to destruction, suspecting them of being concerned in a conspiracy against him, 368; exposes himself to great hardships and dangers, 365; receives Bessus from the hands of Spitamenes in the most degrading condition, *ibid.*; reproaches him for his treachery, *ibid.*; orders his nose and ears to be cut off, and sends him to Ecbatana, to the mother of Darius, *ibid.*; marches forward in search of new conquests, *ibid.*; overturns a city inhabited by the Branchidae, and massacres the inhabitants in cold blood, *ibid.*; advances to the river Jaxartes, *ibid.*; is wounded in his leg, *ibid.*; takes the capital of Sogdiana, *ibid.*; receives submissions from the Scythians, *ibid.*; besieges Cyropolis, 366; goes on capriciously, destroying some towns and building others, settling colonies, and laying waste provinces at his pleasure, *ibid.*; finds the crossing the river Jaxartes a difficult task, *ibid.*; leads his troops across the rapid stream, and gains a signal victory over the Scythians, *ibid.*; makes himself master of the strong hold of Petra Oxiani, *ibid.*; causes the garrison to be whipped with rods, and to be fixed to crosses at the foot of the rock, *ibid.*; subdues the Massagetæ and Dahæ, *ibid.*; enters the province of Barsaria, *ibid.*; advances to Maracanda, *ibid.*; appoints Clitus governor of that province, *ibid.*; murders him in a fit of intoxication, 368; throws himself upon the dead body, forces out the javelin with which he had killed him, and attempts to destroy himself, *ibid.*; marches towards Gabana to divert his melancholy, *ibid.*; meets with a dreadful storm, *ibid.*; overruns and lays waste the country of the Sacæ, *ibid.*; is received by Axertes, one of its monarchs, *ibid.*; makes Roxana, Axertes' daughter, his wife, *ibid.*; displeases the Macedonians by his marriage with her, *ibid.*; resolves upon a perilous march into India, 369; determines to be called the son of Jupiter, *ibid.*; finds the Macedonians not inclined to pay him the adoration due to a deity, *ibid.*; puts to death Callisthenes the philosopher, *ibid.*; is met upon his entrance into India by all the petty kings, and receives submission from them, 370; takes the cities of Nysa and Dædala, *ibid.*; the city of Hagosa surrenders to him at discretion, *ibid.*; marches to Aclesimus, *ibid.*; arrives on the banks of the river Indus, *ibid.*; finds every thing for his passage got ready by Hephæstion, *ibid.*; is met by Omphis, a king of the country, and receives homage from him, *ibid.*; receives homage and presents from Abisares, a neighbouring monarch, *ibid.*; expects similar submissions from Porus, *ibid.*; is answered with great coldness and great spirit, *ibid.*; resolves to enforce obedience, 371; advances to the borders of Hydaspes, *ibid.*; is greatly perplexed by the difficulties which attend his passage over that river, *ibid.*; resolves to attempt it by night, *ibid.*; chooses a stormy one, *ibid.*; lands without much opposition, 372; defeats a detachment sent against him by Porus, commanded by his son, who is killed on the spot,

ibid.; finds Porus determined to meet him, *ibid.*; gives the signal of battle, 373; gains a complete victory, 374; sends Taxilas to Porus in his retreat, being desirous of saving so valiant a king, 375; is disappointed, *ibid.*; sends Meroe with other offers, *ibid.*; advances to meet Porus, *ibid.*; stops to take a view of his stature and noblemien, *ibid.*; his interview with him described, *ibid.*; he builds a city on the spot on which the battle had been fought, 376; builds another in the place where he had crossed the river, *ibid.*; pays the last duties to those soldiers who had lost their lives in battle, *ibid.*; solemnizes games, and offers up sacrifices of thanks, in the place where he had passed the Hydaspes, *ibid.*; advances into India, and subdues it with astonishing rapidity, *ibid.*; is desirous of conversing with some Brachmans, *ibid.*; deputed Onesicritus the philosopher to them, *ibid.*; receives Calanus with great demonstrations of joy, 377; is desirous of invading the territories of Agramenes, a prince beyond the Ganges, *ibid.*; finds his soldiers not disposed to accompany him, *ibid.*; addresses them in the most persuasive terms, *ibid.*; threatens them, 378; his persuasions and his menaces are equally fruitless, *ibid.*; he can only bring his soldiers to compliance by animating them to follow him towards the south, in order to discover the nearest ocean, *ibid.*; comes to the country of the Oxydraci and the Malli, *ibid.*; defeats them in several engagements, *ibid.*; marches against their capital, *ibid.*; seizes a scaling ladder the first, and mounts the wall, *ibid.*; is left alone by the breaking of the ladder, *ibid.*; he leaps from the wall into the city, *ibid.*; fights with the utmost fury, *ibid.*; is wounded by an Indian, *ibid.*; drops his arms from loss of blood, and lies as dead, *ibid.*; plunges his dagger in the Indian's side, *ibid.*; is succoured by his attendants bursting the gates, *ibid.*; puts all the inhabitants to the sword, *ibid.*; mounts his horse, and shows himself to his army, 379; approaches the ocean, *ibid.*; his soldiers are astonished and terrified at the ebbing and flowing of the tide, *ibid.*; he offers sacrifices to Neptune on his landing, *ibid.*; weeps because he has no more worlds to conquer, *ibid.*; sets out with his army for Babylon, *ibid.*; arrives in the province of Gedrosia, *ibid.*; passes through the country in the licentious disguise of an enthusiast, 380; is ambitious of imitating Bacchus, *ibid.*; receives strange accounts from Nearchus, his admiral, returned from his expedition along the coast, *ibid.*; commands him to make farther discoveries, and enter the mouth of the Euphrates, to meet him at Babylon, *ibid.*; puts a Persian prince to death, *ibid.*; attempts to dissuade Calanus from the resolution he had made to kill himself, 381; goes from Pasargada to Susa, and marries the eldest daughter of Darius, *ibid.*; gives her youngest sister to Hephæstion, *ibid.*; publishes a declaration which produces seditious proceedings among his soldiers, 382; orders some of them immediately to be punished, 383; threatens to take Persians for his guards, *ibid.*; receives his Macedonians into favour, *ibid.*; gives himself up to banqueting and merriment, *ibid.*; is plunged into excessive sorrow by the death of Hephæstion, *ibid.*; puts to death the physician who attended him, *ibid.*; discovers the greatness of his affliction by the extraordinary funeral honours he pays to him, *ibid.*; makes a magnificent entry into Babylon, *ibid.*; writes a letter with regard to the cities of Greece, *ibid.*; orders Antipater to employ an armed force against those which are disobedient, 384;

turns his thoughts to the embellishment of Babylon, *ibid.*; resolves to make it the seat of empire, *ibid.*; spends his time in intemperance, *ibid.*; falls on the floor at an entertainment; to all appearance dead, *ibid.*; is carried in that degrading condition to his palace, *ibid.*; gives orders, during the intervals of his fever, for the sailing of his fleet, and the marching of his land forces, *ibid.*; finding himself past all hopes, he draws a ring from his finger, and gives it to Perdicas, with directions about his corpse, *ibid.*; his dying words, *ibid.*; his death, 365; his character, *ibid.*

Alexander, son of Alexander the Great by Roxana, put to death by order of Cassander, 416.

Amynas, father of Philip, addresses himself to the Olynthians on having been dispossessed of a great part of his kingdom by the Illyrians, 351; gives them a considerable tract of land, 352: being restored to the throne by the Thessalians, he is desirous of recovering the lands he had surrendered, *ibid.*; wages war against the Olynthians, *ibid.*; is enabled to weaken them with the assistance of the Greeks and the Athenians, *ibid.*; dies, *ibid.*

Amphictyon, third king of Athens, 8; procures a confederacy among the twelve states of Greece, *ibid.*

Amphictyons, a council instituted by Amphictyon, third king of Athens, 8; appointed to be held twice a year at Thermopylae, *ibid.*; cite the Phocians to appear before them, 267; impose a heavy fine upon them, *ibid.*; fine the Spartans, *ibid.*; declare war against the Phocians, *ibid.*; decree that all their cities shall be demolished, 267; adjudge them to lose their seat in their council, *ibid.*; they send a deputation to Philip, by which he is invited to assist them against the Amphiſſeans, declared a member of their council, and constituted commander in chief of their forces, 277.

Amphipolis, declared a free city by Philip, 355.

Anaklis, a prince of Sicily, receives the defeated Messonians, 24.

Anaximenes, a citizen of Lampſacus, makes a visit to Alexander, on his appearance before it in a hostile manner, 319; saves his country by a witty evasion, *ibid.*

Antigonus appointed governor of Phrygia the Greater, Lycia, and Pamphylia, 405; remonstrates with Perdicas on the new arrangement in the state, 406; prepares to act with vigour against Eumenes, 408; discounts him, *ibid.*; determined to make a decisive effort against him, he attacks him in his winter-quarters, 411; Peucestas deserts to him with the horse, *ibid.*; his phalanx routed by Eumenes, *ibid.*; falls upon the enemy's baggage, *ibid.*; applied to by Eumenes's army to restore their wives, children, and fortunes, *ibid.*; consents to their request, on condition that Eumenes is delivered into his hands, *ibid.*; puts him to death, 412; those commanders, who had lately opposed him, now make their submission, *ibid.*; sacrifices several inferior governors, *ibid.*; jealous of Seleucus, *ibid.*; marches to Babylon against him, and requires an exact statement of the revenues of his province, 413; collects his forces to oppose the confederates, 414; Coele-syria and Phœnicia submit to him, *ibid.*; puts to sea with five hundred ships, *ibid.*; Tyre surrenders to him, *ibid.*; hastens to the relief of the Lesser Asia, invaded by Cassander, *ibid.*; murders Cleopatra, 416; issues orders that he and his son should be proclaimed kings of Syria, *ibid.*; invades Egypt, 416;

obliged to make a hasty retreat, 417; slain at the battle of Ipsus, 419; his character, *ibid.*

Antigonus, the son of Demetrius Poliorcetes, succeeds Ptolemy Ceraunus in the throne of Macedon, 442; marries Phila the daughter of Seleucus, *ibid.*; carries great riches into his new dominions, *ibid.*; a body of barbarians, allured by the prospect of plunder, make an inroad into Macedon, *ibid.*; attacks them when encumbered with booty, and forces them to retreat with great slaughter, *ibid.*; defeated by Pyrrhus in a pitched battle, 443; defeated a second time by Ptolemy, *ibid.*; restored to his throne, 444; a confederacy formed against him by the Spartan and Egyptian kings, *ibid.*; a fresh irruption of Gauls threaten his country with total devastation, *ibid.*; his prudent conduct on that occasion, *ibid.*; he at last cuts them off to a man, *ibid.*; meditates the complete reduction of Greece, *ibid.*; besieges Athens, and imposes on it a Macedonian garrison, *ibid.*; Macedon wrested from him by Alexander, the son of Pyrrhus, but recovered to him by Demetrius, his own son, *ibid.*; obtains possession of Corinth through artifice, 445; death puts an end to his ambition, *ibid.*

Antigonus succeeds Demetrius in the throne of Macedon, 445; his character, *ibid.*; called into Greece by Aratus, and declared head of the Achaean league, 452; defeats Cleomenes, 453; and the Illyrians, who had invaded Macedon in his absence, *ibid.*; bursts a blood-vessel by straining his voice during the action, and dies in a few days, *ibid.*

Antiochus, left by Alcibiades with the command of his fleet, but with orders not to engage the enemy in his absence, 178; disobeys his orders, and sails to Ephesus, *ibid.*; uses every art to provoke the enemy to an engagement, *ibid.*; is slain in it, *ibid.*

Antiochus, king of Syria, excites the jealousy of the Romans, 462; solicited by Hannibal and the Etolians to take up arms, *ibid.*; enters Greece with a small force, 463; defeated by the Roman consul at the straits of Thermopylae, *ibid.*; retreats into Asia, *ibid.*

Antipater, appointed viceroy of Macedon by Alexander, 310; ordered by him to employ an armed force against those Grecian cities which proved disobedient, 384; procures the banishment of Demosthenes from Athens, 391, 392; is defeated by Leosthenes, 395; retreats in good order, *ibid.*; fortifies Lamia, and prepares for a vigorous defence, *ibid.*; makes a sally upon the besiegers, 396; escapes from Lamia, *ibid.*; receives a reinforcement from Cilicia, under Craterus, and discomfits the enemy at Cranon, in Thessaly, 397; sued to for peace, *ibid.*; grants to the different states and cities whatever they demand, except Athens, *ibid.*; at the earnest request of Phocion, grants the Athenians peace upon ignominious terms, *ibid.*; changes their form of government, and imposes on them a Macedonian garrison, *ibid.*; they honour him with the title of Father and Protector of Greece, 399; marches against the Etolians, whom he routs, *ibid.*; prepares to besiege their cities, *ibid.*; is obliged to conclude a peace with them on account of the affairs of the East, *ibid.*; puts Demades and his son to death, 401; his death and character, 401, 403.

Aornos, rock of, the garrison, in a panic, deliver it to the army of Alexander, 370.

Darius, relieves his native city of Sicyon from the tyranny of Nicias, 447; has recourse to the friendship of the Achæans, *ibid.*; relieves five hundred and eighty citizens of Sicyon (who had been driven into exile) through the bounty of Ptolemy Philadelphus, *ibid.*; gives universal satisfaction in the distribution of the money entrusted to him, *ibid.*; advanced to the dignity of general of the Achæans, *ibid.*; surprises the city of Corinth in the night, *ibid.*; delivers the keys to the Corinthians, and incorporates them among the Achæan states, 448; bribes the Macedonian governor of Athens to deliver up the city, *ibid.*; incorporates the Athenians and Argives into the Achæan league, *ibid.*; declines engaging with Cleomenes, 460; prevents a peace, by insisting on such terms as Cleomenes could not accept, 461; shows himself the slave of ambition, *ibid.*; calls Antigonus of Macedon into Greece, 462; opposes the Ætolians in vain, 464; obtains aid from Philip of Macedon, *ibid.*; attempts to disengage him from his alliance with Hannibal, 466; is poisoned by Philip, 467.

Araxes, river of, 356.

Arbela, battle of. See *Gangamela*.

Archidamus, dissuades his countrymen from entering into the war with the Athenians, 180; his advice overruled by one of the Ephori, 191; harangues his army in a spirited speech, 122; lays siege to Plataea, 127.

Archilochus, the poet, obliged to quit Sparta for having asserted, in one of his poems, that it was better for a man to lose his arms than his life, 19.

Areopagus, established by Cecrops, 3.

Arginuse, battle of, 179.

Argives, enter into an alliance with the Athenians for a hundred years, 142; send two officers to Agis, *ibid.*; obtain a truce of him for four months, *ibid.*; incensed against their mediators, *ibid.*

Arctus, commands a body of Persians at the battle of Gangamela, 359.

Argæus, killed in an engagement with Philip king of Macedon, 95.

Aricus, flies with the left wing as soon as he hears of the death of Cyrus, 198; continues his retreat, *ibid.*; discovers his intentions to return to Greece, 201; decamps by break of day, *ibid.*; hears that the king of Persia is in pursuit of him, *ibid.*

Ariobarzanes, planted with a body of five thousand men to defend the pass of Susa, 368; his troops cut to pieces by Alexander, *ibid.*

Aristagoras (Histæus's deputy at Miletus), receives instructions to stir up the Ionian cities to revolt, 49; makes a journey to Ionia, *ibid.*; throws off the mask, and bids defiance to the power of Persia, *ibid.*; goes to Lacedæmon, in order to engage that state in his interest, *ibid.*; applies to Cleomenes, king of Sparta, for his assistance, 50; unable to bribe him, he makes application to other cities; finds a favourable reception at Athens, *ibid.*; supplied by the Athenians with ships, he collects his troops together, and sets sail for Ephesus, 51; enters the Persian frontiers, and marches to the capital of Lydia, *ibid.*; is successively defeated, *ibid.*; flies into Thrace, and is cut off by the inhabitants, with all his forces, *ibid.*

Aristander, the soothsayer, redoubles the martial ardour of the Macedonians, by playing off an artful manœuvre, 359.

Aristides, his character, 57; appointed one of the ten generals against the

Pemians, to command in succession, 59; resigns his command to *Miltiades*, 60; he endeavours, in a memorable speech, to avert the force of the king of Macedon's proposals, 91; is chosen unanimously as the properest person to weigh the justice and utility of the scheme formed by *Themistocles* for the security of the city, 101; his information to the assembly in consequence of his disapproving it, *ibid.*; is distinguished by the surname of *Just*, *ibid.*; procures a decree favourable to his fellow-citizens, dreading the consequences of a democratic government, 102; conducts the fleets of Athens, with *Cimon*, the son of *Miltiades*, *ibid.*; is entrusted with the care of the treasure for carrying on the expenses of the war in the island of *Delos*, 108; confirms, by his conduct, the high opinion formed of his integrity, *ibid.*; a striking instance of his contempt of riches, 109; some account of his way of living and of his family, *ibid.*

Aristodemus, the Messenian, offers his daughter to be sacrificed, 23; murders her with his own hand, *ibid.*; slays himself upon her grave, *ibid.*

Aristodemus, the Persian admiral, is overcome at sea, 334.

Aristomenes, the Messenian, heads his countrymen against the *Lacedæmonians*, 23; defeats them, *ibid.*; loses his shield in the pursuit, *ibid.*; is taken prisoner in a skirmish, *ibid.*; carried to *Sparta* and thrown into a dungeon, *ibid.*; escapes in a very extraordinary manner, 24; repairs to his troops, and makes a successful attack by night against the *Corinthian* forces, *ibid.*; is taken by the *Cretans*, *ibid.*; stabs his keepers, and returns to his forces, *ibid.*; earns the *hecatomphonia* three times, *ibid.*

Aristotle, appointed by *Philip*, king of *Macedon*, preceptor to his son *Alexander*, 297; is much esteemed by his pupil, 298; endeavours to improve his judgment, *ibid.*; tries to make him sensible of the advantages to be derived from eloquence, *ibid.*

Arsites, a *Phrygian* satrap, opposes *Memnon's* prudent advice, 313; flies to *Phrygia*, after the victory gained by *Alexander*, and is said to have laid violent hands upon himself, 316.

Artabanus, flies with a body of *Persians* towards the *Hellepont*, 96.

Artabanes, killed by *Cyrus*, 197.

Artaphernes, governor of *Sardis*, enters into a correspondence with *Hippias*, 38; secures himself in the citadel at *Sardis*, 51; causes *Hicæmus* to be crucified, and his head to be sent to *Darius*, 52; leads his numerous forces towards *Europe*, 58; makes himself master of the islands in the *Ægean* sea, *ibid.*; turns his course towards *Eretria*, *ibid.*; attempts to storm the city, *ibid.*; is repulsed with loss, *ibid.*; gains it by treachery, plunders and burns it, *ibid.*; loads the inhabitants with chains, and sends them to *Darius*, *ibid.*

Artaserces, pardons his brother *Cyrus*, in consequence of the entreaties of his mother *Parysatis*, 195; removes him into *Asia* to his government, *ibid.*; orders an entrenchment to be thrown up in the plains of *Babylon*, to stop the progress of his enemies, 196; suffers his brother to continue his march towards *Babylon*, by neglecting to dispute a pass with him, *ibid.*; advances in good order towards the enemy, 197; wheels his right to attack *Cyrus* in flank, *ibid.*; is joined by him, *ibid.*; pushes with impetuosity against *Cyrus*, and wounds him with a javelin, 198; causes his head and

right hand to be cut off, *ibid.*; pursue the enemy into their camp, 199; plunders it, *ibid.*; rallies his troops on being informed that his left wing is defeated by the Greeks, and marches in quest of them, *ibid.*; sends to the Grecians to surrender their arms, 200; agrees to let them remain in the place where they are, *ibid.*; is terrified at their bold appearance, 201; sends heralds to them to propose terms of peace and treaty, *ibid.*

Artemisia, queen of Halicarnassus, attends Xerxes in his expedition to Greece, 78.

Asia Minor, several kings reigning there make submission to Alexander, 319.

Athens, its foundation, 8; the title of king abolished on the death of Codrus, 4; his son appointed chief magistrate, with the title of Archon, *ibid.*; particular account of its police, 41; contrasted with Sparta, 43; its disastrous state, in consequence of the progress of Xerxes, described, 62; beautified by Cimon with the treasures he gained in the Persian war, 119; freed from its fears of foreign enemies, it begins to cherish intestine animosities, *ibid.*; some account of the plague, 125; account of the preparations for the Sicilian expedition, 146; the whole city in a consternation, in consequence of Lysander's victory, 184; all the citizens of any consideration, who retain a love of freedom, seek an asylum out of the reach of the thirly tyrants, 192; the citizens finding hopes of being reinstated in their former authority, by the deposition of their tyrants, send messages to Lacedæmon to demand aid, 194; favoured by Pausanias, they put the tyrants to the sword, and regain their liberty, *ibid.*; the people harangued by Demosthenes, 274; the consternation occasioned by the news of Philip's having seized Elatea, a city of Phocis, described, 278.

Athenians, abridge the terms of the archon's power, 4; send Tyræus, the poet, to be a general to the Lacedæmonians, 23; pitch upon Draco for their legislator, 25; distressed by the severity of his laws, they apply to Solon for advice, 26; are divided into factions, 38; are involved in new troubles by the death of Solon, 36; erect a statue to the memory of Erech, 38; boldly declare against the restoration of Hippias, 48; give Aristagoras a favourable reception, 50; intimidated by the ill success of Aristagoras, they are unwilling to continue the war, 51; bravely disdain to acknowledge the Persian power, 54; insult the heralds sent to them, *ibid.*; resolve to punish the Æginetans for betraying the common cause of Greece, *ibid.*; defeat the Æginetans in several naval engagements, and possess themselves of the sovereignty of the seas, 55; oppose the Persian army, consisting of a hundred and twenty thousand men, 59; place their little army under the command of ten generals, *ibid.*; discover their gratitude to Miltiades in various shapes, for his noble behaviour at the battle of Marathon, 66; are jealous of him, 64; are implored by the Lacedæmonians to assist them against the rebellious Helotes, 114; send Cimon to their relief, 115; are again petitioned, and refuse to comply with their demands, *ibid.*; banish Cimon, *ibid.*; dissolve their alliance with Sparta, *ibid.*; enter into a treaty with the Argives, *ibid.*; take the slaves of Ithene under their protection, *ibid.*; protect and garrison the city of Megara, *ibid.*; defeated by, and victorious over, the Corinthians, 116; defeated by the Spartans, *ibid.*; gain a

victory over them, *ibid.*; astonished with the successes of Pericles, meditate new and extensive conquests, 119; make an expedition against Samos, in favour of the Milesians, *ibid.*; animated by Pericles, they enter hastily into a war with the Lacedæmonians, 121; send succours and provisions to Plataea, 122; impressed with the exhortation of Pericles, they carry all their possessions that could be conveyed away with them into Athens, 123; are terrified at the approach of the Lacedæmonians, 124; throw out reproaches against their former leaders, *ibid.*; resolve to retaliate, *ibid.*; invade the territories of their enemies, and take Nisæa, *ibid.*; discover their fickleness, by reinstating their favourite Pericles with more than his former authority, 126; take the city of Pylos from the Lacedæmonians, 133; make themselves masters of Cythera, 135; defeated by the Lacedæmonians at Delion, *ibid.*; make peace with them, 137; strike up a league with the Argives for a hundred years, 142; receive ambassadors from the people of Egæta, 143; grant the Egæstans, on the return of the deputies, their demands, *ibid.*; appoint Alcibiades, Nicias, and Lamachus, to command the fleet, 144; spread a terror among the neighbouring states, 148; lay siege to Syracuse, 149; are surprised by the arrival of Gylippus, the Lacedæmonian general, 151; defeated by him, *ibid.*; gain an advantage over the Syracusans, 153; are worsted in a naval engagement with them, 155; defeated by the Lacedæmonians, 158; wish to retire from Syracuse, 159; overpowered by the Syracusans, 162; are in a deplorable condition, 164; defeated by the Syracusans, 165; resume courage, 171; raise money on all sides, *ibid.*; are greatly embarrassed, 172; proceed eagerly to complete the change of government which had been proposed to them by Alcibiades, 173; depose the Four Hundred, as the authors of all the troubles under which they had groaned, 175; gain a naval victory over the Spartans, 176; make themselves masters of Cyzicus, *ibid.*; are worsted in a sea-fight with Lysander, 178; accuse Alcibiades of insufficiency, *ibid.*; gain a naval victory over Callicratidas, 179; behave ungratefully to their victorious commanders, *ibid.*; steer towards Chios, on the news of Lysander's success, 181; look upon the cautious proceedings of Lysander with contempt, 182; offer him battle, *ibid.*; retire with insulting airs, 183; are defeated, 184; prepare to meet the last extremity, in consequence of the siege of their capital, with patience, 185; send deputies to Agis, *ibid.*; obliged by the victorious Lacedæmonians to demolish their democracy, and to submit to the government of the thirty tyrants, 190; the tyrants begin to exert their power, *ibid.*; are enabled to act without control, by Lysander's procuring them a guard, *ibid.*; they procure the death of Alcibiades, 191; they pronounce sentences of death on Theramenes, 192; they observe no measures, *ibid.*; readily engage in a rupture with the Spartans, 225; send troops to the assistance of Pelopidas, 228; applied to by the inhabitants of Plataea, 231; highly incensed at the demolition of that town, and of Thebes, by the Thebans, *ibid.*; will not act any longer in conjunction with them, *ibid.*; weaken themselves by their contests with the Spartans, *ibid.*; enter into a confederacy with the Spartans against the Thebans, 233; determine, after some hesitation, to assist the Spartans with all their forces, 239; grow indolent upon the death of Epaminondas, 240; abandon themselves to their ease and pleasure, *ibid.*;

passionately devoted to theatrical exhibitions, *ibid.*; are attacked by most of the states which had been in alliance with them, 240; reduce them by the valour and activity of their generals, *ibid.*; conclude a peace with their militant allies, *ibid.*; defeated by Philip, 254; conclude a peace with him, 255; lose the city of Amphipolis by their remissness, *ibid.*; overreached by Philip, 256; court the assistance of the Olynthians, *ibid.*; haste to Thermopylae, on hearing of Philip's march towards it, and possess themselves of that important pass, 260; roused by the oration of Demosthenes to make use of this precaution, *ibid.*; solicited by the Olynthians to send them relief against Philip, 263; resolve to unite against Philip, *ibid.*; embarrassed about the raising of supplies, *ibid.*; send a reinforcement to Olynthus, 264; weary of the Sacred War, they commission Ctesiphon and Phrynon to sound the intentions of Philip, 265; resolve to send a solemn embassy to him, *ibid.*; order their ambassadors to return and conclude a peace, 266; animated by Demosthenes to guard themselves against the artful attempt of Philip to prevent their union with the Spartans, 270; solicited to deliver the Buceans from the yoke intended for them by Philip, 271; dispatch troops under the command of Phoxion, *ibid.*; receive a reproaching letter from Philip, 273; consider the siege of Byzantium as an open declaration of war, 276; receive ambassadors from Philip, 281; are too much alarmed and exasperated to listen to any accommodation, *ibid.*; make preparations for war, *ibid.*; are animated by the oratory of Demosthenes, *ibid.*; order their troops to set out immediately, and they agreeably surprise the Thebans by their diligence, *ibid.*; totally defeated, with their allies, at the battle of Cheronea, 285; submit to the counsels of Demosthenes, 286; appoint him purveyor of the city, and repairer of its walls, *ibid.*; receive the news of Philip's death with the greatest demonstrations of joy, 295; decorate themselves with garlands, and decree a crown to Pausanias, *ibid.*; sacrifice to the gods for their deliverance, and sing songs of triumph, *ibid.*; suspend the festival of the Great Mysteries, on receiving the account of the plunder of Thebes, 306; receive those who fly to them for an asylum with the greatest humanity, *ibid.*; are thrown into the utmost consternation by the ruin of Thebes, *ibid.*; have recourse to entreaties, *ibid.*; send a deputation to Alexander to implore his clemency, *ibid.*; required by him to give up ten orators, *ibid.*; cannot prevail with themselves to comply with his demand, *ibid.*; receive an offer from Demades to undertake an intercession for them with Alexander, 307.

Attalus, very much disposed to listen to the proposals of Demosthenes, 303; sends all the letters he receives from Demosthenes to Alexander, *ibid.*; his artifices are seen through by Alexander, and he is by his orders assassinated, *ibid.*

Attica, division of that country by Cecrops, 3.

Acetes, king of Sace, receives Alexander in his palace; adorned with rude magnificence, 368.

B.

Babylon, the triumphant entry of Alexander into that city described, 345.

Ricobis, assumes the reins of power at Corinth, 5.

Bagophanes, a governor of the fortress at Babylon, strews the streets with

flowers, on the entry of Alexander, and raised silver altars on both sides of the way, 355.

Bessus, commands a body of Bactrian horse, 358; joins with Nabarzanes in the commission of the blackest of all crimes, *ibid.*; assumes the name of king, 360; pursued by Alexander, *ibid.*; is seized, chained, and delivered up in the most ignominious condition to Alexander, 365; is sent, with his nose and ears cut off, to Ecbatana, *ibid.*; dismembered by four trees, and quartered, *ibid.*

Bias, his opinion of the most perfect form of popular government, 37.

Beotians, show signs of discontent, 139.

Batis, punished in a very cruel manner, 345.

Bages, governor of Bion for the king of Persia, his intrepid behaviour, 110.

Brachmans, a remarkable sect among the Indians, 376.

Branchidae, the, massacred by Alexander in cold blood, 365.

Brasidas, killed at Pylus, while he was conducting a sally, 135; his character, *ibid.*

Brennus, at the head of a body of Gauls makes an irruption into Macedon, 440; cuts Sothones and his gallant army to pieces, *ibid.*; after draining Macedon of its wealth, bends his course towards Greece, *ibid.*; stopped at the straits of Thermopylae by Calippus, at the head of the Athenians, *ibid.*; detaches a body of his troops to plunder Etolia, *ibid.*; is shown the passage over mount Eta, by the Thessalians, *ibid.*; directs his march to the temple of Delphi, with a design to plunder it, 441; meets with an unexpected resistance, *ibid.*; his army defeated, and pursued for a whole day and night, *ibid.*; meets with a violent storm, by which most of the barbarians perish, *ibid.*; being wounded, and distracted with religious horror, he kills himself, *ibid.*

Brylos, the citizens of it open their gates to Alexander, 335.

Byzantium, besieged by Philip, 373.

Bucephalus, Alexander's horse, dies of old age, 376.

C.

Cadmus, the founder of Thebes, 4.

Cappadocia, subdued by Alexander, 321.

Calanus, an Indian priest, addressed by Onemcritus, 376; follows him to Alexander's court, 377; is received with great demonstrations of joy, *ibid.*; resolves to put himself to death, 380; is not at all influenced by Alexander's dissuasive arguments, 381; his behaviour at the funeral pile, erected for him by Alexander's orders, and in his last moments, described, *ibid.*

Callas, marches against Polyperchon, 433; puts it out of his power to succour Olympias, 434; distributes manifestoes against their administration, *ibid.*

Callibius, appointed by Lysander, commander of the guard for the protection of the Thirty Tyrants, 190.

Callicratidas, appointed to succeed Lysander, 179; his character, *ibid.*; his first attempt against Methymna, *ibid.*; takes it by storm, *ibid.*; threatens Conon, *ibid.*; pursues him into the port of Mytilene, *ibid.*; takes thirty of

his ships; and besieges him in the town, *ibid.*; worsted in a naval engagement with the Athenians, *ibid.*

Callisthenes, institutes the manner of giving votes by ostracism, 46; banished from Athens, 47; returns and restores the government as settled by Solon, *ibid.*

Callisthenes, the philosopher, disdains to acknowledge Alexander as the son of Jupiter, 369; is put to death for his integrity, *ibid.*

Caranus, first governor of the kingdom of Macedonia, 5.

Caridemus, a native of Oreea, his banishment from Athens required by Alexander, 307; takes refuge with the king of Persia, *ibid.*

Cartabala, Alexander's progress to that place, 326.

Cassander, the son of Antipater, commands a considerable army, with orders to watch the conduct of Antigonus; 408; makes himself master of several provinces of the Lesser Asia, 414; stopped in his progress by Antigonus, *ibid.*; usurps the government of Macedon, 416; dissatisfied with the disposition of affairs in Macedon, 421; his intrigues to supplant Polyperchon; *ibid.*; flies to Antigonus, 426; receives succour from him, and sails for Athens, *ibid.*; treats Nicænor with the greatest respect, 429; believes a report that he intended to make himself sovereign of Attica, *ibid.*; invites him to consult on affairs of importance, *ibid.*; posts men in an empty house, who murder him, *ibid.*; reconciles the Athenians to his government, by his engaging manners, *ibid.*; appoints Demetrius Phalerens governor of Athens, 430; makes all possible haste to the assistance of Eurydice, upon receipt of her letter, 433; his passage disputed at the straits of Thermopylæ by the Ætolians, *ibid.*; avoids an engagement by embarking his army on board of ships, *ibid.*; reaches Macedon before Polyperchon and Olympias had been informed of his approach, *ibid.*; invests her and her army in the city of Pydna, 434; blocks up the passes from Epirus, and reduces the army of Æacidas to such difficulties, that they renounce his authority, and submit to him, *ibid.*; reduces Pydna to great extremities, *ibid.*; treats the deserters from thence with great kindness, *ibid.*; surrendered to him by Olympias, 435; offers her a ship to convey her to Athens, *ibid.*; sends a band of soldiers to put her to death, *ibid.*; suffers her body to lie some time unburied, *ibid.*; imprisons Roxana and her son Alexander at Amphipolis, *ibid.*; marches towards Greece with a powerful army, 437; the Ætolians oppose his passage, *ibid.*; forces a passage, and advances towards the ruins of Thebes, *ibid.*; determines upon rebuilding that city, *ibid.*; invites the Thebans to second his endeavours, *ibid.*; sets out for Peloponnesus, 438; on his arrival at the isthmus, he finds a wall thrown across it by Alexander the son of Polyperchon, *ibid.*; transports his army in flat-bottomed boats, *ibid.*; gains over the principal cities to his cause, *ibid.*; commits the guard of the isthmus to Molychus, and shapes his course towards Macedon, *ibid.*; encompassed by artful and powerful enemies, he experiences the inequalities of sovereign power, *ibid.*; his death, *ibid.*

Cecrops, the founder of Athens, 3; settles in Attica, divides the whole country subject to him into twelve districts, and establishes the Areopagus; *ibid.*

Chabrias, commander of the mercenaries on the part of the Thebans, obliges Agasilaus to withdraw his army by a singular stratagem, 220; procures his statue to be erected, *ibid.*

Chæronea, battle of, 283, 285.

Chares, his character, 287.

Chila, his opinion of the most perfect form of popular government, 38.

Chittim, third son of Javan, rules in Macedonia, 2.

Cilicia, pass of, entered by Alexander, 321.

Cimon, the son of Miltiades, signalizes his piety on the death of his father, 65; strains all his credit to pay the fine imposed upon his father, and procures his body honourable interment, *ibid.*; carries part of his home furniture to the temple of Minerva, 82; goes cheerfully on board the fleet, *ibid.*; conducts the fleets of Athens, 102; a sketch of his character, *ibid.*; is advanced to the highest employments both at home and abroad, *ibid.*; is ill received by the people on his first offering to gain public favour, 130; is animated by Aristides to renew the onset, *ibid.*; entirely changes his conduct, and becomes a considerable character, *ibid.*; is appointed to the command of a fleet destined to scour the Asiatic seas, *ibid.*; makes the whole country, from Ionia to Pamphylia, declare against the power of Persia, *ibid.*; offers the governor of Rion very advantageous terms, *ibid.*; endeavours to prevent the junction of the Persian and Phœnician fleets, 111; gains a considerable victory by sea and land, *ibid.*; is furnished with foreign employment by Pericles, that he may be kept at a distance, 114; espouses the cause of Sparta, and marches against the rebellious Helotes, who are quelled at his approach, 115; flies to the assistance of his countrymen, forgetting the injury he had sustained from them, 116; his conduct restored him to their favour, *ibid.*; he is recalled from banishment, *ibid.*; endeavours, at his return, to reconcile the rival states, *ibid.*; sails to the island of Cyprus, *ibid.*; overruns it, and lays siege to Citium, *ibid.*; wounded by the defendants, and wasting by sickness, he perceives his approaching dissolution, *ibid.*; dies in the arms of conquest, *ibid.*

Citium, besieged by Cimon, 116.

Clazomenæ, Alcibiades makes his escape to that place, 176.

Cleander, begins the execution of Parmenio, 364; executed himself for having been concerned in it, 380.

Clearchus, a banished Spartan, is of great service to Cyrus in his Asian government, 195; does all in his power with the Peloponnesian troops under his command, to secure their affections, *ibid.*; finds all his address necessary to stifle a commotion among his troops in its birth, 196; appeases the tumult by an artful evasion, *ibid.*; is chosen one of their deputies, *ibid.*; commands the right Grecian wing in Cyrus's army, 197; advances to support the camp on his return from pursuing the Persians, 199; prepares for an engagement, 201; his behaviour to the heralds sent by Artaxerxes, *ibid.*; he has a conference with Tissaphernes, *ibid.*

Cleombrotus, brother of Leonidas, appointed to command the operations by land against Xerxes, 84.

Cleombrotus, the Spartan general, marches towards the frontiers of Boeotia, secure of victory, 333; sends demands to the Thebans, *ibid.*; receives an

answer replete with opposition, *ibid.*; prepares for an engagement with the Thebans, *ibid.*; is thrown into disorder, 235; falls dead with his wounds, *ibid.*

Cleomenes, king of Sparta, applied to by Isagoras, 46; undertakes to espouse his quarrel, *ibid.*; availing himself of the divided state of Athens, he procures the banishment of Calisthenes, with seven hundred families, 47; endeavours to new model the state, *ibid.*; is strongly opposed by the senate, *ibid.*; seizes upon the citadel, *ibid.*; is obliged to retire, *ibid.*; his assistance solicited by Aristagoras, 50; rejects his bribes with indignation, *ibid.*; is sent to *Egina* to apprehend those who had prevailed on the people to acknowledge Darius for their master, 55; his demand rejected, *ibid.*; returns to Sparta, in order to be revenged on Demaratus, his colleague, *ibid.*; endeavours to get him deposed, *ibid.*; is detected in having suborned the Pythian priestess, *ibid.*; slays himself in a fit of despair, *ibid.*

Cleomenes ascends the Spartan throne, 440; his character, *ibid.*; finds his country in the most deplorable condition, *ibid.*; endeavours to revive the martial spirit of his countrymen, 450; reduces several towns in *Arcadia*, *ibid.*; ravages the cities in alliance with *Achaia*, *ibid.*; marches against *Aratus*, *ibid.*; routs the Achæans at *Lyceum* and *Lenæa*, *ibid.*; returns to Sparta, cuts off the *Ephori*, and re-establishes the laws of *Lycurgus*, *ibid.*; plunders the territories of *Megalopolis*, forces the Achæan lines at *Hecatombeum*, and obtains a complete victory, 451; the *Mantineans* put themselves under his protection, *ibid.*; the Achæans sue to him for peace, *ibid.*; takes possession of an advantageous pass on the *Œtan mountains*, which he is obliged to abandon, 452; retreats to *Selasia*, in order to cover Sparta, *ibid.*; makes a masterly disposition of his forces, *ibid.*; reduced to the greatest distress for want of provisions, he is obliged to throw upon his trenches, and come to an engagement with *Antigonus*, 456; is defeated, *ibid.*; flees to Sparta, and from thence to Egypt, where he comes to an honourable but untimely end, *ibid.*

Cleon opposes the Lacedæmonian overtures for peace, 132; lands on the island of *Pylus*, to dispossess the Lacedæmonians who remained there, *ibid.*

Clitus, appointed by Alexander governor of the province of *Maracanda*, 366; some account of him, *ibid.*; he is murdered by Alexander at an entertainment, 368.

Cnidus, sea-fight near it, 225.

Codrus, king of Athens, devotes himself to death for the safety of his people, 4.

Colene, a city of Phrygia, obliged to surrender to Alexander, 320.

Conon, the Athenian general, commands the Pœnian fleet against the Spartans, 225; takes fifty of their ships, and pursues the rest into ports, *ibid.*

Corinth, revolutions in its government described, 5; an assembly of the several states of Greece summoned to meet there by Alexander, 307.

Corinthians, show signs of discontent, 139; obliged to withdraw the garrison from *Argos*, 226.

Coronea, battle of, 225.

Craterus, marries *Phila*, daughter of *Antipater*, 399; marches with him against the *Etolians*, *ibid.*; made governor of Macedonia and all Greece, 405; appointed to make head against *Eumenes*, 407; his army routed and himself slain, *ibid.*

Critias, one of the thirty tyrants, removes *Themameas* from his employment, 192; killed in an engagement with *Thrasybulus*, 193.

Cypselus, usurps the supreme authority at Corinth, and transmits it to his son, 5.

Cyropolis, besieged by *Alexander*, 366.

Cyrus's Camp, a country so called, *Alexander's* arrival in it, 321.

Cyrus, arrives at Sardis, 178; comes into the views of *Lysander*, *ibid.*; rejects overtures from the Athenians, *ibid.*; resolves to dethrone his brother *Artaxerxes*, and enters into a treaty with the Lacedaemonians, 195; conciliates the affections of the soldiery by his generous behaviour, 196; comes to an engagement with *Artaxerxes* at Cunera, 197; kills *Artageres*, who commands the king's guard, *ibid.*; his speech at the sight of his brother, *ibid.*; kills his horse, 198; attacks him again, *ibid.*; throws himself into the midst of a flight of darts, *ibid.*; receives a wound from the king's javelin, *ibid.*; falls dead, *ibid.*

Cyrius taken by the Athenians, 176.

D.

Dabe, subdued by *Alexander*, 366.

Darius Hystaspes, makes an expedition into Scythia, 48; lays a bridge over the *Ister* for that purpose, *ibid.*; returns with his army into Europe, and adds *Thrace* and Macedonia to the number of his conquests, *ibid.*; takes *Histaspes* with him to Susa, *ibid.*; receives his head with disgust, 52; weeps over it, and orders it an honourable interment, *ibid.*; sends *Mardonius* to command in the maritime parts of Asia, 53; a memorable instance of his hostility to the Athenians, *ibid.*; displaces *Mardonius*, and appoints *Datis* and *Artaphernes* in his stead, 54; determines to attack Greece with all his forces, *ibid.*; sends heralds to the states of Greece to denounce his resentment, and to learn how they stand affected towards him, *ibid.*; receives *Demaratus* with great friendship, 55; treats the *Eretrian* prisoners with great lenity, 58; gives them a village for their residence, *ibid.*; roused by the defeats of his generals, he resolves to try the war in person, 66; makes new preparations, *ibid.*; dies in the midst of them, *ibid.*

Darius, on hearing of *Alexander's* landing in Asia, testifies the utmost contempt for the Macedonian army, 312; embarrassed by his numbers, *ibid.*; disputes *Alexander's* passage over the *Granicus*, 314; uses all his art to raise an army and encourage his forces, 321; sends *Memnon* into Greece to invade Macedonia, *ibid.*; his hopes vanish from that quarter by the death of his general, *ibid.*; his military progress, 323; orders *Critidemus*, an Athenian, to be executed for the freedom of his speech, 324; his pompous cavalcade described, 324—326; he leads his immense army into the plains of *Assyria*, 326; is advised by the Grecian commanders to halt,

ibid.; rejects their advice, *ibid.*; sends his treasures to Damascus, *ibid.*; marches towards Cilicia, *ibid.*; turns short towards Issus, *ibid.*; puts to death most of the Greeks who were in that city, *ibid.*; the order in which his army was drawn up described, 323; takes his post in the centre, 329; is in danger of being thrown out of his chariot, 330; is the first who flies on seeing his left wing broke, 331; writes a second letter to Alexander, offering him a considerable sum for the ransom of his mother, and his daughter in marriage, 344; finds his proposals treated with contempt, *ibid.*; prepares himself again for battle, 347; receives the news of the death of Statira, 348; his discourse with Tircus on that event, *ibid.*; assembles a very large army in Babylon, and marches towards Nineveh, 349; endeavours to prevent Alexander from crossing the river Tigris, *ibid.*; sends new overtures of peace to Alexander, 350; his overtures rejected, *ibid.*; he prepares for battle, *ibid.*; pitches his camp near Gangamela, *ibid.*; apprehensive of being attacked unawares, he commands his soldiers to continue the whole night under arms, 351; his prodigious army described, 352; he sets it in motion in order to charge Alexander, 353; is supposed to be killed, *ibid.*; is in great danger by the flight of his relations, *ibid.*; draws his sword, and is on the point of dispatching himself, 354; is ashamed to forsake his soldiers, *ibid.*; flies with the rest, and is pursued by Alexander, *ibid.*; rides towards the river Lycus with a few attendants, *ibid.*; arrives at midnight at Arbela, 355; flies from thence towards Media, *ibid.*; arrives at Ecбатана, 358; conceives hopes, with his small forces, of opposing his rival, *ibid.*; is seized by Nabarsanes and Bessus, bound by them in golden chains, enclosed in a covered chariot, and carried towards Bactria, *ibid.*; is restored by them to liberty, but, on refusing to follow, is left to linger by them in a miserable manner, 359; is found in a solitary place, lying in his chariot, and drawing near his end, *ibid.*; calls for drink, *ibid.*; receives it from Polystratus, a Macedonian, *ibid.*; turns to him, and charges him to carry his last words to Alexander, 360; dies, *ibid.*

Datis, a Mede, appointed by Darius, with Antaphernes, to succeed Megabonius, 54; prepares to come to an engagement with the Greeks, 60; is defeated, 62.

Dellion, the Athenians defeated by the Macedonians there, 135.

Demades, ventures, though a prisoner, to reproach Philip for his insolent behaviour, 385; is restored to freedom, and distinguished with honours, 386; undertakes an embassy to Antipater, to procure the recall of the Macedonian garrison from Athens, 401; forms a correspondence with Perdiccas, and invites him to assume the government of Macedonia, *ibid.*; detected by Antipater, who orders him and his son to be slain, *ibid.*

Demaratus, furnishes the people of Egina with an excuse for not complying with the demands of his colleague Cleomenes, 65; banishes himself from his country, *ibid.*; retires to Darius, and receives from him a considerable settlement in Persia, *ibid.*; attends Xerxes in his Grecian expedition, 72; his speech to him, 73.

Demetrius, the son of Antigonus, defeated at Gaza by Ptolemy, 314; defeats Cillex, Ptolemy's general, and recovers Coele Syria and Phœnicia.

ibid.; reduces the island of Cyprus, 416; totally defeats the Egyptian fleet, *ibid.*; proclaimed king of Syria, *ibid.*; appointed admiral of the fleet against Egypt, *ibid.*; meets with a storm at sea, *ibid.*; obliged to retreat into Syria, 417; invades Rhodes, *ibid.*; besieges the capital, *ibid.*; is obliged to raise the siege, *ibid.*; solicited by the Athenians to come to their relief, *ibid.*; forces Cassander to raise the siege of their city, *ibid.*; pursues him, throws his army into disorder, and obliges him to flee to Macedon, *ibid.*; the greater part of Greece submits to him, *ibid.*; declared generalissimo of all Greece, 418; marches into Phrygia, to the assistance of his father, 419; defeated at the battle of Ipsus, *ibid.*

Demetrius Poliorcetes, treacherously assassinates Alexander, the son of Cassander, who had applied to him for assistance in the recovery of his father's kingdom, 438; gains a party to his interest, and possesses himself of Macedon, *ibid.*; engages in new military enterprises, *ibid.*; abandons himself to vice, 439; Ptolemy sails against his Grecian dominions with a powerful fleet, *ibid.*; Lydimachus enters Macedon on the side of Thrace, and Pyrrhus advances against him from Epirus, *ibid.*; is obliged to abandon his dominions, *ibid.*; adversity restores him to his sober judgment, *ibid.*

Demetrius Phalereus, made governor of Athens by Cassander, 430; his character, *ibid.*; his wise, disinterested, and munificent administration, gains him the esteem of the Athenians, *ibid.*; they erect three hundred statues of him, *ibid.*

Demosthenes, lands on the island of Pylus, to dispossess the Lacedæmonians who remained there, 133; arrives with a fleet to the support of Nicias in his Syracusan expedition, 156; the pompous appearance of his fleet described, *ibid.*; he strikes a terror into the enemy by it, *ibid.*; alarms Nicias with his precipitate resolution, 157; brings Nicias and all the generals over to his opinion, *ibid.*; confines himself to the attack of Epipolæ, *ibid.*; his progress and military operations described, *ibid.*; his eulogium, 170.

Demosthenes the orator, rouses the Athenians by his animated persuasions, 260; his character, *ibid.*; is earnest in sending succours to the Olynthians, 263; opposed by Demades and Hyperides, *ibid.*; his opinion prevails, *ibid.*; is appointed one of the ten ambassadors to Philip, 266; the only one not corrupted by him, *ibid.*; undertakes the defence of Diopithea, 269; rouses the Athenians to guard themselves against the artifices of Philip, 270; harangues the people of Athens in consequence of a reproaching letter received from Philip, 274; reproves them for their sloth, *ibid.*; dissuades the Athenians from accepting overtures of peace from Philip, 276; finds his zeal in favour of his countrymen ineffectual by the powerful efforts of his opponents, 277; harangues the Athenians with great energy upon the consternation which the seizure of Elatea by Philip had occasioned, 279; is instantly chosen to head the embassy which he had proposed, 280; sets out for Thebes, *ibid.*; his masculine eloquence irresistible, 281; it inspires the Thebans with the same spirit of patriotism, *ibid.*; exerts himself to render the efforts of those, who wanted to extinguish the flame which he had kindled in his countrymen, fruitless, and is successful, *ibid.*; throws away his shield at the battle of Chæronea, 284; finds submission to his counsels, though generally looked upon as the cause of the shock his coun-

trymen had received by the victory of Philip, 288; is appointed to supply the city with provisions, and to repair the walls, *ibid.*; has more honours conferred upon him than he enjoyed before, 289; is appointed to compose the eulogium of those brave men who fell in the battle of Charonea, *ibid.*; is engaged in an oratorical contest with Æschines, *ibid.*; proves victorious, *ibid.*; makes a good use of his victory, 290; follows Æschines on his leaving Athens, and forces him to accept of a purse of money, *ibid.*; goes into the assembly, on the first intelligence of Philip's death, with a chaplet on his head, and in a rich dress, though it was but the seventh day after the death of his daughter, 295; animates the Grecian states against Alexander, 302; writes letters to Attalus, one of Philip's lieutenants in Asia Minor, exciting him to rebel, 303; makes use of a device to prevail on the Greeks to unite against Alexander, *ibid.*; is appointed one of the deputation to him upon his taking of Thebes, to implore his clemency, 306; dreads his anger, quits his employment, and returns home, *ibid.*; relates the fable of the wolves and the dogs, upon Alexander demanding the ten orators, who had been instrumental in forming the league against his father, *ibid.*; inveighs against Harpalus, 391; is corrupted by him, *ibid.*; declines pleading against him on pretence of a cold, *ibid.*; is prosecuted in the court of Areopagus, and fined fifty talents, 392; being unable to pay the fine, is forced to go into banishment, *ibid.*; testimonies in his favour, that the story of his corruption by Harpalus was a calumny of his enemies, *ibid.*; is recalled from banishment, 394; received by his fellow-citizens in the most honourable manner, 395; appointed to superintend the temple of Jupiter Conservator, with an appointment of fifty talents, to enable him to pay his fine, *ibid.*; harangues afresh in favour of Athenian liberty, *ibid.*; agreed to be delivered to Antipater, 397; flees to Calauria, 398; takes refuge in the temple of Neptune, *ibid.*; Archias, a player, sent to find him out, *ibid.*; tries to persuade him to return home, but in vain, *ibid.*; poisons himself by means of a quill, *ibid.*

Dieneces, a remarkable answer of his, 78.

Diocles, his proposal, 167.

Diogenes, the Cynic, visits the Macedonian camp on the eve of the day memorable for the battle of Charonea, 282; his behaviour to Philip, *ibid.*

Diomedon, his address to his accusers, 181.

Diopithes, his defence undertaken by Demosthenes, 269.

Dodanis, fourth son of Javan, settles in Thessaly and in Epirus, 2.

Dog, the remarkable faithfulness of one described, 83.

Draco, chosen by the Athenians their legislator, 25; his severe laws described, 26.

Dymnus, forms a conspiracy against Alexander, 362.

E.

Ecbatana, the excessive luxury of that city prejudicial to the Macedonian soldiers, 362.

Egypt, the conquest of it by Alexander, 346.

Electryon, king of Mycenæ, 3.

Elisha, eldest son of Javan, gives the name by which the Greeks were generally known, 2.

Egaminondas, his character, 231; appointed to command the Theban army, and to act in conjunction with Pelopidas, 233; begins his march against Cleombrotus, *ibid.*; his reply to the bad omens urged to prevent his setting out, *ibid.*; secures a pass through which Cleombrotus would have marched, *ibid.*; gains a victory over the Lacedæmonians, 235; enters Lagonia with an army, 237; enters Arcadia, and reinstates it in all its former privileges and liberties, *ibid.*; returns home with Pelopidas to answer accusations laid against them, 238; his spirited behaviour when called upon to answer the charge against him, *ibid.*; is honourably acquitted, *ibid.*; accepts of a very mean place conferred on him by his enemies to affront him, *ibid.*; enters Thessalia with a powerful army, 240; receives terms of submission from Alexander, *ibid.*; delivers Pelopidas from prison, *ibid.*; marches to Sparta by night, with a design to take the city by surprise, *ibid.*; attacks the city in several quarters, 241; on the failure of his designs, resolves to give the Lacedæmonians and Athenians battle, 242; makes a very extraordinary effort without regard to the danger of his own life, 244; receives a mortal wound in his heart, 245; his dying words, *ibid.*; receives Philip, son of Amyntas, into his house as a pupil, 252.

Ephesus, Alexander assigns to the temple of Diana there the tributes which are paid to the kings of Persia, 318.

Ephialtes, declares against giving assistance to the Lacedæmonians at war with their rebellious slaves, 114.

Ephori, court of, its erection and power, 12.

Episthenes, a Grecian commander against the Persians, 198.

Eretria, Phocion drives Plutarch, after having discovered his treacherous behaviour, out of that city, 273.

Eubœa, revolts to the Peloponnesians, 175.

Eudemidas, ascends the throne of Sparta on the death of Agis, his father, 390; his character, *ibid.*; opposes the continuance of the war against Macedon, *ibid.*; remarkable sayings of his, *ibid.*

Eumenes, appointed governor of Paphlagonia and Cappadocia, 405; betrayed by one of his officers, and completely discomfited by Antigonus, 408; rallies his men, and escapes his pursuers, *ibid.*; returns to the field of battle, and burns the bodies of the slain, *ibid.*; retreats to the castle of Nora, with a select body of soldiers, *ibid.*; holds out against the whole strength of Antigonus for a year, and forces him to quit the siege, 409; appointed by Olympias to the chief command in Asia, 410; his great address in the discharge of the duties of his office, *ibid.*; attacked by Antigonus in his winter quarters, 411; his infantry rout the phalanx of Antigonus, *ibid.*; his army incensed against him on the loss of their baggage, *ibid.*; is seized by the soldiers, 412; his speech to them on that occasion, *ibid.*; conducted bound into Antigonus's camp, and executed, *ibid.*

Euphræus, a Lacedæmonian, his quarrel with Polychares, a Messenian, 22.

Eurybiades, commander of the Spartan fleet against Xerxes, proposes its advancing to co-operate with the army, 84; imagines himself glanced at in

a reply made by Themistocles, and offers to stifle him, *ibid.*; receives a memorable answer, *ibid.*

Eurydice, mother of Philip, requests Pelopidas, who carries him to Thebes, with other hostages, to procure him an education worthy of his birth, 352.

Eurydice, grand-daughter of Philip of Macedon, married to Philip Arrideus, 404; levies an army against Olympias, 431; writes pressing to Cassander for assistance, *ibid.*; dismisses Polysperchon from the administration, *ibid.*; wishes to defer fighting till reinforced by Cassander, 432; deserted by her troops, *ibid.*; falls into the hands of Olympias, *ibid.*; confined in prison, *ibid.*; receives a message from Olympias, to make her choice of a poniard, a cup of poison, or a rope, as the means of death, *ibid.*; is found by the messenger binding up the wounds of her murdered husband, with linen torn from her own body, 433; receives the message with the greatest composure, *ibid.*; her petition to the gods, *ibid.*; strangles herself with the rope, *ibid.*

Eurysthenes, joint king of Sparta with Procles, 8.

F.

Father, the remarkable speech of a Syracusan one, 167.

G.

Gabana, Alexander marches to that country, to divert the melancholy with which he is oppressed on the death of Clitus, 368.

Gangamela, memorable battle of, between Darius and Alexander, 353—354.

Gauls, make an irruption into Macedon, 440; being refused a certain sum of gold, they attack Ptolemy Ceraunus, cut off his head, and carry it through their ranks on the top of a lance, *ibid.*; meet with a vigorous resistance under the conduct of Sothenes, *ibid.*; a fresh swarm, headed by Brennus, enter Macedon, and cut Sothenes and his gallant army to pieces, *ibid.*; after draining the country of all its wealth, they bend their course towards Greece, *ibid.*; the Grecian states, animated by their extreme danger, adopt a strict discipline and wise counsels; secure the straits of Thermopylae; and send a fleet to the coasts of Thessaly, to support the operations of the army on land, *ibid.*; after repeated losses, Brennus is obliged to desist from his attempt to force the pass, *ibid.*; detaches a body of his troops to plunder Ætolia, *ibid.*; half of them cut in pieces, *ibid.*; the Thessalians direct him to the passage over Mount Ceta, *ibid.*; marches to the temple of Delphi, with a design to plunder it, 441; the Delphians, animated by religious enthusiasm, make a desperate sally on the barbarians, who, struck with a panic, flee with precipitation, *ibid.*; are pursued for a day and night, *ibid.*; most of them perish, *ibid.*; Brennus kills himself, *ibid.*; the few who survive endeavour to escape, but are destroyed by the several nations through which they pass, *ibid.*; make a fresh irruption into Macedon, 442; the Macedonians flee before them, *ibid.*; are harassed in their marches, and led into disadvantageous ground, by Antigonus, who at last cuts them to pieces, *ibid.*

Gann, Alexander shoots with more resistance than he expects, 345; the town is stormed by him, and the garrison ordered to be cut in pieces, *ibid.*

Gordian knot, the celebrated one, cut by Alexander, 320.

Granicus, the memorable passage of Alexander over that river described, 314.

Greece, earliest state of it, 1; of the government of Sparta, and the laws of Lycurgus, 8; of the government of Athens, the laws of Solon, and the history of the republic from the time of Solon to the commencement of the Persian war, 35; a short survey of the state of Greece previous to the Persian war, 40; from the expulsion of Hippias to the death of Darius, 46; from the death of Miltiades to the retreat of Xerxes out of Greece, 66; from the retreat of Xerxes to the peace concluded between the Greeks and Persians, 89; from the victory of Mycale to the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, 99; from the peace of Persia to the peace of Nicias, 113; from the peace of Nicias to the end of the Peloponnesian war, 139; from the demolition of the Athenian power to the death of Socrates, 190; from the death of Socrates to the death of Epaminondas, 324; from the birth to the death of Philip king of Macedon, 351; from the birth of Alexander to his setting out for Asia, and to his death, 396; from the destruction of Thebes to the death of Antipater, 386; from the death of Alexander to the death of Antigonus, 403; from the death of Antipater to the final overthrow of the family of Philip, 421; from the overthrow of the family of Philip to the confederacy formed by the Macedonians and Achæans against the Ætolians, 437; from the confederacy between the Ætolians and Spartans against the Achæans to the invasion of Greece by Antiochus, king of Syria, 448; from the invasion of Greece by Antiochus to the captivity of the Achæan chiefs in Italy, 462; from the captivity of the Achæan chiefs to the sacking of Constantinople by the Turks, 471; the miserable state of Greece during that period, 473--474.

Greeks states, their confederacy weakened by Persian bribes, 324.

Guest, a remarkable story of an ungrateful one, 367.

Gylippus, the Lacedæmonian general, approaches to the relief of the Syracusans, 150; storms the fort of Labdalla, 151; defeats the Athenians, *ibid.*; prevails on the Syracusans to fit out the strongest fleet in their power, and to hazard a battle at sea, 163; leads out all his forces in the night-time, to attack the forts of Plemmyrium, *ibid.*; carries the greatest of them by storm, *ibid.*; marches out of the entrenchments at Epipolæ, 158; deprives Nicias of all hopes of success, 159; repulsed by the Tyrrhenians, 160; completely successful over the Athenians, 166; uses his utmost endeavours, but in vain, to have Nicias and Demosthenes given up to him, 169.

H.

Hagosa, city of, besieged by Alexander, 370; surrenders at discretion, *ibid.*

Haliacarnassus, besieged by Alexander, 319; the city makes a vigorous resistance, *ibid.*; is taken and demolished to its foundations, *ibid.*

Alcibiades, a Grecian general; defects; *Histiæus*; takes him prisoner and sends him to Astaphane, 51.

Harpagus, governor of Babylon, by Alexander's appointment, disgusted with his master's cruelty, and ambitious of power himself, goes into Greece, 382; assembles a body of six thousand soldiers, and lands at Athens; *ibid.*; lavishes immense sums among the mercenary orators there, *ibid.*; attempts to corrupt Phocion, but finds it impossible to shake his integrity, *ibid.*; is ordered by the assembly to leave the city, *ibid.*; loses all hopes of aspiring successfully to command, *ibid.*

Hegemondides, a Spartan commander, gains an advantage over the Athenians, 175.

Helena, queen of Sparta, famous for her beauty and infidelity, 4.

Helots, rise in rebellion to vindicate their rights, 8; subdued by the citizens, and made prisoners of war, 9; condemned to perpetual slavery, *ibid.*; take arms against their masters, and threaten the destruction of the Spartan state, 114; are quelled at the approach of Cimon, 115; make a fresh insurrection, *ibid.*; possess themselves of a strong fortress, *ibid.*; hold out a siege of ten years, *ibid.*; the besieged have then their lives spared by the Lacedæmonians, on condition of leaving Peloponnesus for ever, *ibid.*

Hellaspent, Phocion drives Philip out of it, 275.

Hephæstion, Alexander's favourite, accompanies him to the tent of Syngambis, 383; his discreet behaviour upon the occasion, *ibid.*; is mistaken for the king, *ibid.*; receives a high compliment from him, *ibid.*; is permitted to give a king to the Sidonians, 335; offers the crown to the two brothers, with whose house he is quartered, *ibid.*; his speech to them on their refusing the acceptance of it, *ibid.*; gets every thing ready for Alexander's passage to the river Indus, 370; he marries the youngest daughter of Darius, 381; loses his life by intemperate drinking, 383; his death throws Alexander into successive sorrows, *ibid.*

Harpalus, the son of Alexander the Great, by Basine, widow of Mænon, set aside from the succession to the throne of Macedon, 404; murdered by Polyperchon, at the instigation of Cassander, 405.

Hipparchus, son of Pisistratus, debauches the sister of Harmodius, 37; is dispatched by the daggers of Harmodius and his friends, 38.

Hippias, son of Pisistratus, meditates revenge for the murder of his brother, 38; is inflamed by the intrepid behaviour of a courtesan, *ibid.*; utters no bounds to his indignation, *ibid.*; gives his daughter in marriage to the son of the tyrant of Lampachus, *ibid.*; cultivates a correspondence with Artaphanes, governor of Sardinia, *ibid.*; is supplanted in the alliance from which he expected the greatest assistance, 39; his interests at Sparta undermined by the Alcæonids, *ibid.*; he comes to an accommodation with the Spartans, in order to redeem his children from slavery, *ibid.*; gives up his pretensions to the sovereign power, *ibid.*; accompanies the Persian army, 48; leads them by the safest marches into the heart of Greece, *ibid.*

Histiæus, the tyrant of Miletus, opposes the advice of Miltiades, 49; is taken by Darius to Susa, *ibid.*; looks upon his detention there as a species of imprisonment, *ibid.*; finding himself suspected at the Persian court, he

leaves it, 54; is accused by Antiphanes of treachery, *ibid.*; is rejected, as their master, by his own Milesians, *ibid.*; picks up a few scattered remains of the routed armies, *ibid.*; falls in with Harpagus, one of the Persian generals, *ibid.*; is routed by him, and made a prisoner, 55; is sent to Antiphanes, and by his orders crucified, *ibid.*

Hydaspes, Alexander is greatly perplexed with the difficulties which attend his passage over that river, 317.

I.

Jesse, the son of Japheth, the father of all the nations generally denominated Greeks, 2.

Jaxartes, Alexander finds the crossing that river a difficult task, 366.

Illyrians, make an irruption into Macedon, and commit great devastations, 453; defeated by Antigonus in a pitched battle, *ibid.*

India, some account of it, 369.

Inachus, the first king of Argos, 3.

Indus, Alexander arrives at the banks of that river, and finds every thing got ready for his passage over it, 370.

Ionians, advised by Miltiades to break down the bridge thrown over the Ister by Darius, and cut off the Persian retreat, 48; reject his counsel, 49; are driven back under the command of Aristagoras, by the Persians, with great slaughter, 51; their affairs become desperate, 52; they fortify Miletus, *ibid.*; exert all their efforts by sea, which are rendered fruitless by the operations of Persian gold, *ibid.*

Isadas, a young Spartan, his beautiful person and uncommon military appearance described, 241; rewarded and fined, *ibid.*

Isagoras, supported by the rich, contends for that power at Athens, which he had before joined in depressing, 46.

Isocrates, the celebrated rhetorician, unable to survive the ignominy with which his country was covered by the battle of Charonea, hastens his death by abstaining from food, 326.

Isthmian games, the rewards to the victors at them lessened by Solon, 92.

L.

Lacedæmonians, send to Athens to implore succours, on the insurrection of the Helotes, 114; are powerfully assisted by Climon, 115; again request assistance, but are denied it, *ibid.*; finish the war with their insurgents by themselves, *ibid.*; are jealous of the Athenians, 119; feel their uneasiness increased by the successful operations of Pericles in Thrace, *ibid.*; send ambassadors to the Athenians, in consequence of the war resolved against them, 121; their requisitions, *ibid.*; renew their hostilities, 123; invade the territories of Athens, 125; send ambassadors to Athens, 141; give assistance to the Syracusans, 150; defeat the Athenians in a battle by land, 151; gain a naval victory over them, 155; avail themselves of the disturbances at Athens, 175; are worsted by the Athenians in a naval engagement, *ibid.*; are alarmed by the success of Alcibiades, 177; fix upon Lysander for their general, *ibid.*; oblige the Athenians to demolish their democracy,

190; enter into a treaty with Cyrus, 191; writes to Pharnabazus in a very abject style to deliver them from their formidable enemy, Alcibiades, *ibid.*; endeavour to deprive the Athenian fugitives of their last resource, 192; prohibit the cities of Greece, by an edict, from giving them refuge, *ibid.*

Lamachus, his reason for making directly to Syracuse, overruled, 147; abandoned by his men, 149.

Lelex, supposed to be the first institutor of Sparta and Lacedæmon, 4.

Leonidas, appointed to the command of the important pass of Thermopylae, with six thousand men, 77; finding his post untenable, he advises the troops of the allies to retire, 79; dismisses all but his three hundred Spartans, *ibid.*; his remarkable address to them, *ibid.*; is the first who falls, 80.

Leonidas, one of Alexander's preceptors, a particular instance of the severity of his morals, 297.

Leosthenes, marches against Antipater with a powerful army, 395; routs Antipater, whose forces had deserted to him, *ibid.*; attacks the city of Lamia, whither Antipater had retired, 396; is killed by a stone, *ibid.*

Leotyphides, succeeds Demaratus as colleague to Cleomenes, 55; concurs with his views, *ibid.*; punishes the Eginetæ, *ibid.*; puts to sea, 96; lands his forces at Mycæ, 97; draws up his army in two bodies, *ibid.*; gains a complete victory, *ibid.*

Lycurgus, his character, 9; he sacrifices his ambition to his duty, 10; his travels described, *ibid.*; finds it necessary, on his return to Sparta, to change the whole form of government, *ibid.*; communicates his designs to his particular friends; and, having gained over the leading men, carries his reforming design into execution, 11; his regulations described, and his laws enumerated, 11—30.

Lycurgus, an Athenian orator, procures the death of Lysicles, one of the generals, for his ill conduct at the battle of Chæroneæ, 387; makes a reproachful speech to him, *ibid.*; his character and employments described, *ibid.*

Lysander, chosen by the Lacedæmonians for their general, in order to oppose Alcibiades, 177; his character, *ibid.*; he brings his army to Ephesus, *ibid.*; receives advice of the arrival of Cyrus at Sardis, 178; sets out from Ephesus to make him a visit, *ibid.*; complains of the duplicity of Tissaphernes, *ibid.*; mans a few ships to repel the insults of Antiochus, *ibid.*; is victorious, *ibid.*; is succeeded by Callierchus, 179; is solicited to return, 181; is invested with the power of an admiral, *ibid.*; sails towards the Hellespont, *ibid.*; lays siege to Lampsacus, carries it by storm, and abandons it to the mercy of his soldiers, *ibid.*; his cautious behaviour, 182; he makes preparations for an engagement, *ibid.*; gains a victory, 183; his behaviour to Philocrates, one of the Athenian generals, 184; prepares for the siege of Athens by land, *ibid.*; arrives in the port, 185; demolishes the walls of Athens with great solemnity and insolence, 186; procures a guard for the thirty tyrants, his own creatures, 190; is willing to grant the tyrants of Athens assistance, 194.

Lytiades, the tyrant of Megalopolis, abdicates the sovereignty, and makes application that the city may be admitted into the Achaean league, 423.

Lycius, an orator of Syracuse, raises five hundred soldiers at his own expense, and sends them to the aid of the Athenian fugitives, 196.

Lysicles, one of the Athenian generals, his presumptuous exclamation at the battle of Chæronea, 384; sentenced to death for his ill conduct in that battle, 387.

Lysimachus, appointed governor of Thrace and the Chersonese, 406; gives orders to be saluted king, 410; invades Macedon, 439; sets up a claim to that kingdom, *ibid.*; overcomes Pyrrhus, his competitor, *ibid.*; dissensions arise between his different queens and their offspring, which terminate in acts of cruelty, *ibid.*; the injured party throw themselves on the protection of Seleucus, *ibid.*; meets Seleucus on the field of Cyrus, *ibid.*; acquits himself with all the vigour and activity of youth, notwithstanding his advanced age, *ibid.*; is slain, *ibid.*

M.

Macedonia, kingdom of, first governed by Caranus, descended from Hercules, 5.

Macedonians, terrified at the appearance of the elephants of Porus, planted to dispute their passage over the river Hydaspes, 371.

Madathes, commander of the province of Uzii, 356; resolves to hold out to the last extremity, *ibid.*; withdraws into his own city, *ibid.*; forced from thence, he retires into the citadel, *ibid.*; sends deputies to Alexander to sue for quarter, *ibid.*; obtains it by the interposition of Syngambis, *ibid.*

Megacles, the Athenian, leader of the inhabitants upon the sea-coast, 34; drives Pisistratus out of the city, 36; recalls him, and gives him his daughter in marriage, *ibid.*

Mandanis, a Brachman, his interview with Onesicritus, 377; assumes a haughty philosophic tone, *ibid.*

Mantineæ, battle of, 342.

Mantineans, compelled by the Spartans to throw down their walls, 336.

Marathon, the memorable battle of, described, 60—68.

Mardonius, sent by Darius to command in the maritime parts of Asia, 53; ordered to revenge the burning of Sardis, *ibid.*; passes into Thrace at the head of a large army, *ibid.*; terrifies the inhabitants into an implicit obedience to his power, *ibid.*; sets sail for Macedonia, *ibid.*; is distressed by sea and land, *ibid.*; is attacked by the Thracians in the night, *ibid.*; is wounded, *ibid.*; returns to the Persian court covered with grief and confusion, *ibid.*; is displaced, 54; gives advice to Xerxes, which is very well received, 87; passes the winter in Thessaly, 90; leads his army into the province of Boeotia, *ibid.*; sends Alexander, king of Macedonia, with a splendid retinue to Athens, *ibid.*; leaves Attica, and returns to the country of Boeotia, 92; resolves to wait the approach of the enemy, *ibid.*; encamps by the river Asopus, *ibid.*; is impatient to come to an engagement, 94; is dissuaded from the hazard of a battle, *ibid.*; resolves to engage, *ibid.*; makes an alteration in his army, 95; supposing the Greeks flying, he pursues them, *ibid.*; attempts to restore the order of battle, 96; is killed, *ibid.*

Massagetae, subdued by Alexander, 366.

Masæus, governor of Babylon, surrenders it to Alexander, on his appear-

— since before it after the battle of Arbela, 355 ; honoured by Alexander with the government of the province of Chaldaea, *ibid.*

• *Medon*, son of Cadmus, set at the head of the commonwealth of Athens, with the title of Archon, 4.

• *Megalopolitans*, resist Polyperchon's decree for altering their form of government, 427 ; are threatened by him, 428 ; prepare for a vigorous defence, *ibid.* ; repulse the assailants, *ibid.* ; the noble behaviour of the Megalopolitan wives and youths on this occasion, *ibid.* ; the assault renewed, and the elephants led against the city, *ibid.* ; discomfited and overthrown by the stratagem of Damidas, *ibid.* ; Polyperchon turns the siege into a blockade, 429.

• *Megara*, city of, rejects with disdain the Lacedæmonian edict against the Athenian fugitives, 193.

• *Mannon*, a Rhodian, one of Darius's commanders, advises their generals not to venture a battle, 313 ; his opinion overruled, *ibid.* ; sent into Greece by Darius to invade Macedon, 321 ; dies in the expedition, *ibid.*

• *Margabiz*, the Persian governor of that city, opens the gates of it to Alexander, 346.

• *Men* (eminent), that flourished in Greece, some account of, 186—189.

• *Mentor*, commands the left wing of Cyrus's army, 197.

• *Mercor*, one of Porus's most intimate friends, sent by Alexander to him, 1875.

• *Mesabates*, the eunuch, cuts off the head and right hand of Cyrus, at the command of Astaxerxes, 198.

• *Messeniænses*, accused, in a temple dedicated to Diana, of attempting the chastity of some Spartan virgins, and of killing Teleclus, one of the Spartan kings, 22 ; they deny the charge, *ibid.* ; send to consult the oracle of Delphos, *ibid.* ; are required to sacrifice a virgin of the family of Egyptus, *ibid.* ; make a vigorous struggle for freedom, *ibid.* ; are obliged to take refuge with Anaxilas, prince of Sicily, 24.

• *Milesiænses*, assisted by the Athenians in an expedition against Samos, 119.

• *Miletus*, besieged by the Persians, and taken, 52.

• *Miltiades* advises the Ionians to break down Darius's bridge over the Ister, 43 ; his advice rejected, 49 ; resolves to return once more to Athens, 57 ; returns with five ships, *ibid.* ; appointed chief commander over the ten thousand men destined to oppose the Persian army, 60 ; prepares for the great encounter, *ibid.* ; is victorious, 62 ; receives from his countrymen many striking marks of their gratitude, 63 ; finds it of a short continuance, 64 ; is accused of having taken a Persian bribe, *ibid.* ; condemned to lose his life, *ibid.* ; his punishment changed to a penalty, which he is unable to pay, 65 ; is thrown into prison, and there dies, *ibid.*

• *Mingimis*, the Lacedæmonian general, killed in a naval engagement with the Athenians, 176.

• *Mitylene*, port of, 179.

• *Mother*, remarkable advice of a Spartan mother to her son, 18.

• *Myenæ*, battle of, 97.

• *Myene*, kingdom of, seat of government transferred thither from Argos, 3.

N.

Nabarsanes, conspires with Bessus, general of the Bactrians; falls upon the person of Darius, and to lay him in chains, 358; they seize their monarch, bind him in chains of gold, enclose him in a covered chariot, and set out with him towards Bactriana, 359; finding it impossible either to conciliate the friendship of Alexander, or to secure the throne for themselves, they give their royal prisoner his liberty, *ibid.*; fall upon him with the utmost fury for refusing to follow them, and; leaving him to linger in a miserable manner, make their escape several ways, *ibid.*

Nearchus, appointed by Alexander admiral of his fleet, 379.

Nicanor, governor of Athens, sets the power of the court of Macedonia at defiance, 422; strengthens the garrison at Munichia, *ibid.*; makes himself master of the Piræus, *ibid.*; commands the fleet of Cassander, 427; is defeated by Clitus, and obliged to betake himself to flight, *ibid.*; retires his ships, puts to sea, and obtains a complete victory over Clitus at Byzantium, *ibid.*; resumes his government, laden with honours, 429; suspected by Cassander of a design to render himself sovereign of Attica, *ibid.*; is invited by him, under pretence of matters of moment, to an empty house, where he is basely slain, *ibid.*

Nicias, chiefly instrumental in procuring a peace between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, 137; confounded and disgraced, 142; is sent to Sparta, *ibid.*; is unable to gain the terms demanded, *ibid.*; appointed to a naval command, 144; appointed one of the generals, to his great regret, *ibid.*; endeavours to oppose Alcibiades indirectly, *ibid.*; starts numerous difficulties, *ibid.*; is disappointed, 145; roused by an insult from the Syracusans, he makes the best of his way to Syracuse, 148; succeeded by a stratagem, *ibid.*; lands at Syracuse, *ibid.*; gains an advantage, but, not being able to attack the city, takes up his quarters at Catana and Naxos, *ibid.*; sets sail for Syracuse to block it up by sea and land, *ibid.*; makes himself master of Epipolæ, 149; conceives great hopes from a successful siege, *ibid.*; disdains to answer a proposal made by Gylippus, the Lacedæmonian general, 151; prepares for battle, *ibid.*; marches against the Syracusans, *ibid.*; possesses himself of Plemmyrium, 152; writes a melancholy account of his affairs to Athens, *ibid.*; proposes to be recalled, *ibid.*; having met with a considerable check, he does not care to venture a second battle, 154; is forced to give the Syracusans battle by the impetuosity of his colleagues, 155; is thrown into the utmost consternation by it, 156; is terrified by the bold and precipitate resolution of Demosthenes, 157; his remonstrances considered as resulting from timidity, *ibid.*; he is obliged to subscribe to the opinion of Demosthenes, *ibid.*; is deprived of all hopes of success, 159; prepares to sail from Syracuse, *ibid.*; is alarmed by an eclipse of the moon, *ibid.*; scrupulously adheres to the declarations of the soothsayers, *ibid.*; makes preparations for a naval engagement, 161; is put to flight, 162; is deceived by false intelligence, 163; an affecting description of his distressed situation, 164; he deems it prudent to retire, 165; arrives at the river Ericon, 166; is summoned by the enemy to surrender, *ibid.*; his proposal rejected, *ibid.*; he marches towards the river Assinarus, *ibid.*; surrenders at discretion, *ibid.*; is put to death, 169; eulogium on him, *ibid.*

Nysa, city of, taken by Alexander, 370.

Or

Oenamarchus, gains a considerable advantage over Philip, 260; is entirely defeated, *ibid.*; killed in the pursuit, *ibid.*; hung upon a gallows, *ibid.*

Olympias, wife of Philip, provokes him so far by her vindictive and passionate disposition, as to make him wish for death, 290; is divorced from him, 294; connives at the escape of Pausanias after the assassination of the king, 294; expresses her implacable resentment, by ordering a golden crown to be put on his head upon the gibbet, *ibid.*; pays the same funeral honours to him as those prepared for Philip, *ibid.*; is said to have prevailed on the Macedonians to pay annual honours to Pausanias, *ibid.*; consecrates the dagger with which the king had been murdered, to Apollo, *ibid.*; recalled by Polyperchon from her banishment in Epirus, 409; appoints Eumenes to the chief command in Asia, 410; Cynane, the mother of Eurydice, and Amyntas, her father, murdered through her contrivances, 421; joins Polyperchon's troops, and marches against Eurydice, 422; the soldiers of Eurydice, struck with her noble mien, go over to her standard, *ibid.*; Eurydice and her consort fall into her hands, *ibid.*; she shuts them up in a prison, *ibid.*; fearing the resentment of the people, she orders them to be put to death, *ibid.*; causes Nicanor to be put to death, 423; orders a hundred noble Macedonians to be executed, on suspicion of being in the interest of Cassander, *ibid.*; left to provide for her own safety, *ibid.*; shuts herself up in the city of Pydna, which she strongly fortifies, 424; invested by land and sea by Cassander, *ibid.*; disappointed in her expectation of success from Eacidas, king of Epirus, her brother, *ibid.*; deplorable situation of her and the garrison, *ibid.*; surrenders to Cassander, 425; stipulates for her life, *ibid.*; is delivered up to the civil power, *ibid.*; offered a ship to convey her to Athens, which she refuses, *ibid.*; insists upon being heard before the Macedonians, and justifying her conduct, *ibid.*; a band of two hundred soldiers sent by Cassander to put her to death, which they refuse, *ibid.*; the relations of those she had murdered cut her throat, *ibid.*; is said to have behaved with much fortitude, *ibid.*; her body suffered to remain some time unburied, *ibid.*

Olympic Games, the rewards of the victors at them lessened by Solon, 38.

Olynthians, courted by the Athenians, 256; send to Athens for relief against Philip, 263.

Omphis, a king of India, meets Alexander, 370; does homage to him, *ibid.*; is sent, with the name of Taxilus, by Alexander, to Porus after his defeat, 375; is reproached by him for his treachery to his country, *ibid.*; retreats immediately to escape the dart levelled at him, *ibid.*

Onesivritus, the philosopher, deputed by Alexander to the Indian priests, 376; meets a body of Brachmans, *ibid.*; addresses himself to Calanus, *ibid.*; his interview with Mandanis, 377; persuades them both very urgently to quit their eastern way of life, and follow the fortune of Alexander, *ibid.*

Ostracism, its institution, 20.

P.

Pactolus, a signal victory gained over Theophrastus by Agesilaus, near that river, 224.

Pamites, branded with infamy on his return to Sparta, after the battle of Thermopylae, 80.

Parmenio, made governor of Phoenicia, 334; advises Alexander to attack the Persians in the night, 351; his reasons for such advice, *ibid.*; receives a haughty answer from the king, *ibid.*; is surprised to find him in a calm, sweet sleep, just as he is to fight a battle in which his whole fortune lies at stake, *ibid.*; is barbarously murdered, 364.

Parthenia, why so called, 23; join in an insurrection with the Heleles, *ibid.*; settle at Tarentum in Italy, *ibid.*

Parysatis, prevails on her eldest son, Artaxerxes, to pardon her youngest son, Cyrus, 195.

Pausanias, king of Sparta, gains a complete victory over the Persian army under the command of Mardonius at Platæa, 94; commands the Spartan fleet, 102; is infected with the wealth acquired in an expedition against the Persians, 103; is mortified by the desertion of the confederates to Aristides and Cimon, *ibid.*; resolves to sacrifice his country to his ambition, *ibid.*; makes overtures for gaining the favour of Xerxes, *ibid.*; is deprived of his command, and retires, meditating revenge, 104; receives a second summons to appear before the Ephori for fresh crimes, *ibid.*; comes off by the mildness of the Spartan laws, and the authority of his regal office, *ibid.*; acts with less reserve, *ibid.*; is seized by the Ephori in consequence of the detection of new misdemeanors, 105; takes sanctuary in the temple of Minerva, *ibid.*; is starved to death, *ibid.*

Pausanias, the Lacedæmonian, usurps the throne of Macedonia, 252; is expelled, *ibid.*

Pausanias, the Macedonian, affronted by Attalus, the new queen's uncle, breathes revenge, 292; implores the king's justice, *ibid.*; is made one of the chief officers of his life-guard, 293; not satisfied with that mark of the king's confidence, meditates his death, *ibid.*; is instigated to the commission of the intended assassination by Hermocrates, the professor of philosophy, *ibid.*; chooses the day of Cleopatra's marriage for the execution of his horrid design, *ibid.*; slips through the crowd while the king is marching on in all his pomp, and plunges a dagger into his heart, 294; flies towards the gates of the city, in order to make his escape, *ibid.*; is pursued, dispatched, and hung upon a gibbet, *ibid.*

Peasent, Athenian, his reply to Aristides, not knowing him, 75.

Pedaretus, converts a disappointment into joy, 18.

Pelopidas, slays the Spartan commander at the battle of Tanagra with his own hand, 229; at the battle of Tegyra he puts a large body of the enemy to the rout with very unequal forces, *ibid.*; commands a battalion of the Theban army, 234; behaves with timidity when summoned to defend himself against the accusation pointed at him, 236; acquitted, *ibid.*; induces the king of Persia, who had been solicited to join the confederates against Thebes, to stand neuter, 239; is sent against Polydorus and Poliphron of Phœria in Thessaly, *ibid.*; compels Alexander, who had seized the government, to make submission to him, *ibid.*; attempts to change the natural brutality of Alexander's disposition, *ibid.*; is appointed ambassador to him, *ibid.*; is seized upon and made prisoner, *ibid.*; is delivered by Epaminondas, 240;

freed from his confinement, he resolves to punish Alexander for his perfidy, *ibid.*; leads a body of troops against him, *ibid.*; is victorious over him at Cynocephalus, but is unfortunately slain, *ibid.*; having made a decision in favour of Perdiccas, king of Macedon, he carries his brother Philip with him to Thebes as one of the hostages, 352; places him with Epaminondas, *ibid.*

Peloponnesian war, 119.

Pelusion, the Egyptians in that city own Alexander for their sovereign, 346.

Perdiccas, son of Amyntas, king of Macedon, opposed by Pausanias, 358; confirmed on the throne by the assistance of Iphicrates, the Athenian general, *ibid.*; his title is again disputed, *ibid.*; refers the contest to the decision of Pelopidas, who gives it in his favour, *ibid.*

Perdiccas, one of Alexander's captains, receives his royal master's dying directions, and a ring from his finger, 384; ingratiates himself with Aridæus and Roxana, 404; possesses himself of all that he desired but the empty name of royalty, *ibid.*; procures the death of the most active of Aridæus's friends, *ibid.*; persuades him to marry Eurydice, *ibid.*; conspires, in conjunction with Roxana, the death of Statira, who was great with child by Alexander, and that of Parysatis her sister, the widow of Hephæstion, 406; possessed of the sovereign power of Macedon in the name of the two kings, *ibid.*; determines to perpetuate his power, by removing his rivals to distant provinces, *ibid.*; made captain of the household troops, *ibid.*; marches into Egypt against Ptolemy, 406; his soldiers, disgusted by his behaviour, mutiny and slay him, 407.

Periander, king of Corinth, ranked among the seven wise men of Greece, 5.

Pericles, his character, 113; his artful behaviour in order to secure his popularity, 114; provides Cimon with a sufficiency of foreign employment to keep him at a distance, *ibid.*; refuses to comply with the demands of the Lacedæmonians, embarrassed by the insurrection of their slaves, 115; first proposes the decree to recal his rival from banishment, 116; sets himself to complete the work of ambition which he had begun by various acts of popularity, 117; opposed by Thucydides, brother-in-law of Cimon, 118; rises superior to all opposition, *ibid.*; becomes the principal ruler at Athens, *ibid.*; protects the allies of Greece, and grants their cities all they think fit to ask of him, 119; encourages an expedition against Samos, to please a famous courtesan, *ibid.*; invests the capital of Samos, and obliges it to surrender, *ibid.*; returns to Athens flushed with success, *ibid.*; seeing a war with the Lacedæmonians inevitable, he advises that aid should be given to the people of Corcyra, *ibid.*; thinks it incumbent on him to inspire his countrymen with courage to prosecute the war against the Lacedæmonians, 121; brings the people over to his opinion, *ibid.*; his motives explained, *ibid.*; he animates the Athenians to let the enemy consume themselves with delay, 123; is generally supposed to have occasioned the plague at Athens, 126; is restored to the command of the army in a short time after he had been deposed from it, *ibid.*; is seized with the plague, *ibid.*; his dying words, 127; his character, *ibid.*

Perseus, after having unfortunately slain his grandfather Acrisius, the last king of Argos, translates the government from thence to Mycenæ, 8.

Perseus, son of Philip of Macedon, plots the destruction of his brother Demetrius, 466; his character, *ibid.*; gains over the ambassadors his father had sent to Rome, who forge the hand-writing and signet of Flamininus, 467; succeeds his father in the throne, *ibid.*; his popular behaviour, *ibid.*; intrigues with his neighbours, 468; looked upon as the bulwark of Grecian freedom, *ibid.*; suspected by the Romans, *ibid.*; is defeated by the Roman consul under the walls of Pydna, *ibid.*; flees to Pella, *ibid.*; murders two of his officers, *ibid.*; deserted by his attendants, he retires to Amphipolis, from whence he is driven by the inhabitants, 469; takes refuge in the temple of Castor and Pollux in Samothrace, *ibid.*; surrenders to Octavius the Roman prætor, *ibid.*; his abject behaviour, *ibid.*; is led in triumph through the streets of Rome, and thrown into a dungeon, where he starves himself to death, *ibid.*

Perseis, king of, weakens the Grecian confederacy by bribes, 224; gains over the Spartans, *ibid.*; becomes arbitrator of Greece, 226; gains many favourable stipulations at a peace between the rival states, *ibid.*

Persians, drive back the Ionians under the command of Aristagoras, with great slaughter, 51.

Pharabautus, complies with the wishes of the Lacedæmonians, by giving orders for the assassination of Alcibiades, 191.

Philanus, conducts the Parthenia to Tarentum, 23.

Philip, son of Amyntas, king of Macedon, carried by Pelopidas to Thebes, 252; placed with Epaminondas, *ibid.*; improves greatly by the instructions of his preceptor, a celebrated Pythagorean philosopher, *ibid.*; still more by those of Epaminondas, *ibid.*; leaves Thebes clandestinely, on the news of a revolution at Macedon, 253; finds the Macedonians distressed at the loss of their king Perdiccas, *ibid.*; governs the kingdom for some time as guardian to young Amyntas, *ibid.*; mounts the throne, *ibid.*; makes it his first care to gain the affections of his own people, and to raise their spirits, 254; trains his subjects to arms, and reforms their discipline, *ibid.*; institutes the famous Macedonian phalanx, *ibid.*; makes up matters with his enemies nearest to him, *ibid.*; turns his forces against the Athenians, *ibid.*; gives them battle, and defeats them, *ibid.*; gains upon them by his moderation, and concludes a peace with them, 265; subdues the Pæonians, *ibid.*; obliges the Illyrians to restore all their conquests in Macedonia, *ibid.*; declares Amphipolis a free city, *ibid.*; makes a conquest of it by the remissness of the Athenians, *ibid.*; seizes Pydna and Potidea, *ibid.*; seizes the city of Crete, and calls it Philippi, 266; discovers a very valuable gold mine there, *ibid.*; consults the Delphic oracle, and takes the advice of it, *ibid.*; is pleased to see the states of Greece weakening each other by mutual hostilities, 268; makes himself master of Methone, and razes it, 259; loses one of his eyes by a very singular accident, *ibid.*; hangs up the archer of Amphipolis, by whose arrow he lost it, *ibid.*; marches to Thessaly, and frees the Thessalians from their tyrants, *ibid.*; marches towards Thermopylae, 260; turns his arms against the Olynthians, 263; having corrupted the principal men in Olynthus, he enters it, plunders it, and sells the inhabitants,

bitants, 264; is addressed by the Thebans, *ibid.*; declares in their favour, *ibid.*; his artful behaviour upon the occasion, 265; possesses his march into Phocis, 266; gains the straits of Thermopylae, *ibid.*; strikes a terror among the Phocians, *ibid.*; allows Phalices to retire, *ibid.*; refers the disposal of the inhabitants of Phocis to the Amphictyons, *ibid.*; returns in a triumphant manner to his own dominions, 267; marches into Thessaly, *ibid.*; confirms the Thessalians in his interest, and gains over many of their neighbours, *ibid.*; a singular act of private justice by him, *ibid.*; forms a design against the Chersonese, 268; writes to Athens a letter of complaint, 269; avails himself of the divisions in Peloponnesus, to intermeddle in the affairs of the Greek confederacy, 270; takes the Argives, Messenians, and Thebans, under his protection, *ibid.*; does all in his power to prevent a union between Athens and Sparta, *ibid.*; is disappointed by the prevailing eloquence of Demosthenes, *ibid.*; turns his views towards the island of Euboea, *ibid.*; sends some troops privately thither at the request of certain of the inhabitants, 271; possesses himself of several strong places, *ibid.*; dismembers Porthmos, *ibid.*; establishes three kings over the country, *ibid.*; marches towards Thrace in order to distress the Athenians, 273; leaves his son Alexander in Macedon with sovereign authority, *ibid.*; is pleased with his military successes; but, fearful of his being too inconsiderate, sends for him, in order to be his master in the art of war, *ibid.*; opens the campaign with the siege of Perinthus, *ibid.*; resolves to besiege Byzantium, *ibid.*; amuses the Athenians, *ibid.*; writes a reproaching letter to them, *ibid.*; is obliged by Phocion, to abandon his design upon Perinthus and Byzantium, 275; is beat out of the Hellespont, *ibid.*; marches against Athens, king of Scythia, whom he defeats, *ibid.*; finds his passage disputed on his return by the Triballi, *ibid.*; is forced to come to a battle, *ibid.*; is wounded in the thigh, *ibid.*; is protected by his son, *ibid.*; apprehensive of the consequences of an open war with the Athenians, he makes overtures of peace, 276; finding they will not treat with him, he forms new alliances against them, *ibid.*; raises divisions between the Locrians of Amphicta, and their capital city, *ibid.*; employs Æschines, the orator, to harangue for him at the assembly of the Amphictyons, *ibid.*; receives the most welcome invitation and commission from the Amphictyons, 277; declares his readiness to execute their orders, *ibid.*; begins his march apparently to chastise the irreverent Locrians, 278; makes a sudden turn, and seizes upon the city of Elatea, *ibid.*; sends ambassadors to Thebes, to oppose the eloquence of Demosthenes, 280; sends ambassadors to the Athenians, 281; determines to bring on a general engagement, 282; leads his army to the plain of Cheronea, *ibid.*; his military force described, *ibid.*; his interview with Diogenes, *ibid.*; commands himself in the right wing, and gives proof of skill as well as valour, 283; gains a complete victory over the confederates, 285; concludes his important victory by an act of seeming clemency, *ibid.*; is transported with success, *ibid.*; drinks himself into a state of intoxication, *ibid.*; struck with a reproach from Demades, one of his prisoners, he gives him his liberty, and distinguishes him with marks of honour and friendship, *ibid.*; releases all the Athenian captives without ransom, *ibid.*; is created generalissimo of the Greek forces against the Persians, 290; makes prepa-

reasons for the Persian invasion, *ibid.*; in the midst of his successes he finds his happiness embittered by domestic divisions, *ibid.*; is provoked by the ill-behaviour of his wife Olympias to wish for death, *ibid.*; falls in love with Cleopatra, niece of Attalus, his general, *ibid.*; resolves to separate himself from the princess, *ibid.*; his speech to Alexander on his making remonstrances against a second marriage, 291; declares his marriage with Cleopatra in form, and celebrates it with grandeur and solemnity, *ibid.*; enraged by the behaviour of his son at the celebration of his nuptials, he snatches a sword, and flies towards him with it, *ibid.*; is prevented from executing his rash design by stumbling, intoxicated, upon the floor, *ibid.*; is unparadoxically insulted by his son in that situation, *ibid.*; consults the oracle about his project for the conquest of Asia, *ibid.*; interprets the oracle in his own favour, 292; prepares to celebrate the nuptials of Cleopatra his daughter, *ibid.*; assures himself, from a number of happy presages, of conquest, *ibid.*; makes Pausanias one of the chief officers of his life guard, 293; is murdered by him, 294; his character, *ibid.*

Philip Arrideus, brother of Alexander the Great, appointed king of Macedon, in conjunction with Alexander's issue by Roxana, if it should prove a son, 404; his election secretly opposed by Perdiccas, but in vain, *ibid.*; marries Euridyce, *ibid.*; falls into the hands of Olympias, 432; thrown into prison, and is murdered by some Thracians, *ibid.*

Philip, son of Demetrius, succeeds Antigonus the Second as king of Macedon, 453; his character, *ibid.*; the direction of the war against the Ætolians committed to him, 454; reduces Ambracas, and restores it to the Epirots, *ibid.*; prepares to carry the war into Ætolia, *ibid.*; sets out from Macedon in the depth of winter, for Corinth, 455; surprises a party of Æleans, *ibid.*; reduces Psophis and plunders Elis, *ibid.*; subdues Tryphalia, and delivers the Messenians from the Ætolian yoke, *ibid.*; makes a temporary use of his successes, *ibid.*; grants peace to all who sue for it, *ibid.*; supports Eperatus in the election of general of Achaia, *ibid.*; takes Teichos, and restores it to the Achæans, *ibid.*; makes an incursion into Elis, and presents the Dymeans and the cities in the neighbourhood with the plunder, *ibid.*; affects to place great confidence in Aratus, *ibid.*; fails in an attempt on the island of Cephalonia, *ibid.*; invades and ravages Ætolia, 456; lays waste Laconia, *ibid.*; meditates the subjection of all Greece, and a junction with Hannibal against the Romans, *ibid.*; his ambassadors to the Carthaginian general intercepted, *ibid.*; obtain their release, and conclude a treaty with Hannibal, *ibid.*; intercepted a second time on their return, *ibid.*; dispatches other ambassadors, who obtain a ratification of the treaty, *ibid.*; engages to assist Hannibal with two hundred ships, and a considerable body of land forces, *ibid.*; enters the Ionian gulph, takes Oricum, and lays siege to Apollonia, *ibid.*; surprised and defeated by the Romans, he retreats secretly homewards across the mountains, *ibid.*; takes off Aratus by poison, 457; looked upon by the Greeks as the champion of their freedom against Rome, *ibid.*; carries the war into Illyrium, relieves the Acarnanians, and fortifies himself in Thessaly, *ibid.*; defeats the Ætolians in two engagements, *ibid.*; repulses the Romans, who were laying waste the country, 458; called back by domestic insurrections to Macedon, *ibid.*; attacks the dominions

of the king of Egypt, 450; his reply to Marcus *Emilius*, the Roman ambassador, *ibid.*; destroys Abydos, *ibid.*; besieges Athens, 460; disappointed, in his hope of surprising the city, by the Roman fleet, he ravages the country in the most cruel manner, *ibid.*; is obliged to sue for a truce to the Roman consul, and afterwards accept a peace upon ignominious terms, 461; called to account by them for supposed outrages, 465; expostulates with them on their injustice, 466; surprises Maronea, and puts the inhabitants to the sword, *ibid.*; obliged to send his son Demetrius to Rome, to make an apology, *ibid.*; suspicious of the connection between Demetrius and the Romans, *ibid.*; his suspicions inflamed by Perseus, *ibid.*; sends ambassadors to Rome to sift the affair, 467; is imposed upon by their baseness, *ibid.*; puts Demetrius to death, *ibid.*; discovers the forgery too late, and dies of a broken heart, *ibid.*

Philotes, his spirited speech before his execution, 184.

Philomelus, the Phocian, chiefly instrumental in spiriting up his fellow-citizens to arms, 257; is appointed their general, *ibid.*; applies himself to the Spartans, *ibid.*; is supplied by them clandestinely with money, *ibid.*; gets possession of the temple of Apollo at Delphos, *ibid.*; defeats the Locrians, *ibid.*; erases the decree of the Amphictyons, *ibid.*; consults the oracle, *ibid.*; is satisfied with the answer of the priestess, *ibid.*; avails himself of the riches of the temple for the payment of his soldiers, *ibid.*; throws himself headlong from a rock to prevent his being taken prisoner, 258.

Philotes, one of Alexander's favourites, is informed of a conspiracy against him, 363; neglects the disclosure of it to his master, *ibid.*; is suspected himself, and doomed to destruction, *ibid.*; is put to the rack, *ibid.*; confesses his guilt, accuses his father, and is stoned to death, *ibid.*

Phrygia, Alexander marches into that country, and cuts the celebrated Gordian knot, 390.

Phrynicius, opposes the return of Alcibiades to Athens, 173; his treasonable practices detected, *ibid.*; he is stabbed in the market place, *ibid.*

Phocians, cited to appear before the council of Amphictyons, 257; cast and heavily fined, *ibid.*; quote a precedent from Homer to vindicate their refusal, *ibid.*; appoint *Philomelus* their general, *ibid.*; terrified at the approach of Philip, 266; decline giving him battle, *ibid.*; make submissions to him, *ibid.*

Phocion, appointed by the Athenians to command a body of forces sent to the assistance of Plutarch in the island of Euboea, 371; his character, *ibid.*; finds Plutarch traitorously ready to repulse the very army he had requested, 372; drives him out of Eretria, 373; appointed general of the army against Philip, he leads his troops to the succour of the Byzantians, 375; is received by them with joy, *ibid.*; forces Philip to abandon his design upon Byzantium and Perinthus, *ibid.*; drives him out of the Hellespont, *ibid.*; takes some of his ships, *ibid.*; plunders all the open country, *ibid.*; is obliged to retire, *ibid.*; advises the Athenians to accept Philip's pacific proposals, 376; nobly rejects all the offers made him by Harpalus for the corruption of his integrity, 382; anecdotes concerning him greatly to his honour, *ibid.*; he uses all his influence to prevent the success of Harpalus, *ibid.*; his behaviour and discourse upon the success of his countrymen

against the Macedonians, 396; delegated by the Athenians to sue for peace to Antipater, 397; intercedes for the restoration of the Athenian exiles, and gets them restored to their ancient privileges, 401; is proscribed, 423; throws himself upon Alexander, the son of Polyperchon, *ibid.*; charged by the Athenians with high treason, *ibid.*; sent back chained to Athens, *ibid.*; his behaviour, *ibid.*; is put to death, 424; his body banished the Athenian territories, *ibid.*; conveyed by Comopion a little beyond Eleusina, *ibid.*; burned by a Megarian woman, and his ashes buried under her hearth, *ibid.*; the Athenians repent his death, and raise a statue to his memory, 425; they put to death his accusers, *ibid.*; his eulogy, *ibid.*

Platae, battle of, 95; surprised by three hundred Thebans, 122; besieged by the Lacedæmonians, 127—181; surrenders, 181; the soldiers butchered, and their wives sold for slaves, 192; the city demolished, *ibid.*

Platæans, apply to the Athenians for their protection and alliance, 231.

Plutarch, solicits the assistance of the Athenians in the island of Eubœa, 271; endeavours to repulse the army he had requested, 272; is driven out of Eretria by Phocion, 273.

Poliphron, of Phæræ, in Thessaly, kills his brother Polydorus, in order to reign alone, 289; is killed by Alexander, *ibid.*

Polycharès, a Messenian, his quarrel with Euphœnus, a Lacedæmonian, 22.

Polydamas, a Macedonian lord, appointed to see the execution of Parmenio performed, 368; sees the king's commission effectually executed, 364.

Polydorus, of Phæræ, in Thessaly, murdered by his brother Poliphron, 289.

Polyperchon, succeeds Antipater, as governor-general of Macedon, and protector of the king, 409; his character, *ibid.*; recalls Olympias, the mother of Alexander the Great, *ibid.*; new models the government of Greece, 422; displaces the governors nominated by Antipater, *ibid.*; marches into Attica, with a powerful army, 427; commences his operations in the Peloponnæsus, *ibid.*; acts like a tyrant, *ibid.*; the Megalopolitans resist the execution of his decree to alter the form of their government, *ibid.*; besieges their city, 428; is repulsed, *ibid.*; renews the attack with his elephants, *ibid.*; they are rendered useless by the contrivance of Demides, *ibid.*; his army, flung into confusion, refuse to storm the city, 429; appoints a considerable force to blockade the city, and hastens with the remainder of his army to Macedon, *ibid.*

Polystratus, gives Darius drink, finding him near his end, 359.

Porthmos, a fortress in the island of Eubœa, dismantled by Philip, 271.

Porus, a king of India, is required by Alexander to make submissions to him, 370; provokes Alexander to resolve upon compulsive measures, 371; encamps on the borders of the Hydaspes, in order to dispute the passage with him, *ibid.*; is mounted upon a much larger elephant than any of the rest, *ibid.*; exceeds the usual stature of men, *ibid.*; on hearing that Alexander had passed the Hydaspes, he sends a detachment against him, commanded by one of his sons, who is defeated, and killed upon the spot, 372; resolves to face Alexander, *ibid.*; sets out with a considerable force, *ibid.*; draws up his army in battle array, *ibid.*; is totally defeated, after having fought with incredible bravery, 374; retires upon his elephant, having received a wound in the shoulder, 375; is called upon by Taxilus, to hear a

message from Alexander, *ibid.*; reproaches him for having proved a traitor to his country, *ibid.*; aims a dart at him, *ibid.*; strongly entreated by Merce to wait upon the conqueror, he consents, and sets forward, *ibid.*; undejected at his misfortune, he comes up to Alexander with a resolute countenance, *ibid.*; his interview with him described, *ibid.*

Potides, battle of, 120; besieged, *ibid.*

Proxenes, invites Xenophon into Asia, 202.

Prytanis, the name of the chief magistrate at Corinth, 5.

Ptolemy, appointed governor of Egypt, 405; prepares to become an independent sovereign, 406; resists the power of Perdiccas and the two Macedonian kings, 407; leagues himself with Lysimachus and Cassander to overthrow the power of Antigonius, 413; defeats Demetrius at Gaza, 414; supports Seleucus in his claims on Babylon, *ibid.*; defeats Antigonus and Demetrius, 416; assumes the title of king, 417; sails against the Grecian dominions of Demetrius Poliorcetes with a powerful fleet, 439.

Ptolemy Cereus, brother of Lysander, treacherously murders Seleucus, who had appeared at the head of an army in his behalf, 439; possesses himself of the Macedonian crown, *ibid.*; prevails on the widow of Lysimachus to marry him, on a promise of settling the succession on her sons, *ibid.*; puts the young princes to death, and banishes their mother to Samothracia, 440; the Gauls invade his dominions, *ibid.*; being refused a certain sum of gold, they defeat him at the head of his tumultuary troops, cut off his head, and carry it through their ranks on the top of a lance, *ibid.*

Pylus, taken by the Athenians, 133.

Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, advances against Demetrius Poliorcetes, 439; sets up a claim to the kingdom of Macedon, *ibid.*; is stripped of his Macedonian possessions by Lysimachus, *ibid.*; invades Sicily and Italy, 442; inflamed with indignation against Antigonus, for refusing him succours, he invades Macedon, *ibid.*; being joined by great numbers of Macedonians, he defeats Antigonus in a pitched battle, *ibid.*; applied to by Cleonymus, a prince of Sparta, 443; engages in his cause, and while Areus, who had usurped the throne, was absent with the flower of the Spartan army in Crete, carries desolation to the gates of Sparta, *ibid.*; compelled by the Spartans to seek his safety in retreat, *ibid.*; is galled by Areus, *ibid.*; his son Ptolemy slain in endeavouring to cover his retreat, *ibid.*; is invited to Argos by a faction in opposition to Antigonus, 444; desired by the Argives to decide the dispute with his antagonist without the city, *ibid.*; attempting to enter it during the night, he is slain, *ibid.*; his eulogy, *ibid.*; the Argives consider his death as the effect of supernatural interposition, *ibid.*

Python, the Macedonian ambassador, distinguishes himself by the liveliness of his orations, 281; his powers inferior to those of Demosthenes, 282.

R.

Romans, intercept the ambassadors sent by Philip of Macedon to Hannibal, 456; defeat him at Apollonia, *ibid.*; raise up enemies against him in Greece, *ibid.*; conclude a treaty with the Ætolians, *ibid.*; extend and establish their power throughout Greece, 457; prevent a peace between Philip and the Ætolians, *ibid.*; send a fleet to the support of the latter,

ibid.; land in Greece, and lay waste the country from Corinth to Sicily, 458; attack the island of Eubœa, *ibid.*; retire from Greece in consequence of a peace between them and the Ætolians on the one part, and Philip on the other, *ibid.*; receive complaints against Philip from Attalus, the Rhodians, the Athenians, and the Egyptians, 459; declare themselves guardians of the young king of Egypt, *ibid.*; send Marcus Emilius as ambassador to Philip, *ibid.*; warn him not to attack Egypt, to abstain from war with any of the Grecian states, and to submit the disputes to arbitration, *ibid.*; dispatch a fleet, under the conduct of Sulpitius, to the relief of Athens, 460; send Flaminius to prosecute the war against Macedon, 461; he detaches the Ætolians and Achæans from their connexion with Philip, *ibid.*; reduces him to the necessity of accepting a peace on mortifying conditions, *ibid.*; prescribe limits to Antiochus, 462; defeat him at Thermopylæ, 463; reduce the Ætolians, *ibid.*; interfere in the affairs of the Achæans, 464; break the strength of their confederacy, 465; seek occasion to quarrel with Philip, *ibid.*; call him to account for supposed outrages, *ibid.*; strive to debauch the filial affection of Demetrius, *ibid.*; acknowledge the title of Persæus, 468; seek an occasion of quarreling with him, *ibid.*; he is defeated by them at Pydna, *ibid.*; reduce the whole of Macedon, 469; appoint a new form of government, *ibid.*; entirely subjugate Greece, 470; their arbitrary and unjust proceedings against the Achæans, *ibid.*; transport a thousand of their chiefs into Italy, *ibid.*; abolish popular assemblies in Greece, 471; reduce it to a Roman province, *ibid.*; defeated by Mithridates, king of Pontus, 472; are massacred throughout Asia, *ibid.*

Roxana, daughter to Axertes, king of the Sacæ, appears so alluring in the eyes of Alexander, that he makes her his wife, 368; delivered of a son, whom she names Alexander, 405; in concert with Perdicas, procures the death of Statira, who was great with child by Alexander, *ibid.*; is put to death by Cassander, 416.

S.

Sacæ, the country of the, overrun and laid waste by Alexander, 368.

Sacred Battalion, a battalion of the Theban army distinguished by that name, 230; remain invincible for a succession of years, until cut down by the Macedonian phalanx under Philip, *ibid.*

Salamis, taken by stratagem, and added to the dominion of Athens, 26; the battle of, described, 85—86.

Scythians, submit to Alexander, 365.

Seleucus, appointed to command the royal cavalry, 405; appointed governor of Babylon, 413; requested by Antigonus to give an exact statement of the revenues of his province, 413; refuses to comply, *ibid.*; withdraws from Babylon in the night, and flees into Egypt, *ibid.*; furnished by Ptolemy with a small body of troops, 414; conducts them with much hazard to Babylon, 415; received with great joy by the inhabitants, *ibid.*; his character, *ibid.*; takes upon him the title of king, 416; dissensions arising in the family of Lysimachus, the injured party put themselves under his protection, 439; meets Lysimachus on the field of Cyrus, *ibid.*; his fortune prevails, and Lysimachus is slain, *ibid.*; resigns his Asiatic dominions to his son Antiochus, *ibid.*; is treacherously slain by Ptolemy Ceraunus, in whose behalf he had appeared at the head of an army, *ibid.*

Sicyon, supposed to be the most ancient kingdom of Greece, 3.

Simonides, the poet of Ceos, sings the exploits of his countrymen in a style becoming their valour, 112.

Sisyphus, the son of *Æolus*, makes himself master of *Corinth*, 5.

Socrates, the celebrated philosopher, refuses to act with the incendiaries who accuse the admirals victorious over *Callicratidas* at *Arginusæ*, 180; the only person who ventures to appear in defence of *Theramenes*, his disciple, 192; his character, 211; a particular account of the proceedings against him, 212; a memorable speech of his, in consequence of the charge against him, 213—216; is sentenced to drink hemlock, 217; receives his sentence with the utmost composure, *ibid.*; his behaviour in the interval of his execution, *ibid.*; *Crito*, having bribed the gaoler, offers him his liberty, which he rejects, 218; his behaviour on the day of his death, and discourse with his friends, 219; the Athenians repent of his death, cause a statue and chapel to be erected to his memory, and put to death his accusers, 222, 223.

Solon, the celebrated Grecian legislator, applied to by the Athenians for his advice and assistance, 26; an account of his birth and character, *ibid.*; he adds *Salamis* to the dominion of Athens by a stratagem, *ibid.*; addressed by the sages of Greece as their associate, 27; a remarkable saying of his, 28; his interview with *Cæsus*, king of *Lydia*, *ibid.*; his political operations at Athens described, 29; he withdraws from the city, to avoid the importunity of some, and the captious petulance of others, 33; travels to *Egypt*, *Lydia*, and several other countries, *ibid.*; returns to Athens after an absence of ten years, 34; having been opposed by the bad designs of *Pisistratus*, he wishes to subvert them, *ibid.*; endeavours to oppose art to his cunning, *ibid.*; employs all his authority and eloquence in opposition to a dangerous request made by him, but in vain, 35; reproaches the Athenians for their cowardice and treachery, *ibid.*; dies in the eightieth year of his age, after having survived the liberty of his country not above two years, 36; his character, *ibid.*

Sparta, supposed to have been instituted by *Lelex*, 4; the behaviour of the *Ephori* when the news arrived of the victory gained by *Epaminondas*, 236; striking courage of the citizens, both male and female, upon the melancholy occasion, *ibid.*

Spartans, their old jealousies begin to revive, 224; they fall upon the *Eleans*, *ibid.*; take them into an alliance, *ibid.*; attacked on all sides, 225; their allies at first are routed, *ibid.*; they turn the scale of victory by their own valour, and come off conquerors, *ibid.*; sustain a naval loss at *Cnidus*, *ibid.*; freed from the terrors of a foreign enemy, by the conclusion of a peace, they proceed to spread terror among the petty states of Greece, 226; compel the *Mantineans* to throw down their walls, *ibid.*; oblige the *Corinthians* to withdraw the garrison from *Argos*, *ibid.*; subdue the *Olynthians*, *ibid.*; interpose in a domestic quarrel at *Thebes*, *ibid.*; turn *Phœbidæ* out of the citadel, and place a garrison of their own there, *ibid.*; produce articles to be exhibited against *Ismerias*, *ibid.*; chastise the *Phliinians*, *ibid.*; alarmed from an unexpected quarter, 227; incensed by the successful efforts of the *Thebans* for the recovery of their freedom, they attempt to seize the *Piræus*, 229; by so doing they make the Athenians irreconcilable

enemies, *ibid.*; repulsed by the inhabitants of Zacynthus and Corcyra, on their attempting to restore their magistrates by force, 281; weaken themselves by their contests with the Athenians, *ibid.*; enter into a confederacy with the Athenians against the Thebans, 283; order levies to be made in all parts of Greece that side with them, *ibid.*; come to a battle with the Thebans, 284; fight with fury about the body of their general, and carry it off, 285; are defeated, and driven from the field of battle, *ibid.*; struck with consternation at their late defeat, they apply to the Athenians for succour, 289; sued by the Amphictyons, 257; noble behaviour of the women when their city was besieged by Pyrrhus, 449.

Spitamenes, chief confidant of Bessus, seizes him, puts him in chains, and delivers him up to Alexander, 365.

Stenelus, king of Mycenæ, driven out by the Heraclidæ, or descendants of Hercules, 3.

Susa, Alexander finds treasures there to an infinite amount, 355.

Syracuse, founded by Archias, a descendant of Hercules, 145; siege of it described, 149—160.

Syracusans, insult Nicias, 148; deceived by false reports, they present themselves in order of battle before him, *ibid.*; are forced back to the city, *ibid.*; propose an accommodation, 150; receive a piece of animating intelligence, *ibid.*; are astonished and stupified at it, *ibid.*; are prevailed upon to fit out the strongest fleet in their power to hazard a battle at sea, 153; sustain a considerable loss, *ibid.*; gain a victory over the Athenian fleet, 155; attack the intrenchments of the enemy, and gain a considerable advantage over them, 159; drive Eurymedon vigorously into the gulph called Dascon, 160; erect trophies for the death of Eurymedon, *ibid.*; obtain a complete victory over the Athenians, 162; are drawn from their festivities to pursue the enemy, by a stratagem, 163; retire from the Athenians, and advance toward them alternately, 165; drive Demosthenes into a narrow place inclosed with a wall, *ibid.*; reject a proposal made by Nicias with disdain, 166; throw a number of the Athenians into the river Asinarus, *ibid.*; enter triumphantly into Syracuse, *ibid.*; consequences of their successes, 167.

Sysigambis, Darius's mother, found remaining in the camp by Alexander, 332; receives a message from Alexander, 333; is visited by him in her tent, *ibid.*; falls prostrate before him, *ibid.*; is permitted to bury whatever person she pleases, according to the Persian customs, 334.

T.

Tarsus, Alexander marches his whole army to that city, 321.

Tarilus. See *Omphis*.

Thales, his answer to Solon, on having been asked why he never thought fit to marry, 27; his opinion of the most perfect popular government, *ibid.*

Tharxis, second son of Javan, thought to have settled in Achaia, 2.

Thalestris, queen of the Amazons, prompted by a violent desire to see Alexander, leaves her dominions, and travels through a great number of countries to gratify her curiosity, 361; on coming near his camp, she sends a message to him, *ibid.*; receives a favourable answer, *ibid.*; commands her train to stop, and advances with three hundred women, *ibid.*; does not think his person answerable to his fame, *ibid.*; acquaints him with the chief

motive of her journey, *ibid.*; her information occasions his making some stay with her, *ibid.*; she returns to her kingdom, *ibid.*

Thebans, active in promoting the Persian interest, 225; send ambassadors to the Athenians, *ibid.*; weary of the Spartan yoke, they make a desperate attempt to throw it off, 227; acquire freedom by its success, 229; remain a short time at peace, 231; taking offence at the application made by the Plataeans to the Athenians, they demolish their town, *ibid.*; they demolish also Thespiae, *ibid.*; grow into power, *ibid.*; take the lead in the affairs of Greece, *ibid.*; make it their maxim to side either with Athens or Sparta, *ibid.*; are under the utmost consternation, on finding the Spartans and Athenians confederated against them, 233; gain a complete victory over the Lacedæmonians and Athenians, 245; lose the fruits of it by the death of their general, 246; surprised at the appearance of Alexander in Bœotia, 304; after a vigorous resistance, are defeated, *ibid.*; their city is taken and plundered, *ibid.*; their distresses in consequence of their defeat, *ibid.*

Thebes, rejects the Lacedæmonian ordinance against the Athenian fugitives, 193; makes a decree in their favour, *ibid.*; rebuilt by Cassander, 437.

Themistocles, uses all his eloquence to convince the Athenians that the saving of its citizens is the true preservation of a state, 82; procures a decree favourable to his design to man the fleet, *ibid.*; a memorable reply of his, 84; he has recourse to a stratagem, in order to bring his confederates to act in conjunction with him, 84; is apprised by Aristides of his dangerous situation, 85; full of a generous gratitude, he lets him into all his designs and projects, *ibid.*; is carried in triumph by the Lacedæmonians to Sparta, 89; receives striking honours at the Olympic games, *ibid.*; sails to all the islands which espouse the interest of the Persians, in order to levy contributions, 90; requires a considerable sum from the inhabitants of Andros, *ibid.*; blocks them up for some time in consequence of their reply, *ibid.*; converts the money which he exacts from them chiefly to his own private advantage, *ibid.*; his answer to the Spartan ambassadors, 100; he procures himself the negotiation of an affair of importance at Lacedæmon, *ibid.*; his artful behaviour, *ibid.*; is received by his fellow-citizens in a triumphant manner at his return, *ibid.*; his regulations for the safety of the city, 101; forms a scheme for the supplanting of Sparta, and making Athens the unrivalled mistress of Greece, *ibid.*; communicates his scheme to Aristides, who cannot accede to it, *ibid.*; makes himself odious to the Athenians, 105; is accused of having been privy to the designs of Pausanias, *ibid.*; his answers to the calumnies levelled at him ineffectual, 106; takes refuge in the island of Corcyra, *ibid.*; flies from thence to Epirus, *ibid.*; afterwards to Admetus, king of the Molossians, for protection, *ibid.*; is promised protection by him, *ibid.*; is harassed by his enemies, 107; his escape is favoured by Admetus, *ibid.*; he is put on board a merchant-ship, *ibid.*; is compelled to discover himself to the pilot, *ibid.*; arrives at Cumæ, *ibid.*; is sent under a strong guard to Sardis, *ibid.*; requests to have permission to speak to the king, *ibid.*; falls before the king in the Persian manner, and makes a remarkable address to him, *ibid.*; is in high favour at the Persian court, 108; his memorable speech to his wife and children, *ibid.*; finds himself unable to sustain the conflict between his gratitude to Xerxes and his love for his country, *ibid.*; swallows poison, *ibid.*; his character, *ibid.*

Theramenes, accuses the Athenian admirals who were victorious over Callicratidas at Arginusæ, 180.

Thermopyla, an assembly of the Grecian states there twice a year, 3; battle of, 77.

Theseus, king of Athens, unites the twelve boroughs of Cecrops into one city, 3.

Thrasybulus, consults with his fellow citizens at Thebes on a vigorous effort for the benefit of public liberty, 193; seizes upon Phyle, a strong castle on the frontiers of Attica, *ibid.*; repulses the tyrants, with the Spartan guard, on their attempting to recover it, *ibid.*; obliges them to retire, *ibid.*; marches out of Phyle by night, and seizes upon the Piræus, *ibid.*; his speech to the troops who fled from him after the death of Critias, *ibid.*; procures the expulsion of the tyrants, and substitutes ten persons in their room, 194; after the death of the tyrants, proposes an amnesty, *ibid.*

Thucydides, brother-in-law of Cimon, combats Pericles in all his ambitious measures, but in vain, 118.

Tigranes, the Persian general, slain in the battle of Mycale, 97.

Timoclea, a Theban lady, her uncommon behaviour, 304; her reply to Alexander, on being carried in chains before him, 305.

Timotheus, his saying about Chares, one of the Athenian generals at the battle of Chæroneæ, 288.

Tiridates, governor of Persepolis, sends letters to Alexander, which occasion his hasty advance to that city, 356.

Tissaphernes, stands his ground, with a small part of his troops, against the Greeks, 197; passes through the light armed infantry of the Greeks, after the defeat of the greatest part of his left wing by them, 198; on his arrival at the camp he clears up a mistake, 199; has a conference with Clearchus, 201; comes up to the Greeks with his whole army in order of battle, 204; after several skirmishes he is forced to retire, *ibid.*; secures an eminence, *ibid.*; dislodged from it, *ibid.*

Trezene, city of, the inhabitants generously offer the Athenians an asylum, 82.

Tyre, city of, its happy situation described, 337; taken, 343.

Tyrians, receive proposals for peace from Alexander by his heralds, 338; kill them, and throw them from the top of the wall into the sea, *ibid.*; defend themselves with the greatest vigour, skill, bravery, and perseverance, 338—340; are invested by the Macedonians on all sides, by sea and land, 340; give themselves over for lost, 341; are suddenly relieved from their terrors by a storm, which makes great havock among the ships of their enemies, *ibid.*; find their good fortune counterbalanced by an unexpected calamity, *ibid.*; are informed that the Carthaginians, from whom they expected succours, are unable to give them any assistance, *ibid.*; resolved to exert themselves to the last extremity, *ibid.*; send off their wives and children to Carthage, *ibid.*; invent new arts to defend themselves, and repulse the enemy, *ibid.*; defend themselves with more vigour than ever, 342; overpowered by their assailants, they are reduced to despair, 343; are conquered, *ibid.*

Tyrtaeus, the school-master, sent by the Athenians to command the Lacedæmonians, 23; harangues, and repeats his own works, *ibid.*; is disliked by the Spartans, *ibid.*; inflames them by his orations and songs in praise of military glory, *ibid.*; in consequence of those songs and orations, they become victorious, *ibid.*; he is made free of Sparta, 24.

U.

Uris, province of, commanded by Madathes, 356.

X.

Xanthippus, accuses Miltiades of having taken a bribe from Persia, 64.

Xenophon, invited into Asia by Proxenes, 202; animates the Greek officers to behave with boldness and resolution, 203; presses the nomination of generals, *ibid.*; commanders are appointed agreeable to his advice, *ibid.*; his speech to inspire his soldiers, *ibid.*; begins his march with Chersophus and Timasion, 204; is followed by a party of the enemy commanded by Mithridates, *ibid.*; is galled by him, *ibid.*; repulses him with loss, and makes good his retreat, *ibid.*; arrives near the city of Larissa, *ibid.*; marches to Mepsila, *ibid.*; dislodges Tissaphernes from an eminence, and opens a passage for his troops into the plain, *ibid.*; meets with difficulties, *ibid.*; is greatly annoyed on his march by a fierce and warlike people, *ibid.*; after many fatigues and hardships, is exposed to new dangers, 205; conducts the Greeks from Persia to Greece, 205—210.

Xerxes, son of Darius, inherits his father's animosity against Greece, 66; assembles a council, *ibid.*; is strongly persuaded by Mardonius to avenge the dishonour done to the Persian name, *ibid.*; receives very different advice from Artabanus, and receives it with rage and resentment, 67; his reply to him, 68; repents, and offers to come over to his uncle's opinion, *ibid.*; overpowered by the flatteries of his courtiers, he rejects his advice, listens to that of Mardonius, and orders the most extensive preparations to be made for carrying on the war, *ibid.*; enters into an alliance with the Carthaginians, *ibid.*; sets out from Susa, *ibid.*; a presumptuous speech of his, 69; his military progress and operations described, 69—73; he pursues his course without interruption, 73; first finds his passage disputed at the straits of Thermopylæ, *ibid.*; is treated with contempt by the Spartans, 78; is repulsed with great loss, *ibid.*; endeavours to inspire his troops with the promises of reward, *ibid.*; is shamefully defeated by a small body of Spartans, 80; tries his fortune at sea, but without success, 81; proceeds in his destructive march, *ibid.*; sees with indignation that his power is unable to terrify his enemies, 83; marches into Attica, *ibid.*; finds Athens almost deserted, *ibid.*; puts all those to the sword who defended the citadel, and reduces it to ashes, *ibid.*; dispatches a messenger to Susa with the news of his victories, *ibid.*; marches towards the sea, to act in conjunction with his fleet, 84; receives a severe blow by the battle of Salamis, 87; wants an opportunity to retreat, *ibid.*; extricated from his embarrassments by the arrival of Mardonius, *ibid.*; greatly distressed in his retreat, 88.

Z.

Zacynthus, the inhabitants of, put themselves under the protection of Athens, 231; repulse the Spartans, *ibid.*

THE END.

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